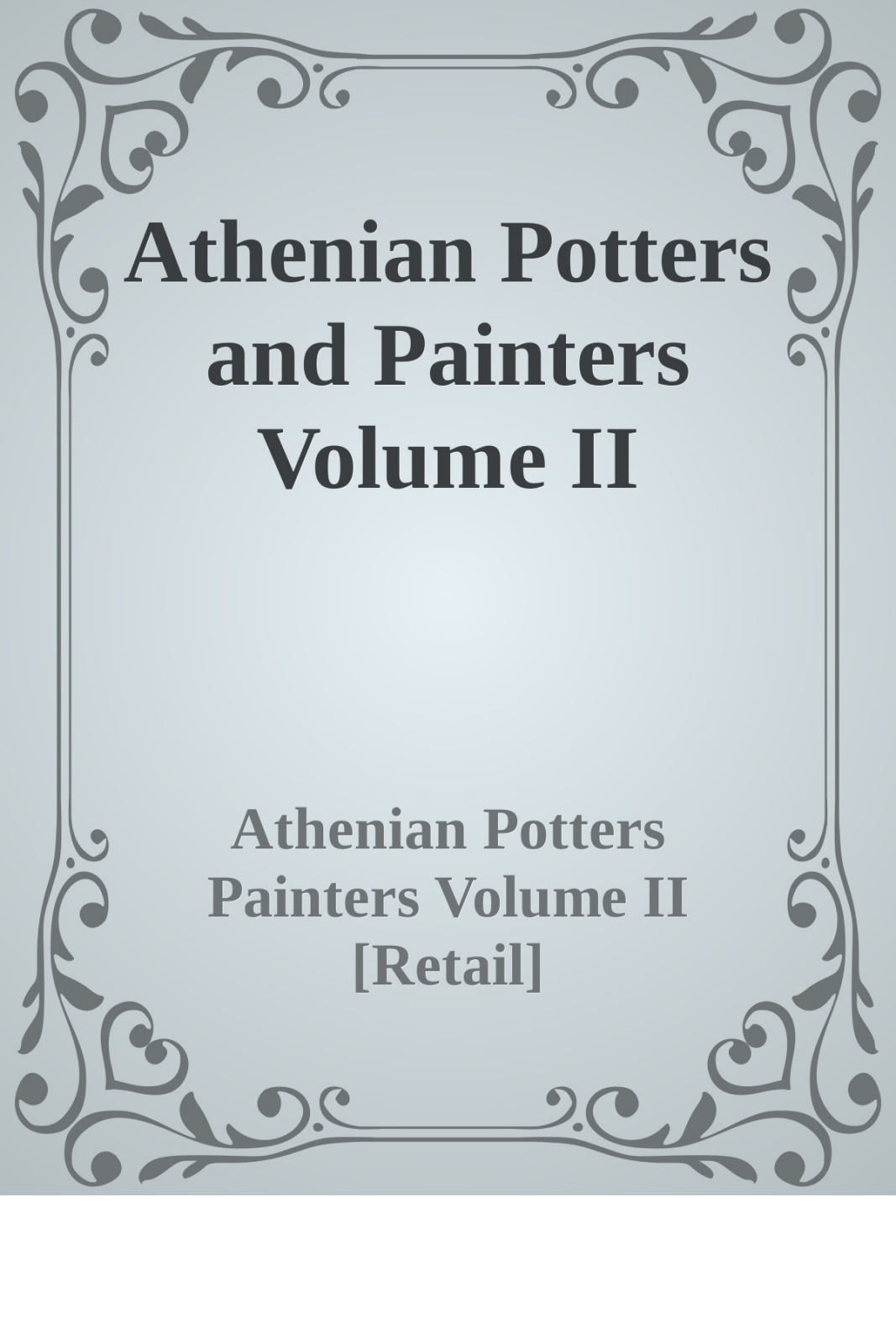


A decorative border with symmetrical floral and scrollwork patterns in a light gray color, framing the central text.

Athenian Potters and Painters Volume II

**Athenian Potters
Painters Volume II
[Retail]**

VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

ATHENIAN POTTERS AND PAINTERS

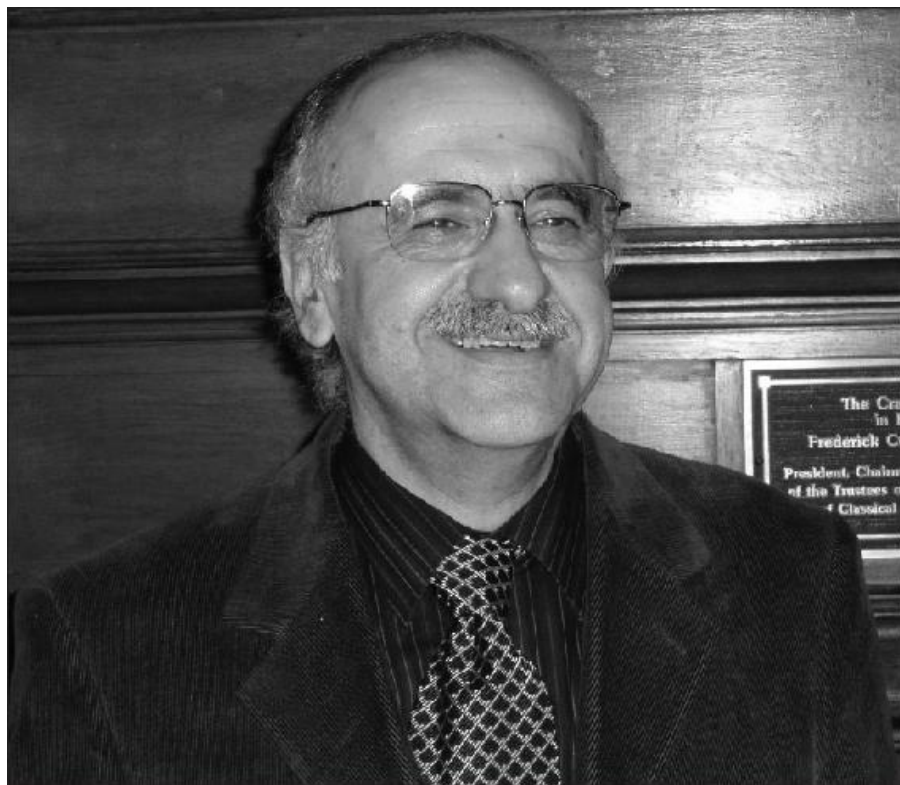
VOLUME II



EDITED BY

JOHN H. OAKLEY AND OLGA PALAGIA

This volume is dedicated to Michalis Tiverios



The honoree at the conference (Photo: June Allison)

ATHENIAN POTTERS AND PAINTERS

VOLUME II

EDITED BY

JOHN H. OAKLEY
AND OLGA PALAGIA



ALPHA BANK



Oxbow Books
Oxford and Oakville

Published by
Oxbow Books, Oxford

© Oxbow Books and the individual authors, 2009

ISBN 978-1-84217-350-3
EPUB ISBN: 978-1-78297-322-5
PRC ISBN: 978-1-78297-323-2

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

This book is available direct from

Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK
(Phone: 01865-241249, Fax: 01865-794449)

and

The David Brown Book Company
PO Box 511, Oakville, CT 06779, USA
Phone: 860-945-9329; Fax: 860-945-9468

or from our website

www.oxbowbooks.com

Printed in Great Britain by
The Short Run Press, Exeter

Contents

Foreword

Dionysos in Context: Two Attic Red-figure Kraters of the Early Fourth Century BC

Amalia Avramidou

Attic Red-figure Pottery from Olympia

Martin Bentz

Spruce, Pine, or Fir – Which did Sinis Prefer?

Elke and Hans-Joachim Böhr

Inside/Outside: Revisiting a Chous in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sheramy D. Bundrick

Herakles, Athena und Chthonia Gorgo: Mythos und Kunst in den Töpferwerkstätten des Kerameikos in Athen

Stamatis Fritzilas

Seeing the Image: Constructing a Data-Base of the Imagery on Attic Pottery from 635 to 300 BC

Filippo and Innocenza Giudice

Νέο φως σε παλαιά ευρήματα. Δύο κλασικοί τάφοι από το οικόπεδο Σαπουντζάκη στην Οδό Πειραιώς

Γιώργος Γ. Καββαδίας – Άννα Λάγια

The Jena Workshop Reconsidered: Some New Thoughts on Old Finds

Kleopatra Kathariou

The Iconography of Madness in Attic Vase-Painting

Eurydice Kefalidou

Women and Deer: from Athens to Corinth and Back

Sonia Klinger

The Sky as *hippodromes* – Agonistic Motives within Astral Representations

Bettina Kratzmueller

An Aristocrat in the Athenian Kerameikos: The Kleophrades Painter = Megakles

Bettina Kreuzer

Sourcing Stories: the Embassy to Achilles on Attic Pottery

Elizabeth Langridge-Noti

Iconographical Divergencies in Late Athenian Black-Figure: The

- Judgement of Paris
Anna A. Lemos
- 1 Wheel without Chariot – A Motif in Attic Vase-Painting
Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter
- 1 Erotic Images on Attic Vases: Markets and Meanings
Kathleen M. Lynch
- 1 Mikosthenic Pyxides between Etruria and Greece
Claire L. Lyons
- 1 Soupes attiques à figures rouges trouvées à Thasos
Jean-Jacques Maffre
- 1 Old Age in Athenian Vase-Painting
Susan B. Matheson
- 2 Prometheus oder Atlas? Zur Deutung der Amphora München 1540
Heide Mommsen
- 2 The 'Unheroic' Corpse: Re-reading the Sarpedon Krater
Jenifer Neils
- 2 Attic Imports at Marion: Preliminary Results of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus
J. Michael Padgett
- 2 The Relocation of Potters and the Dissemination of Style: Athens, Corinth, Ambrakia, and the Agrinion Group
John K. Papadopoulos
- 2 White-ground Lekythoi in Athenian Private Collections: Some Iconographic Observations
Maria Pipili
- 2 Early Red-figure in Context
Susan I. Rotroff
- 2 Topographies of Cult and Athenian Civic Identity on Two Masterpieces of Attic Red-Figure
H.A. Shapiro
- 2 The Invention of the Female Nude: Zeuxis, Vase-Painting, and the Kneeling Bather
Robert F. Sutton
- 2 Ἀγγεία-αναθήματα από το Μεγάλο Ελευσινιακό ιερό
Μιχάλης Τιβέριος
- 2 The Meidias Painter and the Jena Painter Revisited
Olga V. Tugusheva
- 3 Mortals Facing the Goddess: Thoughts on the Panathenaic Amphora of Lydos in Florence and some Pseudo-Panathenaic Vases
Panos Valavanis
- 3 Picturing Potters and Painters
Dyfri Williams
- 3 Κηνές γυναικωνίτη σε «άγνωστης χρήσης σκεύος» του τέλους του 5ου αι. π.Χ.

Foreword

The papers in this volume are based on the lectures given at the international conference *Athenian Potters and Painters II*, which was held in the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on March 28–30, 2007. The subject of the conference was the study of Athenian painted pottery, the finest ware in the ancient Mediterranean during the Archaic and Classical periods of Greece. Athenian vase-paintings are not only the single most important source of images of Greek everyday life and mythology, but also a crucial dating tool for archaeologists. Yet, even though new examples of this city's beautiful black- and red-figure vases are found constantly in Greece, Italy and elsewhere, only this conference and its predecessor, *Athenian Potters and Painters*, held at the American School of Classical Studies in 1994, ever focused on this pottery. The rationale for both conferences was that it is best to organize them in Athens, where the pottery was made. Holding a second conference on the subject is justified by the large amount of new material and by the dynamic appearance of a younger generation of scholars dealing with the subject.

Thirty-three people were invited to speak, eleven of whom were Greek. One of the goals of the conference was to bring together a diverse group of scholars who varied in age, nationality and the approaches they took to the study of Greek vases. We specifically invited a number of young Greek and American scholars to participate, since the earlier conference had served as a springboard into the profession for several young scholars. The following countries were also represented by speakers: Austria, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States.

Another of our goals was to represent as many different approaches to the study of Attic painted pottery and as much new, important unpublished material as possible. Subject areas included not only the study of potters and painters and their workshops, but also the study of shape, ornament, subject matter, chronology, export, excavation pottery, context, and the influence of Athenian vases on pottery from other regions of the Mediterranean and vice versa.

The conference took place in Cotsen Hall, the new auditorium of the

American School of Classical Studies at Athens. We are very grateful to Stephen V. Tracy, the then Director of the American School, and other members of the staff for their support, particularly Pandelis Panos, who provided crucial help with raising the funds to hold the conference. For financial support we are indebted not only to the American School, but also to Alpha Bank, whose very generous subsidy allowed us to hold a first class conference.

The conference and this volume are dedicated to Michalis Tiverios. He, as the honorees of the previous conference – Erika Simon and John Boardman – has greatly contributed to the study of Greek vase-painting, now only by his publications, but also through the students he has produced and placed across the world. Like his predecessors, he is an international figure of great renown and a very generous colleague to us all.

The abbreviations and notation system can be found in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1997, 611–628. We chose to use the same system as the earlier volume for continuity and for its succinct nature. The abbreviations of ancient literary sources are those of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (1996). The following additional abbreviations are used:

ABV.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (1956).

ARV².D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*² (1963).

Par.¹.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena* (1971).

BA¹.D.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda*² (1989).

John H. Oakley
Olga Palagia

1 Dionysos in Context: Two Attic Red-figure Kraters of the Early Fourth Century BC

Amalia Avramidou

The iconography of Dionysos has always fascinated scholars of Attic vase-painting, and even today his multi-faceted character continues to fuel our interests as he occurs in a variety of myths and representations related to theater, ritual and, of course, wine-drinking.¹ In this paper I would like to examine two Attic red-figure vases with Dionysiac iconography and demonstrate how contemporary vase-painters illustrate the same god in largely different contexts, each derived from a different source of inspiration. By placing these two vases within their historical context, I will show how vase-paintings can complement our study of a specific time-period by exhibiting a plethora of associations, even when they involve the iconography of only a single god.

Both vases share certain features in common: they are calyx-kraters, date to the first decades of the fourth century, and were found on Aegean islands under Athenian control. Even though Dionysos is the principal character in the main scenes on both, each krater shows a different guise of the god and each representation is particularly revealing when associated with significant events of the early fourth century BC. The first krater will be examined in relation to the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleutherios on the south slope of the Acropolis and the influences from the iconography of the birth of Erichthonios, while the second will be analyzed with regards to the adoption of eastern motifs and practices in Athenian art and lifestyle. A further attempt will be made to include the buyer's perspective in regards to the meaning of the scenes on these two vases.

The first krater was excavated in a necropolis on the island of Paros in the early 1990's (Fig. 1).² It is partially preserved, dates from around 400–380 BC, and according to Ian McPhee, it belongs to

Beazley's Plainer Group.³ Even though the joining fragments reconstruct a large portion of the primary side of the vase and the lip, still the decorative scene remains open to interpretation.

The krater shows on the right the goddess Athena in a peplos. She is armed with a spear and helmet, and wears bracelets and a necklace, but no aegis (Fig. 2). Athena raises her right arm in a gesture of *epiphaneia*, as she faces three women dressed in elegant clothes and jewelry. The first two are crowned with ivy wreaths, as is the young boy supported by the seated woman. He is eager to leave her lap as he raises his right hand to Athena.⁴ Next is a woman in a chiton who stands in a very elegant pose as she pulls her himation over her shoulder (Fig. 3). The third woman makes a gesture that roughly mirrors those of Athena and the boy. On a lower level between the two standing women is a partially preserved male head wearing an ivy wreath surrounded by large ivy leaves. Two altars placed above the handles flank the scene indicating its sacred character.



Fig. 1. Red-figure calyx-krater. Paros, Arch. Museum 3255. 400–380 BC. Delivery of Dionysos to Athena. Photo: Museum.

When Alikí Kauffmann-Samaras first published this vase, she interpreted the scene as a variation of the domestic representations

popular in Attic vase-paintings in the second half of the fifth century. She identified Athena as a *kourotrophos* and related the depiction of the boy with rituals of youths and ephebes in honor of Athena. The second woman from the right she identified as Aphrodite, while the partly preserved ivy head was generally placed in the realm of Dionysos. The scene was explained as a picture of the ideal Athenian family and the deities as protecting the boy at an important stage of his life.⁵



Fig. 2. Red-figure calyx-krater. Paros, Arch. Museum 3255. 400–380 BC. Athena, Dionysos and the Nymphs. Photo: after Kauffmann-Samaras pl. 1b.

I would like to suggest an alternative reading of the scene, namely the delivery of Dionysos to Athena by the Nymphs. The young boy can be identified with Dionysos on account of his ivy wreath and the similarity with other depictions of the baby Dionysos,⁶ while the poorly preserved ivy-wreathed head probably belongs to a seated satyr.⁷ In this context Athena's gesture can be taken as a greeting to the newborn god. I prefer to explain the three women as nymphs (or perhaps Charites) responsible for the upbringing of the god, since all three are dressed in a similar way. They face in the same direction and react to the presence of Athena with gestures indicative of their solemnity and acknowledgement of the goddess's appearance.⁸ In addition, if we accept the identification of the figure in the center as

Aphrodite, the interpretation of the scene as the delivery of Dionysos need not be altered, but on the contrary, her presence here would provide a topographical reference supporting our hypothesis further.

The birth of Erichthonios and the birth of Ploutos could also be considered as possible interpretations of the Paros krater, but identifying the boy as Dionysos is our best choice for the following reasons. First, the identification with Ploutos must be ruled out, since we lack the protagonists of this Eleusinian myth, Demeter and Kore. The case for Erichthonios is stronger, but the iconography of the depictions of his birth is quite different than that of the scene on the Paros fragment. The major difference is the absence of Gaia rising from the ground to deliver the baby to Athena. In addition, the goddess holds no special cloth to receive the child, nor does she lean towards the child to embrace it, as in the depictions of Erichthonios; instead she majestically appears in front of it. Even in the case of the squat lekythos by the Meidias Painter, where Gaia is identified with the seated figure, the maternal instincts of Athena are clearly manifested as she carefully leans over Erichthonios to cover him with a patterned *peplos*.⁹ The boy on the Paros fragment does not wear any amulets, typical for newborns, only an ivy wreath, Dionysos's favorite plant. If the three women are the Aglaurids, then it is surprising how calm and benevolent Athena is towards the untrustworthy custodians of the child, a rarity compared to vases that show her inflicting punishment on the girls.¹⁰

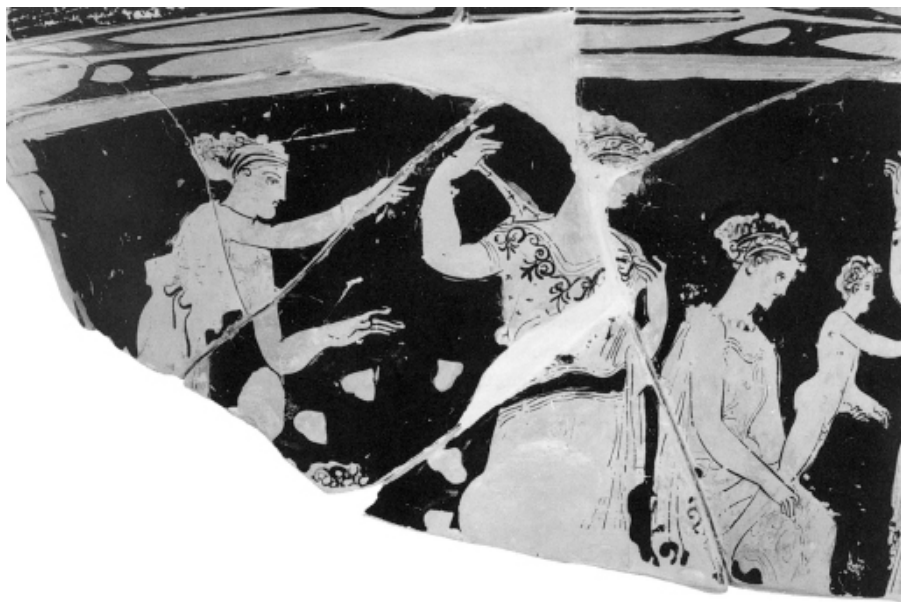


Fig. 3. Red-figure calyx-krater. Paros, Arch. Museum 3255. 400–380 BC. The Nymphs and Dionysos. Photo: after Kauffmann-Samaras pl. 1a.

If our interpretation of the Paros krater as the delivery of Dionysos to Athena is correct, then we need to place it within a larger framework by taking a twofold approach. First, it is necessary to study other representations of Dionysos's infancy on Attic vases, as well as to examine how often the two gods, Athena and Dionysos, are jointly represented. Second, one needs to explore how and if these scenes can be associated with the development of the sanctuary of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis.

The iconography of the infancy of Dionysos includes an abundance of intriguing examples that can be largely arranged in three groups: representations of Semele or Zeus giving birth,¹¹ scenes where Dionysos is handed from one figure to another – in most cases it is Hermes that hands him over to either Silenus, the nymphs or the maenads¹² – and vase-paintings that stray from the typical scenes of Dionysos's infancy, such as the bell-krater by the Altamura Painter with Dionysos (or Zeus) holding a boy with all the attributes of the wine god, and the cup by Makron that depicts a young Dionysos carried by Zeus amidst a procession of Olympian gods.¹³



Fig. 4. Hydria by the Semele Painter. Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum 8.3316. End of the fifth century BC. The Birth of Dionysos. Photo: Museum.

Athena is rarely present among the deities assisting or witnessing

the birth of Dionysos, with the exception of two vases from the early fourth century, of the same period as our krater. The first vase is a hydria by the Semele Painter, which shows Hermes saving the baby Dionysos from Iris under the auspices of Zeus and Aphrodite, who are depicted on the upper register. Semele lies exhausted on a couch, while a nymph and a figure identified either as Hera or Athena flank the scene (Fig. 4).¹⁴ Athena has an even more active role on a pelike in the Hermitage by the Eleusinian Painter, where a female figure identified as the nymph Dirce comes up from the earth to deliver Dionysos to Hermes. Right next to him, Athena is depicted as vigilant and in full armor, determined to protect the young god. A flying Nike above the goddess indicates her success, while a maenad plays the tympanon in honor of the newborn god. On the upper register, Zeus and Hera along with Demeter and Persephone witness the scene. The arrangement and cast of the participating figures suggest an influence from the representations of the birth of Erichthonios and Ploutos, but despite the borrowed artistic vocabulary, the scene unmistakably portrays the delivery of Dionysos, since a baby wrapped in a *nebris* can only be identified with the wine god.¹⁵

Based on the above observations, the interpretation of the calyx-krater from Paros as a variation of the delivery of young Dionysos becomes more plausible. Apart from the figures that one would expect to find in this episode, the nymphs and the satyr, the Paros fragment includes the goddess Athena in a protagonistic role. She acts as a surrogate mother of Dionysos, not so much in her power as *kourotrophos*, but rather as the mighty daughter of Zeus, who according to later sources saved the heart of Dionysos after his dismemberment by the Titans.¹⁶ Thanks to her protection and intervention the god of wine is reborn.

As a pair Athena and Dionysos decorate predominantly black-figure vases of the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC,¹⁷ a period, which coincides with the first major phase of the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleutherios. Within the same timeframe, Dionysos and Athena are also depicted in divine gatherings, like the exceptionally fine divine symposium represented on the psykter-krater by the Troilos Painter,¹⁸ and in mythological episodes, such as the Gigantomachy, the introduction of Herakles to Olympos and the celebration of Dionysos's wedding to Ariadne.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that even on the Pella hydria and the Hermitage hydria depicting the contest of Athena and Poseidon, Dionysos is portrayed by Athena's side as a faithful ally, thereby stressing even further his significance as a civic deity in late fifth- and early fourth-century Athens.²⁰ With regard to religious practices, the two gods were brought together during the Athenian festival of Oschophoria,²¹ and they also enjoyed neighboring sites of

Similarly, the majority of Attic vases depicting the birth and delivery of Dionysos to his caretakers dates to around the middle of the fifth century and therefore can be chronologically associated with the Periclean phase of the sanctuary of Dionysos.²⁴ At the turn of the century and during the first decades of the fourth century there is a renewed interest in Dionysos's childhood, which can be perceived of as a lingering reaction to Pericles's contribution to the sanctuary of Dionysos, namely the building of the Odeion. The construction of such an extraordinary monument presupposes the revamping of adjacent structures, especially the nearby theater. Pericles could have also planned a new structure to house Alkamenes's gold and ivory statue of Dionysos, even though the modest Archaic temple was ultimately maintained in this phase.²⁵

During the same period, there are several dramas based upon the infancy of gods and heroes, including the *Dionysiskos*, a satyr play by Sophocles produced ca. 440–435 BC.²⁶ Scholars have long ago associated vase-paintings with this play, the most famous being the white-ground calyx-krater by the Phiale Painter (440–435 BC),²⁷ but the fragmentary state of the Paros krater does not permit a similar association to be made.²⁸

By correlating the representations of young Dionysos on Attic vases with the architectural phases of his sanctuary on the Acropolis, one may tentatively suggest that the scene of the delivery of Dionysos to Athena on the Paros krater was inspired by the additions and renovations to the sanctuary introduced by Pericles. If such a hypothesis is valid, then we may interpret the scene on the krater in Paros as the celebration of the young Dionysos's introduction to his new and improved sanctuary under the auspices of Athena, both literally and symbolically.

As mentioned earlier, the three women accompanying Dionysos on the Paros fragment can be identified either as nymphs or Charites. If we accept the latter interpretation, then their presence may also serve as a topographic reference to their cult both on the Acropolis,²⁹ as well as on the island of Paros, the findspot of our vase and one of the main sites where the three Charites were worshipped.³⁰ Alternatively, if we agree with the identification of the middle figure as Aphrodite, we gain another symbol of local topography, since Aphrodite was worshipped on the south slope of the Acropolis as Pandemos³¹ and as Ourania in the northwestern corner of the Agora, alongside the Charites. Even more tantalizing information appears in an inscription from the theater of Dionysos mentioning a priest of Charites and Demos. Although the inscription dates to the third century BC, the cult of Charites and Demos is probably earlier, forming a parallel to the fifth-century cult of Demos and the Nymphs.³² The choice of figures on

the Paros fragment indicates that the vase-painter, consciously or not, combined deities whose sanctuaries were neighboring to Dionysos's.

Paros was often in conflict with Athens, and even though it remained under Athenian control for most of the fifth century and participated in the Athenian Confederacy in the fourth, Attic red-figure pottery was a rare commodity on the island.³³ This observation, along with her interpretation of the scene as an Athenian ritual, led Kauffmann-Samaras to suggest that the owner of the Paros krater was probably an Athenian.³⁴ Indeed, the funerary context of the krater supports the hypothesis of an owner enjoying high status and Athenian affiliations, but the reason for its import to the island appears to be more the result of its Dionysiac iconography and less the nostalgic ties with the motherland.

Dionysos enjoyed a significant cult on Paros that is thought to have been introduced by the lyric poet Archilochos himself,³⁵ and Dionysos was worshipped at the Archilocheion together with Athena as *sybomoi theoi*.³⁶ Part of the theater has been discovered under the *hieron* of the Katapoliani church in Paroikia, but the temple of Dionysos has not yet been located. However, the remains of the Late Archaic temple of the patron deity of the city, no other than Athena, are still evident at modern-day Kastro.³⁷ An Attic red-figure krater depicting the delivery of Dionysos to Athena was an appropriate grave gift for a wealthy Parian, not only on account of its aesthetic value, but also because it combined two of the most significant deities of the island. At the same time, the myth of the rebirth of Dionysos, implied on the Paros krater, was in accord with the fourth-century rise of mystery-cults, and the subject was a very appropriate one for a funerary gift.³⁸



Fig. 6. Red-figure calyx-krater. Rhodes, Arch. Museum Π 15768. Ca. 380–370 BC.
Dionysos and Ariadne accompanied by Athena. Photo: Author.

The second fragment that we will examine belongs to a calyx-krater found in the 1960's on the island of Rhodes (Fig. 5; Color Pl. 1A). It was discovered within an unidentifiable structure outside the medieval walls of the city, along with three fragmentary female statuettes that postdate the vase. The krater was once decorated with ample white color and brownish/gold diluted clay. According to McPhee, it is difficult to attribute it to a specific painter and should be dated to ca. 380/370 BC.³⁹ It depicts a couple sharing a couch, while another seated woman and a smaller figure to her right complete the scene (Fig. 6).

The male figure reclines on the couch, resting his elbow on lavishly decorated pillows, and he is dressed in a mantle that covers only the lower part of his body. He holds a *phiale* with his left hand, while a scepter or a *thyrsos* rests on his left shoulder. With his right hand he raises a rhyton of extraordinary elegance and size, that is decorated with a bull protome. His companion is richly dressed in a white chiton with fine folds and a patterned himation; her hair is neatly arranged

in a *kekryphalos*, crowned by an ivy wreath. Her crossed feet nearly touch the stool set in front of the couch, while she raises her right hand to receive the rhyton from her partner. The ivy crown of the woman, the possible remains of a thyrsos, along with the extravagant libation vase and the motif of a couple sharing a couch can all be associated with the iconography of Dionysos. For this reason I suggest the identification of the couple as Dionysos and Ariadne, and interpret the scene as a divine libation.⁴⁰

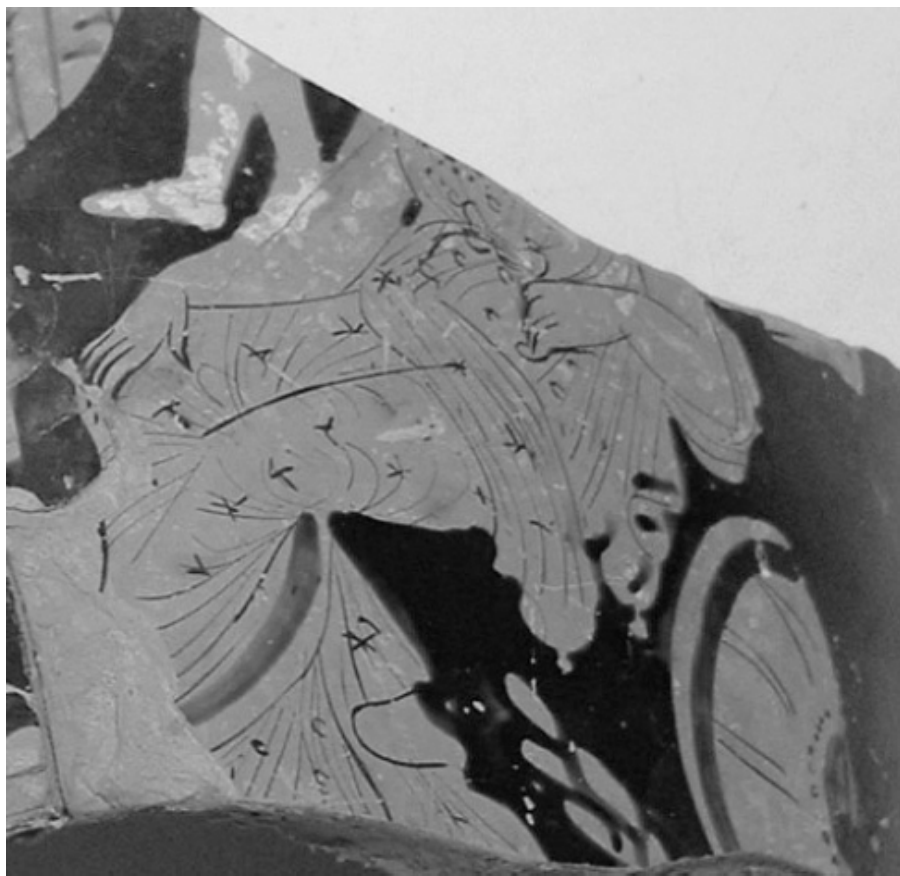


Fig. 7. Red-figure calyx-krater. Rhodes, Arch. Museum II 15768. Ca. 380–370 BC. Detail of Athena. Photo: Author.

The couple's intimate ceremonial moment is witnessed by another woman seated to the right of the couch (Fig. 7). The figure is preserved from the bust down, and she is dressed in a dotted chiton and a starry patterned mantle with a reddish/brown border. Lacking attributes and inscriptions, the first impulse is to identify her as a well-behaved maenad from the Dionysiac thiasos. However, a closer inspection of her garment reveals traces of what could be identified as

a *gorgoneion* decorating her chest, thereby suggesting an identification of the figure with Athena. This hypothesis is further enhanced by the large size of the figure, equal to that of Dionysos, as well as by the object leaning by her side behind an olive branch, which could be a shield instead of a *tympanon*. To the left and slightly overlapping Athena are the legs of a figure rendered in white, perhaps a flying Eros or Nike. The oddly-shaped traces by Athena's left shoulder may belong to the right foot of another figure now lost.

The scene on the Rhodes fragment remains a rare illustration of Athena joining Dionysos and his wife while the wedded couple libate.⁴¹ A similar, although much earlier composition decorates the psykter-krater by the Troilos Painter, which depicts Dionysos and Ariadne on a couch enjoying a banquet in the company of Herakles and Nike, while Athena in full armor sits at the end of the scene.⁴²

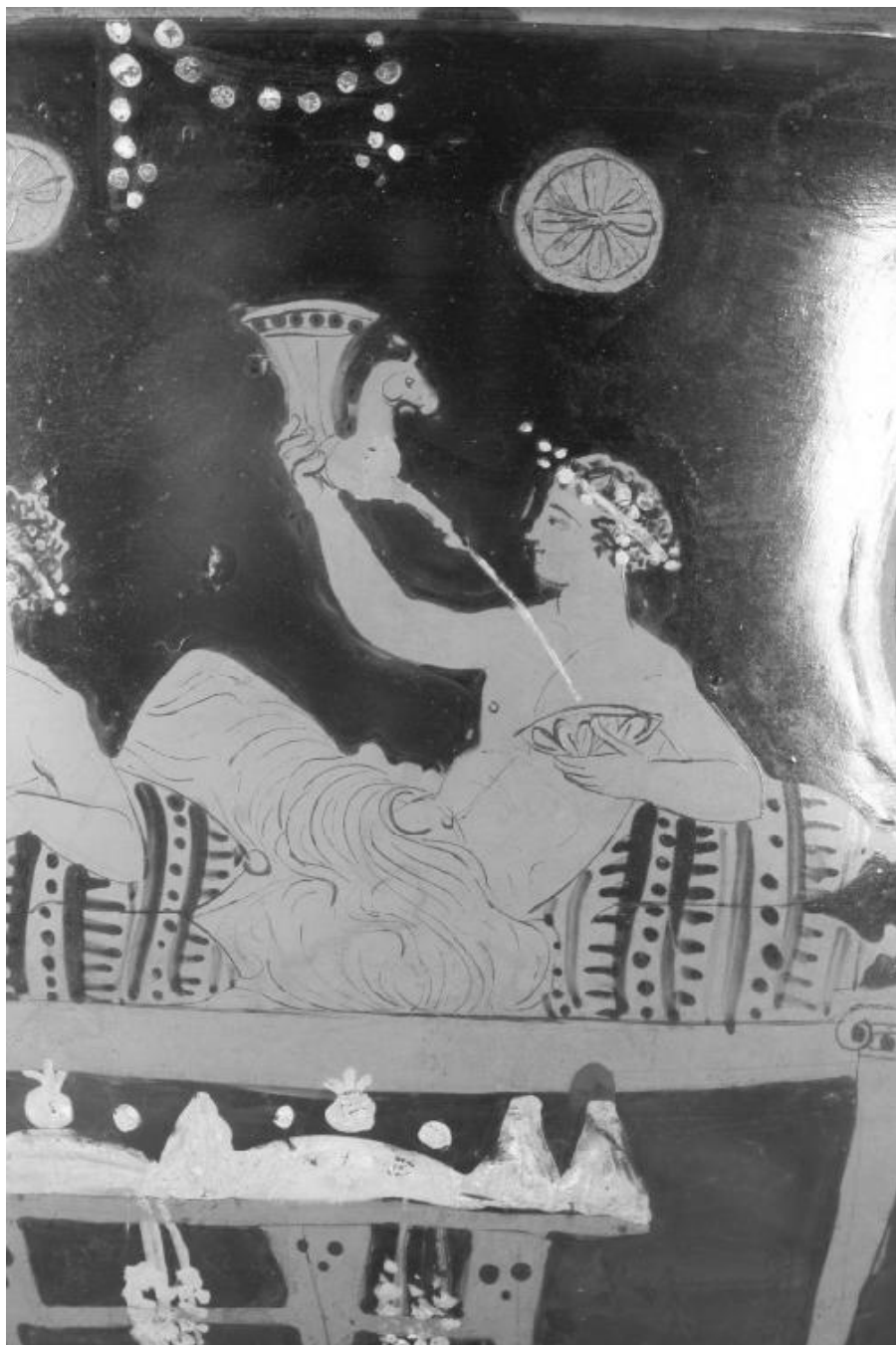


Fig. 8. Red-figure bell-krater attributed to the Philocleon Reverse Group. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 910. Early fourth century BC. Detail of symposium. Photo: Museum.

The motif of a shared couch occurs on both the Rhodes fragment and the krater by the Troilos Painter and follows a long tradition of

representations of Dionysos and his bride.⁴³ At the same time it raises the question of its relation to the *Totenmahlreliefs*, the funerary banquet popular on reliefs in the fourth century. The reliefs usually depict the deceased reclining while performing a libation and assisted by a female companion seated on the couch next to him.⁴⁴ The heroic status of the deceased is often implied by a rhyton.⁴⁵

The production of Attic clay rhyta inspired by oriental prototypes begins around 500 BC and reaches its peak with the workshop of Sotades, only to become popular again towards the end of the century with the so-called Persian Class rhyta.⁴⁶ In Attic vase-painting drinking horns are depicted in various sizes and held by both mythological figures and mortals, while illustrations of rhyta from the turn of the century and later, are extremely detailed and ornate. The red-figure krater attributed to the Philocleon Reverse Group is an instructive example of this tendency. It depicts four symposiasts on couches, the first of whom on the far right performs a libation by pouring liquid from a horse protome rhyton into a phiale (Fig. 8; Color Pl. 1B).⁴⁷

The rhyton on the Rhodes fragment is decorated with a bull protome, one of the favorite animals of Dionysos, and both its subject and ornamental qualities speak for metal prototypes similar to the ones found in contemporary Thrace and Achaemenid Persia. Both cultures were in contact with Athens from much earlier times, but this interaction culminated in the early fourth century with the intense interest of Athens in Thrace and the involvement of the Persian King in the political arena of the Greek city-states.

The Athenian desire to consolidate her presence in southern Thrace is demonstrated by the foundation of Amphipolis, and the alliances Athens made with and the honorary decrees she issued for members of the Odrysian royal family.⁴⁸ Apart from Herodotus's narrative, the most enlightening account of early fourth-century Thracians and their customs is Xenophon's *Anabasis*. During the long retreat of the remaining 10,000 hoplites, Xenophon and his men crossed the Bosporos and became mercenaries of the Thracian ruler Seuthes II, who aspired to the throne of the Odrysian kingdom.⁴⁹ Seuthes II considered the Athenians kinsmen and friends to the Thracians, a claim confirmed by the strong diplomatic relations between Thrace and Athens attested in epigraphical and literary sources.⁵⁰ During the same encounter, Xenophon experienced the local customs for banqueting and gives us a detailed description of how the Thracians sat in a circle, threw meat to their guests and drank wine from drinking horns,⁵¹ vessels that could not have differed much from the golden rhyton from the Panagyurishte treasure or the rhyta from Borovo.⁵² Thracian rhyta fall into two categories: vases in the shape of a long curved horn that terminates in an animal protome, usually a

horse, and small rhyta decorated with an animal head.⁵³ The rhyton held by Dionysos on the Rhodes krater clearly belongs to the first category.

The opulence of the Persian lifestyle along with the deep-rooted eastern tradition of banqueting was quite familiar to the Greeks in the early fourth century BC.⁵⁴ Even though our knowledge of Persian dining customs is limited, the scale and exoticism of the royal banquets is graphically described in the sources, stressing the use of precious metal vessels.⁵⁵ The political and historical circumstances that approximated the two cultures in geographical terms during the fifth and early fourth century affected significantly Athenian artistic production, as is evident in the copying of luxurious toreutic vessels by Athenian potters.⁵⁶

The close encounters of Athens with Thrace and Persia resulted in an influx of foreign iconographical elements and a fusion of banquet practices. Expensive metal vases of oriental style are described in literary sources and inventory lists. According to Margaret Miller, the Athenians used the word *protome* to describe compound vessels such as rhyta, and often they referred to them by the name of the animal head they were decorated with, e.g., *onos*, *tragelaphos*, etc.⁵⁷

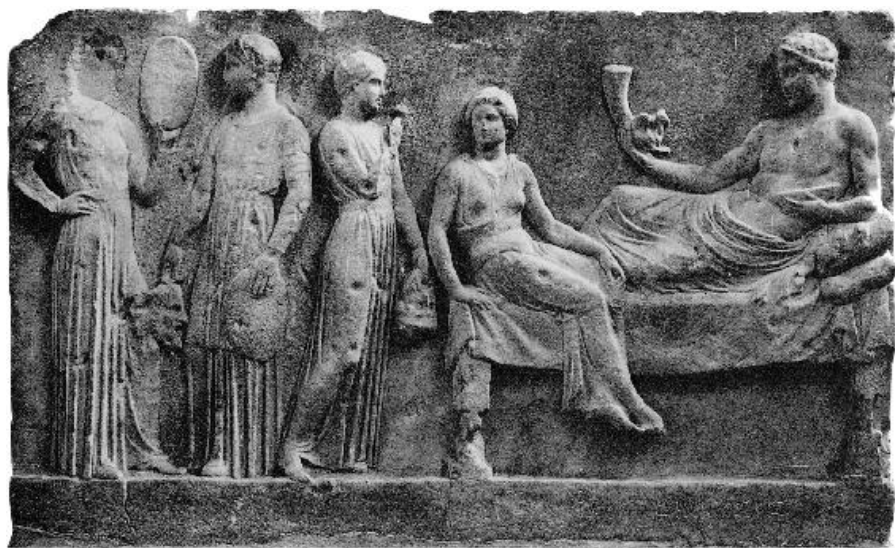


Fig. 9. The so-called Actors Relief. Athens, National Museum 1000. Ca. 400 BC. Photo: after N. Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens* (2002) 138, no. 264.

The so-called Actors' Relief from the Piraeus dated to around 400 BC provides a close iconographical parallel to the Rhodes krater (Fig. 9). It depicts a young man reclining on a couch about to perform a

libation by pouring from a horn-rhyton with two panther-protomes into the phiale he holds in his left hand. An inscription names him as Dionysos, but he has been also identified as a heroized poet. Equally confusing is the identity of the woman that shares his couch. From a later inscription naming this figure only the last three letters are now visible, -ΔΙΑ, which allows a variety of suggestions. On the left part of the relief, three actors complete the scene.⁵⁸

The libation scene on the Rhodes krater is similar to ceremonial banquets decorating reliefs from Asia Minor, the best example being the Satrap frieze of the Nereid Monument at Xanthos, an early fourth-century work renowned for bringing together Lycian, Persian and Greek elements. Erbinna, the local ruler, is shown reclining on a kline holding a rhyton decorated with a winged griffin in one hand and a small phiale in the other, a motif that stands very close to the reclining Dionysos on the Rhodes fragment.⁵⁹ The elevated status of the deceased is highlighted by the elaborate rhyton, recalling not so much a Greek symposiast but rather a downscaled image of the Persian King.⁶⁰

Located in the southeast corner of the Aegean, Rhodes was a crossroads of products and ideas between Greeks and the East. Although a member of the Athenian League, Rhodes oscillated between supporting Athens or Sparta in the last decades of the fifth century, reflecting the power struggle of its own political parties. The city of Rhodes was founded in 408 BC, and during the first half of the fourth century the *polis* was consumed by the turmoil of revolts and invasions. In 357 Mausolus of Halikarnassos conquered the island, and less than two decades later it submitted to Philip II.⁶¹

After examining the historical context in which the Rhodes krater was produced, it comes as no surprise that an Athenian vase-painter of the early fourth century chose to embellish the familiar scene of the Dionysiac couple by placing in the hands of Dionysos a highly elaborate rhyton. Such a scene appealed not only to Athenian taste, but it was also recognizable by the Rhodian clientele, long accustomed to Eastern, if not particularly Lycian practices. Dionysos enjoyed a festival in Rhodes,⁶² while a Dionysion is mentioned in the sources as near to the agora of the fourth-century city.⁶³ Since the context of this krater is unclear, we cannot speculate about its owner or his status.⁶⁴ We could infer, however, that no matter whether the Rhodes krater was a dedication in a sanctuary, a grave gift, or a household item, it uses the semantics of an elaborate banquet, a scene that in Eastern societies is symbolic of elevated status, to speak of both the power of Dionysos and its transmittance to its beholder.

The study of the Attic red-figure kraters from Paros and Rhodes helps to demonstrate some of the great variety of scenes in which

Dionysos participates. Whether or not these two kraters were inspired by Athenian projects, such as the renovation of the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleutherios, or by Eastern practices infiltrating the Greek lifestyle, as I have proposed, they do reflect without doubt in the most eloquent way the catalytic power of Dionysos and his diverse iconography.

Abbreviations

- Kauffmann-Samaras**, in N. Stampolides (ed.), Φώς Κυκλαδικόν. Τιμητικός τόμος στη μνήμη του Νίκου Ζαφειρόπουλου (1999) 284–294.
- Carpenter**, Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens (1997).
- Müller-Hansen** T.H. Nielsen, An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis. An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation (2004).
- Metzger**, Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle (1951).
- Miller** Miller, Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity (1997).

Notes

- I am indebted to Alan Shapiro and John Oakley for reading a draft of this paper and generously offering their comments.
- ²Paros, Arch. Mus. 3255, from Vitzi Parou; p.H. 14 cm, p.W. 31 cm. Kauffmann-Samaras 284–294.
- ³Ian McPhee places it broadly in Beazley's Plainer Group, ARV² 78 [cf. the Painters of London F64 and F1] (oral communication).
- ⁴Cf. Theseus held by Triton on the calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter, ca. 420 BC (ARV² 1184,6; Para 460; H.A. Shapiro, Myth into Art [1994] 123 fig. 86), and the skyphos by the Lewis Painter depicting two women and two youths (ARV² 972,2; Para 435; LIMC I [1981] 436 no. 1, s.v. Akamas and Demophon [U. Kron]).
- ⁵Kauffmann-Samaras 284–294. On the public festivals of Dionysos in Athens and the participation of men and women, especially around the end of the fifth century, see V. Paul-Zinserling, Der Jena-Maler und seiner Kreis (1994) 15f.
- ⁶E.g. the calyx-krater by the Clio Painter, the hydria by the Villa Giulia Painter, and a cup by Makron; see respectively LIMC III (1986) 481 no. 697; 480 no. 691; 482 no. 706, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri).
- ⁷I thank Dyfri Williams for suggesting the figure of Semele as an alternative interpretation for this fragmentary head.
- ⁸For a discussion of the late sources regarding the infancy of Dionysos and the character of the women accompanying the god both as a boy and an adult, see Carpenter 53–59. Also see Diod. Sic. 4.4.3, Dion. Hal. 7.72, and Nonnus, Dion. 9.12.
- ⁹Cleveland Mus. of Art 1982.142; J. Neils, BClevMus 70, 1983, 274–289.
- ¹⁰LIMC I (1981) 283–298, esp. 288f., s.v. Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos (U. Kron).
- ¹¹LIMC III (1986) 478 nos. 664. 666, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri).

- 12LIMC III (1986) 479–480 nos. 678–686, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri). On the iconography of Dionysos at Mt. Nysa and the Nymphs, see Metzger 106–110. On variations of his delivery, see Carpenter 55–59.
- 13Carpenter 54f. pls 19B. 20A; ARV² 593,41 and 460,20, respectively.
- 14LIMC II (1984) 997 no. 455, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); ARV² 1343,1; CVA Berkeley 1 48–49 pls 47–50; Metzger 102–106 pl. 8,1. A. Kauffmann-Samaras, *Ktema* 15, 1990, 193 pl. IV.12.
- 15LIMC II (1984) 997 no. 456, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); ARV² 1476,1; Para 496. When Henri Metzger first examined the Hermitage pelike (Metzger 103–106 pl. 8,3) he assigned to Athena the role of concealing the newborn Dionysos from Hera, while twenty-five years later he reiterated and explained her presence as a contamination from the representations of the birth of Erichthonios: H. Metzger, in: *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (1976) 300–303 fig. 5.
- 16Clem. Al. Protr. 2.15; Sch.Tzetz., ad Lycoph. 355; Lobeck 1829, 557. Also see the discussion by Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 5) 19–21.
- 17On their own or accompanied by a few other characters: LIMC III (1986) 428 no. 53; 466 nos. 500–508, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri) and LIMC II (1984) 982 no. 276, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).
- 18M. Padgett, in: J.A. Clark and J. Gaunt (eds), *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer* (2002) 249–266, esp. 258–266 pls 67f. interprets the scene as the apotheosis of Herakles, forming a counterpart to the celebration in honor of Dionysos on the opposite side. See also Carpenter 27 fig. 27B.
- 19LIMC III (1986) 464 no. 482; 465 no. 485; 466 no. 499; 483 no. 717, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri); LIMC II (1984) 1000 no. 491, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).
- 20I am indebted to Erika Simon for this observation. Pella, Arch. Mus. 80.514 (early fourth century); St. Petersburg, Hermitage KAB6a; P1872.130 (middle of the fourth century): J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases. Potters, Painters and Pictures* (2001) 104f. figs 139f.
- 21C. Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien. Légende et culte en Grèce antique* (1996) 325–327, esp. 326; 333–337 describes the procession of ephebes to the sanctuary of Athena Sciras and the significance of Dionysos for the city. See also E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary* (2002) 89–92. On the festival of Dionysos Liknitis at Delphi, see V. Lambrinoudakis, in: *Delphes: A. Jacquemin* (ed.), *Cent ans après la grande fouille. Essai de bilan. Actes du Colloque International organisé par l'École Française d'Athènes*, 17–20 septembre 1992 (2000) 25f.
- 22LIMC III (1986) 482 no. 706, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri). Carpenter 55 pl. 20A; ARV² 460,20.
- 23According to T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (1986) 99–102 pl. 27 the Siana cup by the Heidelberg Painter dated to 560 BC may also depict the introduction of Dionysos by Athena to Zeus, but this suggestion has not been generally accepted. See also H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (1989) 116 pl. 48c and Padgett (supra n. 18) 264 n. 77.
- 24LIMC III (1986) 478–482, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri). Carpenter 54 notes that the infancy of Dionysos appears in Attic vases in the first quarter of the fifth century, most of them clustering around the middle. The subject was later undertaken by Apulian and Lucanian painters, e.g. LIMC III (1986) 480 no. 684; 481 nos. 700, 705, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri).
- 25J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis: History, Mythology and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (1999) 217f.
- 26R. Krumeich, N. Pechstein and B. Seidensticker, *Das Griechische Satyrspiel* (1999) 250–258; F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele. Bilder griechischen Vasen* (1959) 53–55. 82

- nos. 175–177; Metzger 102. For late fifth- and fourth-century figurines of Silenus carrying Dionysos, see E. Reeder Williams, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 356–401, esp. 385 no. 24; T.B.L. Webster, *Hesperia* 29, 1960, 254–284, esp. 257.
- 27B. Cohen (ed.), *The Colors of Clay. Special Techniques in Athenian Vases* (2006) 232–234 fig. 67,1 with bibliography.
- 28For a discussion of Dionysos Eleutherios and the festival of Great Dionysia as a civic festival celebrating the liberation from tyranny, see K.A. Raufflaab, in: P. Flensted-Jensen, T. Heine Nielsen – L. Rubenstein (eds), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History Presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his Sixtieth Birthday, August 20, 2000* (2000) 255–260. On the festival, see Simon (supra n. 21) 101–104.
- 29Paus. 9.35.1–7 and 1.22.8. See also reliefs from the Acropolis, LIMC III (1986) 191–203, esp. 194–196, s.v. Charis/Charites (E.B. Harrison). H.A. Shapiro (ThesCRA II [2004] 303–306, s.v. Dance) comments on the similarities between the Charites and the Aglaurids in relation to their number, their cult on the Acropolis and their iconography, including an Archaic marble relief from Paros (305 no. 27).
- 30On the cult of Charites at Paros, see Apollod. Bibl. 3.15.7 and Callim. fr. Aet. 3–7.14. See also Hansen – Nielsen, 766 (G. Reger).
- 31Hurwit (supra n. 25) 41 (Paus. 1.22.3).
- 32LIMC III (1986) 191–203, esp. 192, s.v. Charis/Charites (E.B. Harrison). On the inscription and other testimonia, see IG II² 5029a; R.E. Wycherley, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Agora III* (1957) 59–61. See also A.E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 31, 1962, 238–243.
- 33Hansen – Nielsen, 764–768, s.v. Paros.
- 34Kauffmann-Samaras, 293 n. 75.
- 35On the introduction of the cult of Dionysos by Archilochos, see D. Clay, *Archilochos Heros. The Cult of Poets in the Greek Polis* (2004) 16–23.
- 36N. Kondoleon, *AEphem* 1952, 32–95, esp. 54–56.
- 37P. Zappeiropoulou, *Paros* (1998) 12–17. On Paros and the cult of Athena, see also D. Schilardi, *Pallas* 58, 2002, 229–249.
- 38From the last quarter of the fifth century Dionysos is predominantly perceived in connection with foreign cults and rituals of orgiastic and eschatological character: Carpenter 122f.; Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 5) 14–22.
- 39Rhodes, *Arch. Mus.* II 15768, mended from 30 sherds; p.H. 30 cm, p.Diam. 26 cm; G. Konstantinopoulos, *ADelt* 23, 1968, *Chronika*, 438f. pl. 404a. Ian McPhee suggests a date around the second quarter of the fourth century (oral communication), while Erika Simon places it around 400–390 BC (oral communication). On the city of Rhodes, see Strabo, *Geography* 14.2.5; J.D. Kontis, *AM* 73, 1958, 146–158; idem, *ADelt* 18, 1963, 76–94; G. Konstantinopoulos, *Αρχαία Ρόδος* (1986) 198–223; V. Gabrielsen, in: Fernsten-Jensten – Nielsen – Rubinstein (supra n. 28) 177–205; Hansen – Nielsen 1196–1210, s.v. Rhodes (T.H. Nielsen – V. Gabrielsen).
- 40Cf. the much earlier black-figure amphora in Boston, ca. 520 BC and the psykter-krater by the Troilos Painter, ca. 470 BC: T.H. Carpenter, in: O. Murray – M. Tecusan (eds), *In Vino Veritas* (1995) 159 figs 9 and 10 respectively.
- 41For mythological representations of Athena with Dionysos and Ariadne, see LIMC II (1984) 1000–1001 nos. 489–492, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).
- 42Supra n. 18.
- 43On the identity of the female companion of Dionysos, see Carpenter, 65–69 and idem (supra n. 40) 152–160. The story of Dionysos and Ariadne seems to have been very popular in late fifth-century Athens, judging from Xen. *Symp.* 9.1–3.
- 44For example, N. Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum*,

- Athens (2002) 136 no. 264 (IN 1501).
- 45H. Hoffmann, in: Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 4 (1989) 131f. 161–166. On the association of heroes with rhyta, see Ath. 9.4 (citing Chamaeleon on Drunkenness).
- 46On rhyta and plastic vases see K. Tüchelt, Tiergefäße in Kopf- und Protomengesalt. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte tierförmiger Giessgefäße (1962); H. Hoffmann, Attic Red-figured Rhyta (1962) 41–44. 47f.; S. Knudsen – K.T. Luckner, AW 22, 1991, 115–118, and recently M. True, in: Cohen (supra n. 27) 240–249 with updated bibliography.
- 47Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Mus. 910; ARV² 1442,1; BAdd² 378; CVA Vienna 3 33 pl. 133,3; 134,6.
- 48On the history of Thrace, see Z.H. Archibald, The Odrisian Kingdom of Thrace (1998); I. Venedikov, BMetrMus 35, 1977, 77f.
- 49A. Fol – K. Jordanov – K. Porozhanov – V. Fol (eds), Ancient Thrace (2000) 101–130, especially 115f. for an overview of Thracian kingdoms and policies.
- 50Fol et al. (supra n. 49) 222–225. See for example Thuc. 2.29.4–7; 2.67.1–4; Xen. Hell. 4.8.26–7), and epigraphic evidence, such as the fragmentary Athenian decree of a treaty between Athens and Seuthes (IG II² 21).
- 51Xen. An. 7.3.21–33.
- 52Venedikov (supra n. 48) 72–80; I. Marazov, Thracians and Wine (2000) 229–260, esp. 240f.
- 53I. Marazov, in: Pulpudeva. Semaines philippopolitaines de l'histoire et de la culture Thrace, 4–19 octobre 1974 (1976) 206–212; S. Ebbinghaus, in: G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), Ancient Greeks West and East (1999) 385–425.
- 54Hoffman (supra n. 45) 137–141. On Athens and Persia, see Miller.
- 55Miller 125–130.
- 56Miller 59–61. 141–147.
- 57Miller 143f. n. 57. See also H.H. Nieswandt, Boreas 20, 1997, 137–148, esp. 142 n. 34. A gemstone in the Cabinet des Médailles (P. Zazoff, Die antiken Gemmen. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft [1983] 148 n. 120 pl. 35,11) shows a centaur pouring a libation from a rhyton into a phiale and is thought to reproduce one of Zeuxis's famous paintings, contemporary with the Rhodes krater.
- 58Kaltsas (supra n. 44) 138 no. 264 (IN 1500) dates the relief around 410–400 BC and the inscriptions to the early third century. It is thought to have been dedicated to Dionysos after the performance of Euripides's *Bacchae*, while N.W. Slater, GrRomByzSt 26, 1985, 333–344 identifies the reclining figure as a hero, possibly Thespis, and the actors as members of an organized guild. See also Clay (supra n. 35) 40–47. 89–91.
- 59T. Robinson, in: G. Tsetskhladze (ed.), Ancient Greeks West and East (1999) 361–377; S. Ebbinghaus, in: G. Tsetskhladze, A. Prag and A. Snodgrass (eds), Periplous: Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman (2000) 99–109 discusses the use of rhyton as a status symbol and explores the historical character of the banquet.
- 60Ebbinghaus (supra n. 59) 105–107. Cf. the banquet scene on a sarcophagus from Golgoi from the second quarter of the fifth century BC: V. Tatton-Brown, in: Tsetskhladze – Prag – Snodgrass (supra n. 59) 339 fig. 2.
- 61Diod. Sic. 13.75.1; Konstantinopoulos (supra n. 39) 22–63. 94–113. 198–226; Hansen – Nielsen 1196–1210, s.v. Rhodes; Gabrielsen (supra n. 39); C. Torr, Rhodes in Ancient Times. Reprint of 1885 (2005) 7–14. 42–43.
- 62SEG 19.317 (325–300 BC), cf. to Diod. Sic. 20.84.3.
- 63Diod. Sic. 19.45.3–6. For the theater and the latest bibliography on excavations, see Hansen – Nielsen, 1196–1210, esp. 1207, s.v. Rhodes; Torr (supra n. 61) 87–

⁶⁴On fourth-century cemeteries on Rhodes, see Hansen – Nielsen 1196–1210, esp. 1208, s.v. Rhodes.

2 Attic Red-figure Pottery from Olympia

Martin Bentz

Since the beginning of excavations at Olympia the study of pottery has not played an important role, for much more attention has been paid to the bronzes that have been found there in great quantities than to the pottery. In 2000, however, there was a change, for the Laconian, Corinthian and Attic black-figure sherds from the excavations finally were published.¹ In addition to these fabrics, there are also different kinds of red-figure pottery that have been found at Olympia – mainly Attic and local Elean, but also a little South Italian, Corinthian and vases of other regional fabrics. In this brief survey just the Attic material will be presented, with the aim of encouraging this trend of interest in the pottery found at Olympia, as well as gaining a better understanding of the function of this class of painted ware in the sanctuary.²

The first fundamental observation is that there is not much Attic red-figure pottery in Olympia. Up to now there exist fragments of about 120 vases, of which only a small part has already been published.³ There are about the same number of Elean red-figure sherds.

Chronology

The Attic fragments range in date from the last decade of the sixth century until the beginning of the fourth century (Fig. 1). There are only very few Archaic red-figure vases, the main bulk being from the second and third quarters of the fifth century. Nearly nothing dates to the fourth century. This gap is filled by local Elean red-figure which starts in the second half of the fifth century.

One of the few Late Archaic pieces is a fragment of a calyx-krater with the lower part of the garment of a female figure which shows the typical stacked folds of the late sixth century (Fig. 2).⁴ There is also a large group of column-kraters, mostly from the Mannerist Workshop

of the second quarter of the fifth century. An example by the Leningrad Painter shows two komasts and a female; the komast leading the procession has an oinochoe in his right hand (Fig. 3).⁵ There is a good parallel in New York where the figures are identical; only the attributes differ.⁶

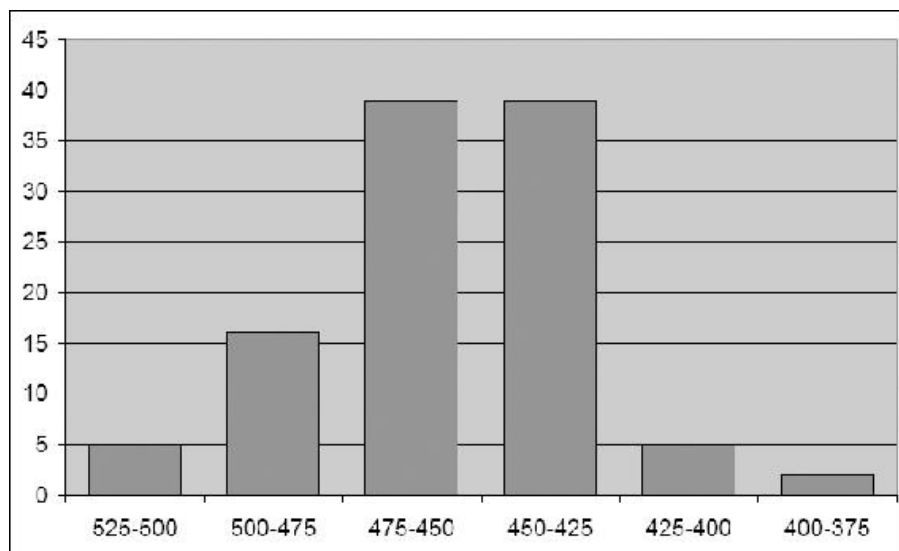


Fig. 1. Chronological distribution of Attic red-figure pottery from Olympia

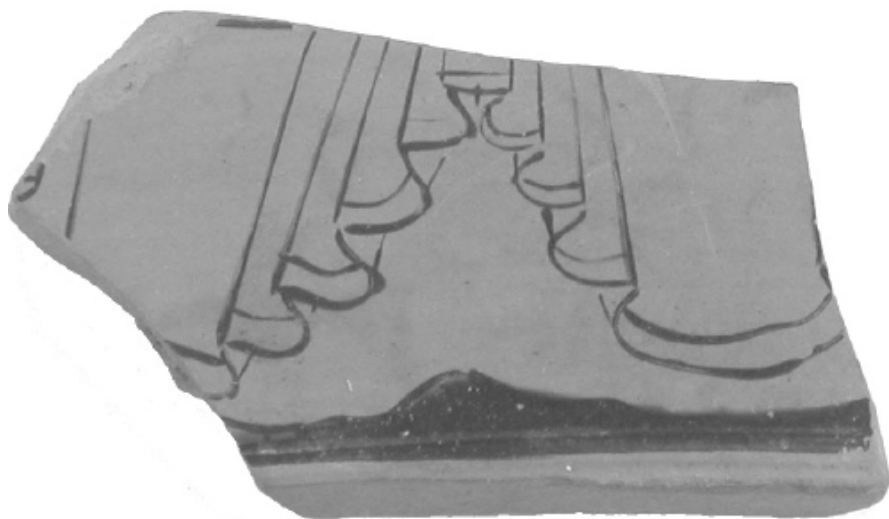


Fig. 2. Fragment of calyx-krater, from around 500 BC; Olympia, Inv. K 10281. Photo: Author.

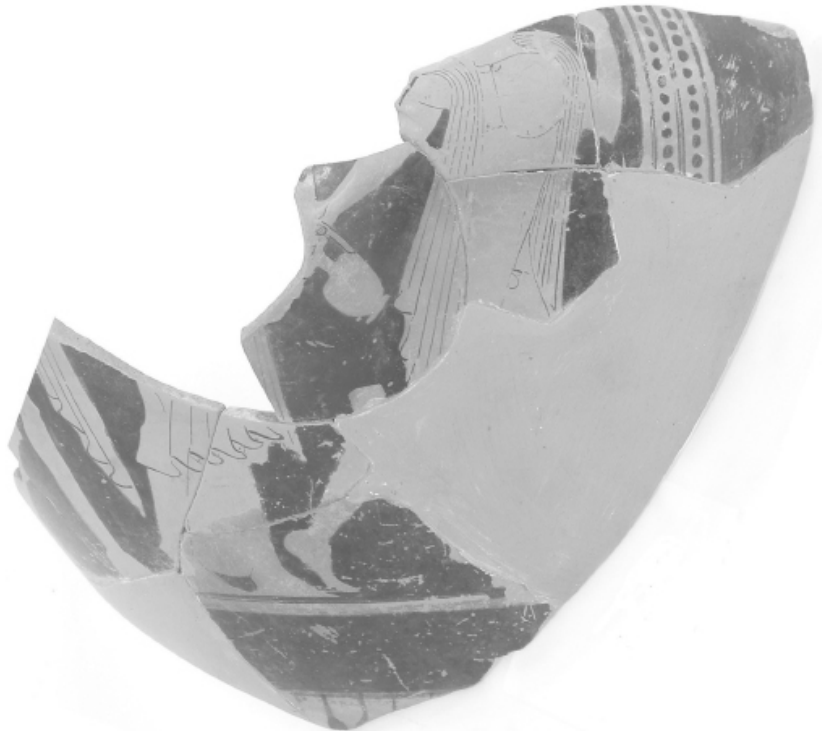


Fig. 3. Fragment of column-krater by the Leningrad Painter, 475–450 BC: Olympia, Inv. K 10265. Photo: Author.



Fig. 4. Rim of a calyx-krater by the Hector Painter, 450–425 BC: Olympia, Inv. K 10244. Photo: Author.

From the third quarter of the fifth century there is the well-known bell-krater showing Nike by the Kleophon Painter, which was found in Phidias's workshop,⁷ and several pots by other artists from the Polygnotan Group, such as a fragment of the rim of a calyx-krater that is perhaps by the Hector Painter (Fig. 4).⁸ One of the latest Attic red-

figure vases is the lid of a cylindrical, Type D pyxis (Fig. 5; Color Pl. 1C) belonging to the period around 400 BC. As frequently is the case, it has a letter inscribed on the underside.⁹

Shapes

Figure 6 shows the forms attested up to now. Exactly 50% are kraters, shown in white on the chart (mostly column-kraters, fewer calyx-kraters, bell-kraters and volute-kraters); about 15% are small drinking mugs indicated in light grey on the chart (skyphoi and oinochoai of type 8); and about 25% are lekythoi, both squat and cylindrical (in darker grey). The rest are forms attested only once. There is not one kylix, amphora or hydria.

Only very few special shapes or techniques can be found. There are two head vases: one aryballos in the form of a negro head and one double-headed vessel with female faces. Both date to the Late Archaic period.¹⁰ And there is one white-ground plate of Early Classical date showing an Amazon with her horse.¹¹

Images

This may be the most difficult aspect to fully understand, as the fragmentary state of the vessels often does not allow us to reconstruct and interpret the scenes that are depicted on the vases. The most frequent subjects are Dionysiac, and there are more than twenty examples, showing a thiasos, a symposium, or a komos; most are found on kraters. One might expect lots of athletic scenes in a place like Olympia, but there are only two certain examples. One is on the neck of a volute-krater and shows boxers or pankratiasts, and the other is on a small oinochoe with both a javelin- and a discus-thrower; both date to the Late Archaic period.¹² There is one fragment that may show an athletic victor being crowned, but only his head is preserved.¹³ Another fragment with a naked male body may represent an athlete.¹⁴ A fragment with a man holding a shield in front of a stele (or altar?) might be a runner in the race in armor or just a normal warrior.¹⁵

Other images are even less clear and might allude to athletic victory, although this does not seem very likely. For example, two depict a Nike who represents victory, but she, of course, is not shown only in athletic contexts; so also is the case of a flying Eros with a wreath in his hand. Since these images occur only on small lekythoi, which are also often found showing the same images when placed in graves, the scenes probably have a different meaning.

Very few pictures recall religious rituals in the sanctuary. Only one

scene on a mug depicts a sacrifice:¹⁶ a crowned priest stands holding an oinochoe with his right hand held over the altar and a *kanoun* in his left. Two more fragmentary altars occur on cylindrical lekythoi.¹⁷

Mythological scenes or pictures of gods are very rare as well. Twice Herakles is shown, twice Nike, once Athena, once Eros and once an Amazon. We have no god, myth or mythological figure which has anything to do with Olympia, like Zeus and Hera or Pelops and Oinomaos, or the like. Some depictions seem to belong to the 'male' world: for example, the youths on two skyphoi,¹⁸ and a warrior and a chariot on two column-kraters.

It seems evident then, that there is no specific type of image that was specially used in the sanctuary, but that every kind of vessel has the type of image which that shape normally employed. Thus, kraters have Dionysiac scenes, horses and other 'male' themes; the lekythoi have women, Nike, Eros or animals.



Fig. 5. Pyxis-lid with griffin, around 400 BC: Olympia, Inv. K 10257. Photo: Author.

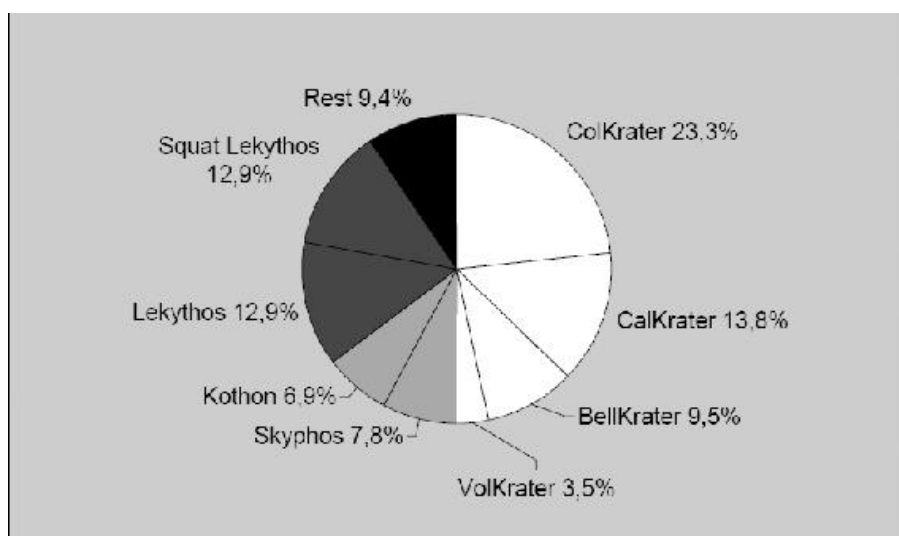


Fig. 6. Shapes of Attic red-figure pottery from Olympia.

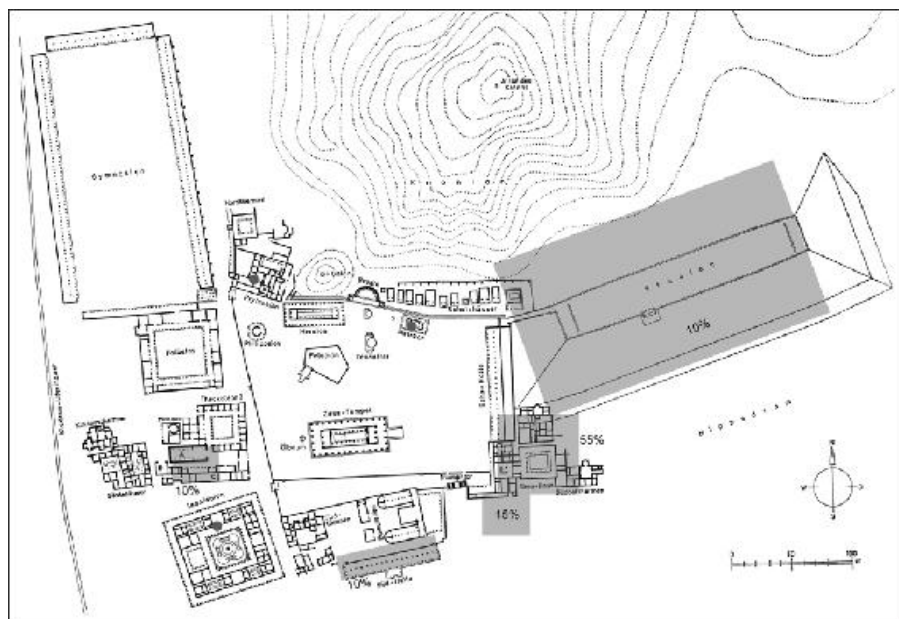


Fig. 7. Distribution of Attic red-figure pottery from Olympia.

Excavation context (Fig. 7)

It is interesting to consider if the findspots give us any hint for interpreting the function of the vases. There are only a few fragments that come from the inner sanctuary within the *temenos* wall: one small lekythos comes from the foundations of the Metroon and one fragment from the terrace of the Treasuries. One might think that the

excavators of the nineteenth century, who mainly worked in this central area of Olympia, did not care about ceramics, but we do know that they did collect any painted fragment they found. Indeed, there is quite a lot of black-figure preserved from the early excavations.

A dozen red-figure fragments came to light in the workshop of Phidias.¹⁹ Some of the better classical fragments were found in the chronologically homogeneous layer of the workshop debris, together with the moulds used for the work on the statue of Zeus, so that is quite probable that this material was brought and used here by Athenian workmen. Another dozen fragments come from the fillings of the slopes and pits of the stadium. Nothing can be said about their original location and use. Most of the red-figure sherds were found in the southern and eastern part of Olympia: a dozen from the South Stoa and most of the remaining material from the East Baths and the so-called South-east Zone. During the course of new building activities in Classical and Late Classical times, the whole area was levelled and filled with earth, stones and debris that came from all over the sanctuary. Unfortunately, we have no idea from where exactly it was brought. One hypothesis, which could only be proved with new research in this area, is that the Greek remains under the so-called House of Nero might have been a kind of public dining place, like the later Leonidaion in the west. This could well explain the concentration of pottery here. For the moment, however, this is pure speculation.

An original ritual context in this area is the black ash layer near the altar of Artemis, just south of the Roman Baths, where fragments of eight red-figure vases were found.²⁰ They must have been used during religious ceremonies.²¹

Use of the vases

To sum up what we have discussed so far, we can state that Attic red-figure is not very common at Olympia and that it occurs mainly in the fifty years between 475 to 425. There are mostly kraters (and this is even more evident with the local red-figure where kraters are not 50% but 80% of the whole material) and several lekythoi, skyphoi and mugs. The find spots give little hint to the use of the vases, and the vessels are found in only a few ritual contexts. The images show no particular relation to the sanctuary and its cults, and Dionysiac images are the most popular.



Figs 8–9. Detail of bell-kraters with ancient repairs: Olympia, Inv. K 10311 and K14364:
Photo: Author.

To the above, we can also add the following:

1. The quality of the material is average, not very good, but not as crude as the black-figure about which J.-J. Maffre said in his review: “*on est frappé par la médiocrité des pièces pour un lieu aussi prestigieux qu’Olympie*”.²²
2. There is not one votive inscription on either the black-figure or the red-figure vases, which, when compared to other sanctuaries, is very remarkable. The only two inscriptions are on red-figure drinking mugs, oinochoai of shape 8, and perhaps read ‘*demosion*’, indicating that they were public property; one of them shows a satyr. But since they are surely of Attic fabric and not local products, as for example the inscriptions on public measures from Olympia,²³ they might be part of a symposium-set given by the Athenian state to its officials who went to take part in the Olympic Games. Perhaps the owl skyphoi belong to this category of use also.
3. There is no oversize or undersize vase of the types often found in ritual contexts.
4. There are several ancient repairs, mostly in the handle zone of kraters, which probably are the result of the use of the vases (Figs 8–9).²⁴
5. The bottoms of the kraters preserve the typical scratches caused by bronze ladles, indicating that they were well-used.

The role of pottery in Greek sanctuaries varies greatly. In order to better understand how it was used, it is important to relate the different classes of vases at one site. In the case of Olympia we can state that luxurious ceramics never played a great role, and every class

of vases has its own rules. There is quite a lot of black-figure, more than five times as much as red-figure, but the black-figure is represented only by small shapes, mostly lekythoi, and no pots and very few cups; thus it was not used for symposia, but the oil and perfume in the lekythoi was primarily for personal use.²⁵

We have twice as much Corinthian as Attic red-figure. Half are drinking vessels and kotylai, and half aryballoi and other shapes containing oil, but there are only seven kraters out of 258 Corinthian vases. In general, the quality is very poor.²⁶

The Laconian vases are of better quality but not exceptional when compared to those found on Samos or other sites. Although Sparta is not very far from Olympia and dominated the games for a long time, we have fragments of only about 100 Laconian vases. Ninety percent of them are cups, part of which might have been used as votive offerings, since several have votive inscriptions.²⁷

All these fabrics were imitated locally more or less successfully. One type of ceramic that has not yet been published is Attic black gloss. It might be interesting to compare their forms to that of the painted wares and to the local imitations published by Jürgen Schilbach.²⁸

To facilitate our understanding of the use of painted, 'luxurious' vases in sanctuaries, I propose to distinguish four different categories of usage:

1. As a gift to the god which was not for general use but just displayed or deposited in the sanctuary.²⁹
2. For use during a religious ceremony.³⁰
3. For use during ritual meals.³¹
4. For the private, secular use of the visitors.

Vases of the first three categories may bear votive inscriptions, as they were used in the sanctuary during rituals and so belonged to the god or goddess. The last category is a new one, not discussed until now.

In my opinion, all the observations we have made so far lead us to the conclusion that most of the Attic figured vases from Olympia were not used as mere votive offerings. Nothing but the white-ground plate may belong to the first category. Probably parts of the vases found in the ash layer near the altar of Artemis were used in a ritual ceremony and may therefore belong to either category 2 or 3.

Olympia differs from other sanctuaries in that numerous foreign visitors came for a long stay during the Olympic Games and had to live nearby – mostly in the south towards the Alpheios – in tents or other temporary dwellings. When the religious and athletic program ended in the evening, secular celebrations took place outside the sanctuary. There were modest, private meals, official banquets by the representatives of the city states and enormous mass-celebrations like

that of Alkibiades who invited all visitors to his celebration after his victory in the chariot race in 416 BC. So maybe it is not by chance that most of the ceramics were found south and south-east of the *altis* and not inside.

Of course, it is not easy to distinguish between categories 3 and 4, ritual meals and 'private' meals, for which the kraters were brought from Athens to Olympia, but I would not call the dinner of an athlete's family in their tent, after having come to Olympia to support their son, a ritual meal. The best proof for the secular use of painted pottery is the well-published context of the Workshop of Pheidias. It is evident that the vases found there were used by the workmen privately and not in any kind of religious context. Why so many kraters and so few painted drinking vessels were used is not easy to explain. For drinking obviously black-gloss pottery like the famous Phidias-cup was preferred.³²

To conclude, painted pottery never played a great role in Olympia and was mostly used for secular and not for ritual or votive purposes. The only exception might be Laconian pottery.³³ Gifts to the gods in Olympia were mostly made of bronze and not of clay. The same situation seems to be found at Delphi from where not many vases are known. In other sanctuaries like those of Hera and Demeter, for example, the situation is quite different, where lots of vases are usually found; just compare to the Olympia material the finds from Eleusis presented in this volume by Michalis Tiverios which have lots of images related to cult. Is there a distinction between male and female deities, or are there local or regional peculiarities? But here is not the place to discuss this problem in detail.

I want to end with a question of a more general kind that arises from the Olympia material – what role did Athenian painted pottery play in Greece at all? If we look to archaeological research, there is a large number of studies – monographs, colloquia and articles – on the diffusion and meaning of Attic pottery in Etruria, the Black Sea area or in North Africa and in Spain, but we have no clear idea of Greece itself. It seems to me that there is relatively little Attic pottery, especially from the Peloponnese.

Notes

1J. Burrow – E. Kunze – J. Heiden, *Archaische Keramik aus Olympia*, OF 28 (2000).

2Thanks to the kind invitation of the former and the current directors of the German excavations at Olympia, Helmut Kyrieleis and Reinhard Senff, I started in 2006 to study the material. Friedrich-Wilhelm Hamdorf generously provided me with information about his previous research on part of this pottery. Jürgen Schilbach kindly shared his knowledge on Olympia and its finds with me, and Susanne Bocher provided much information and help during my stays at the

German excavation house.

- 3Mainly by W. Schiering, *Rotfigurig bemalte Keramik*, in: H. Mallwitz – W. Schiering, *Die Werkstatt des Phidias in Olympia*, OF 5 (1964) 248–266 pls 80–91; J. Schilbach, *Datierung der Schichten im Südostgebiet*, in: OIB 11 (1999) 75–79. In ARV² five vases are mentioned: 585,30; 588,78; 983,12; 1144,17; 1680,32bis.
- 4Inv. K 10281; for the dating compare an amphora by Euthymides in Munich and a slightly more elaborate figure by the Kleophrades Painter on his pointed amphora in Munich: R. Lullies, *Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit* (1953) figs 22–23; 36ff. There are two mugs, a form probably referred to in antiquity as a *kothon*, dating to the same period: Inv. K 10320 is published by Schiering (*supra* n. 3) 249f. no. 1 pl. 80; the other one (inv. K 10327) is by the same hand, the Painter of Berlin 2268.
- 5Inv. K 10265.
- 6New York, MMA 41.162.60: ARV² 567,6; CVA Hoppin and Gallatin Collections 1 pl. 23,3.
- 7Schiering (*supra* n. 3) 251–254 pls 82–83.
- 8Inv. K 10244, with a Dionysiac scene as is shown by an inscription naming Dionysos; similar ornament occurs on a hydria by the Hector Painter in Braunschweig CVA 1 pl. 27 and fig. on p. 31 with references.
- 9Inv. K 10257: B is inscribed on the underside. The use of an egg pattern as a ground line is infrequent and finds a parallel in Olynthos: Olynthus 13 pl. 89,68. The lid of a pyxis in Thasos also depicts a griffin, although it differs stylistically from that on the Olympia fragment: *Études Thasiennes* 7 (1960) pl. 50,78.
- 10Inv. T 576/577 and T 575.
- 11Inv. K 10266, mentioned by I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weißgrundige Keramik* (1983) 152 no. 8.
- 12Inv. K 2823/K 10278 and K 10279.
- 13Inv. 10322, Schiering (*supra* n. 3) 250 no. 2 pl. 80.
- 14Calyx-krater (?) inv. K 10280.
- 15Inv. K 10324.
- 16Inv. K 1890, Schilbach (*supra* n. 3) 75f. pl. 6,2.
- 17K 10261 with a bird on an altar; inv. 10302 with the rest of an altar.
- 18See the published example K 1895: Schilbach (*supra* n. 3) 75 pl. 6,1.
- 19Schiering (*supra* n. 3).
- 20The altar is marked with an “A” on the map. There are three red-figure *lekythoi*, three *skyphoi*, and two *kraters* (plus 2 Elean *kraters*).
- 21The whole context will be published by Joachim Heiden.
- 22J.-J. Maffre, REG 119, 2006, 242.
- 23J. Schilbach, *Maßbecher aus Olympia*, in: OIB 11 (1999) 323–356 pl. 77f.
- 24On ancient repairs and their meaning see M. Elston, *GettyMusJ* 18, 1990, 53–68; S. Pfisterer-Haas, in: M. Bentz (ed.), *Vasenforschung und Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Standortbestimmung und Perspektiven*, Beihefte zum CVA Deutschland 1 (2002) 51–57; R. Dooijes – O. Nieuwenhuys, in: M. Bentz – U. Kästner (Hrsg.), *Konservieren oder Restaurieren. Zur Restaurierung griechischer Vasen von der Antike bis heute*, Beihefte zum CVA Deutschland 3 (2007) 15–20; A. Schöne-Denkinger, in: *ibidem* 21–28; G. Nadalini, in: *ibidem* 29–34.
- 25J. Burow, in: *Archaische Keramik aus Olympia*, OF 28 (2000) 199–303.
- 26J. Heiden, in: *Archaische Keramik aus Olympia*, OF 28 (2000) 167–197.
- 27E. Kunze, in: *Archaische Keramik aus Olympia*, OF 28 (2000) 1–165.
- 28J. Schilbach, *Elische Keramik des 5. und 4. Jhs.*, OF 23 (1995).
- 29To this category belong, for example, under- or oversize vases or those made in a special technique, like white-ground plates.
- 30Vases for libation or making other offerings at the altar, or holding anything used

during religious ceremonies, as well as prizes, such as Panathenaic prize amphorae, are in one sense examples of ritual use, since the games are part of a religious festival.

31 This is the most common category, as ritual dining was one of the main activities in most sanctuaries; see, for example N. Bookidis, in: R. Hägg – N. Marinatos (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries. New Approaches* (1993), and other works by the author on the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth; U. Kron, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988); M.S. Goldstein, *The Setting of the Ritual Meal in Greek Sanctuaries 600–300 B.C.* (1986), to cite just a few references.

32 During the conference the question of the authenticity of the Phidias mug was discussed. For the inscription, see W. Schiering, *OF V* (1964) 151. 169–182 no. 1 fig. 45 pl. 64; most recently W.D. Heilmeyer, in: *Die griechische Klassik. Idee oder Wirklichkeit* (2002) 509f. with references. Some years ago N. Himmelfmann, *Mit unruhiger Hand*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 16.01.2002, p. N 3, expressed doubts because of the different sizes of the letters on the fragments. But this is not convincing as these free-hand inscriptions always have irregularities. Recently E. Greco, *Notiziario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene* 6/2, 2007, 1, seems to resolve the discussion saying that “...avendo ...l'autore dello scherzo, poco prima di morire, confessato di avere graffito l'iscrizione”. But this is simply not true – there exists no such ‘confession’. And it is absolutely not correct to publish such a ‘rumour’ without verifying it.

Up to now there is no good argument about its lack of authenticity. To believe that the find is too coincidental is not sufficient reason. The fact is that it comes from a well-documented excavation and that this kind of graffiti occurs very often at Olympia and elsewhere. There are no grammatical or epigraphical peculiarities. Furthermore, the remains in the incised lines on it have been analysed with scientific methods and shown to be ancient – this cannot be ignored. The observations by W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Antike Werkstättenfunde in Griechenland*, *AA* 1981, 447f. are still decisive: “Untersuchungen mit dem Stereomikroskop zeigten, daß mehrfach, besonders im Bereich des zweiten E ein grauweißer Belag sowohl auf der Glanztonschicht als auch in der Tiefe der Ritzung noch vorhanden ist: Sinter, der nur durch die Bodenlagerung entstanden sein kann und an anderen Stellen durch die mechanische Reinigung entfernt ist. Außerdem ist der in Richtung des Bruchs liegende Teil des O eindeutig mit diesem zusammen verschliffen, und zwar in einer Weise, die ein nachträgliches Einkratzen des Buchstabens ausschließt. Hier und da geäußerte Zweifel an der Authentizität des Graffitos sind damit gegenstandslos”.

33 E. Kunze-Götte (supra n. 27) 8 n. 8: “Die bemalten lakonischen Schalen können in Olympia kaum etwas anderes gewesen sein als Weihgeschenke, ... was man von den kleinen Gefäßen aus Korinth und Athen ... sicher nicht sagen kann.” J. Heiden (supra n. 26) 176: „Die korinthischen Stücke sind eher zufällig von den Besuchern, den Athleten und den im Heiligtum beschäftigten Handwerkern für ihren persönlichen Gebrauch mitgebracht worden.“ J. Burrow (supra n. 25) 204: „... wird man bei den meisten späteren Stücken ... eher an bessere Gebrauchsware denken, die entweder von den Besuchern mitgebracht oder von Händlern in Olympia verkauft wurde.“

3 Spruce, Pine, or Fir – Which did Sinis Prefer?

Elke and Hans-Joachim Böhr

The cup Munich 8771 by the Elpinikos-Painter¹ depicting the encounter between Theseus and Sinis (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 5B), was what triggered us to take a closer look at trees in Greece, especially coniferous trees in vase-painting.

On his way from Troizen to Athens Theseus had to fight with several brigands. The second bandit was Sinis² who had overwhelming strength and lived at the Isthmus near Corinth. In literary sources Sinis is called *πιτυοκάμπτης*³ (“pine-bender”), because he killed his victims by using a trick with the bent branches of a coniferous tree. In all probability Sinis challenged passing travellers to a trial of strength which involved bending the pine together with him. Then he either bound them to the tree or, unexpectedly, let the bough rebound up. The victim was thrown into the air and killed when he tumbled back down. According to Diodorus⁴ and Pausanias,⁵ Sinis bound his victims to the branches not of a single tree but of two trees that had been pulled down, and the victims were torn apart when the boughs sprang back up. This cruel form of death is not represented in Greek art, but it is known from Christian times: e.g. Holy Corona was fated to this martyrdom.⁶



Fig. 1. Cup, Munich 8771. Theseus, Sinis and the pine. Photo: Museum (R. Kühling).

Greek literary sources rarely distinguish between species of coniferous trees, and the words πίτυς⁷ and πεύκη⁸ are often used as synonyms. Even Theophrastus (Hist. Pl.) elucidates only some aspects of coniferous trees, namely of pines (πίτυς, πεύκη), fir (έλάτη), and cypress (κυπάρισσος).⁹ But a real jungle of denominations of conifers is to be found in translations of ancient texts. Nicholas Mirov, the author of the fundamental publication on “The Genus Pinus”,¹⁰ states: “In translations of the Classics by European scholars of Greek, names of pines and related conifers are often hopelessly confused”. This is not a very encouraging starting point for looking at coniferous trees in Greek art!

In some German treatises Sinis is called “der Fichtenbeuger”¹¹ (“spruce-bender”), but the spruce is not found in Greece, except in the remote northern region of the Rhodopi Mountains.¹² Thus, Sinis’s tree could not have been a spruce. This species is easily identified by its short needles and hanging cones (Fig. 10.5). We are familiar with the

spruce as Christmas trees. In English Sinis is called “pine-bender” (“Kiefernbeuger”), and this is correct. The genus *Pinus*¹³ with long needles still includes some of the most common conifer-species in Greece nowadays, and among these is Sinis’s tree, the coastal pine (*Pinus halepensis*, Aleppokiefer) (Fig. 2).¹⁴

Sinis, the Pine-bender

There are basically four different versions of the Sinis episode.¹⁵



- 1)The encounter: as, e.g., on a skyphos by the Euaion Painter in Berlin¹⁶ with Sinis sitting on a rock under his big tree awaiting Theseus.
- 2)The contest in which Theseus bends the pine as well: as, e.g., on a column-krater formerly in the Hope-collection.¹⁷
- 3)Theseus killing Sinis with a weapon (axe, club or sword): as, e.g., on a column-krater in Ferrara.¹⁸
- 4)Theseus about to kill Sinis by applying the brigand's own method: as on the famous cup in Munich (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 5B).¹⁹

Because the cup in Munich depicts the earliest red-figured and one of the most impressive depictions of Theseus's encounter with Sinis, it is worth examining more closely. Martha Ohly-Dumm has published this small Type C cup in a detailed study,²⁰ and Dyfri Williams has convincingly argued for the Elpinikos Painter as being the second phase of Apollodoros.²¹ The painter does not show the slaying itself, but the impending fate of the bandit and Theseus's ability to vanquish him. The tense composition elucidates the strong feat of strength between the two men, with their bodies diagonally drifting apart and shown in frontal view. As in almost all Attic depictions Sinis is nude and bearded, but on this cup his muscular body shows hair on his arms, legs and breast to stress his wild nature. A terrifying figure with open mouth and wide eyes, he stares at Theseus and grasps a stone, but in vain. The youthful Theseus seems to be immune against such a weapon; his appearance as an athletic youth contrasts with that of Sinis, and he uses his magic power to pull down a long bough of Sinis's tree to seal his adversary's fate. The painter has paid special attention to the tree: it forms not only the central axis of the picture, but it also spreads its flexible branches extensively over Theseus and Sinis, and is characterized as a coniferous tree with rugged scaly bark. The needles are even incised!



Fig. 3. Amphora, Vatican 16589. *Europa mourns for Sarpedon*. Photo: after Simon 1976, pl. 77.

The question as to “how red-figure vase-painters depicted trees” is closely connected with their interest and awareness of nature and landscape in general.²² Mainly in the first generation of red-figure painting there is a tendency to give even floral ornaments a certain plant quality, showing opening buds and blooming flowers.²³ But nature is normally reduced to the depiction of single elements. Woods are represented by single trees. We do not find depictions of forests. The well-known black-figure amphora by the Painter of the Vatican Mourner (Fig. 3)²⁴ is an exception. It is the only vase-painting which gives an impression of a realistic landscape with four trees, two plane-trees and two coniferous trees. The dead hero, whose weapons lean against the trees on the left, lies on a pile of twigs which seem to have been cut off from the small trees on the far right. The two handsome coniferous trees, with symmetrically depicted branches curving upwards on each side, are obviously firs (*Abies*, Tannen) (Fig. 4; 10.1). Erika Simon²⁵ identifies the scene as Europa mourning her dead son Sarpedon – the common interpretation is Eos mourning Memnon – and she emphasizes the impact of these trees as they stress the loneliness of the mother in her grief, for no other mourners are present. This loneliness is illustrated by the vase-painter, as he knew that firs only grow high up in the mountains.²⁶

The unique use of landscape elements – rocks but mainly trees – in

the consecutive compositions of the circle of Theseus's deeds has been stressed by Jenifer Neils.²⁷ They serve not only to separate the single adventures but also to emphasize the specific sites where the encounters took place. As the exploit with Sinis became the most popular of the youthful deeds of Theseus, we can observe how the pine was depicted in Attic vase-painting mainly in the fifth century.



Fig. 4. Abies cephalonica (Greek Fir / Apollotanne). Photo: U. M. Lang.

On a cup by Douris in London²⁸ Sinis tries to escape, but Theseus restrains him by grasping his wrist tightly. A small tree is added on which his cloak and pilos hang. The pine on the other hand is painted differently. Its bark is characterized by rhomboid scales, its trunk grows far higher than the rim of the cup, and the boughs which Theseus pulls down are bordered with red needles. If one were to look at these branches separately, it would be difficult to distinguish the leaves from those of a deciduous tree. The same can be said of the tree on a cup by the Dokimasia Painter in Florence (Fig. 5)²⁹ on which Theseus grabs Sinis's left shoulder and attacks him with an axe. Sinis clings to the tree which grows between the handle roots. The tree has been regarded as a fruit-tree, the oval red elements identified as fruits,³⁰ but the painter had of course the cones of Sinis's coniferous tree in mind.

On a kantharos by the Penthesilea Painter in Munich (Fig. 6; Color Pl. 5A).³¹ Sinis challenges Theseus to a contest. Theseus rigorously pulls down the tree and looks at Sinis. The brigand is obviously perplexed that Theseus is not thrown up by the bough but capable of holding onto it. The painter depicted the tree without any branches and concentrated purely on its flexibility. On the other hand, he characterized the coniferous tree with its scaly bark and strikingly long pine-needles.

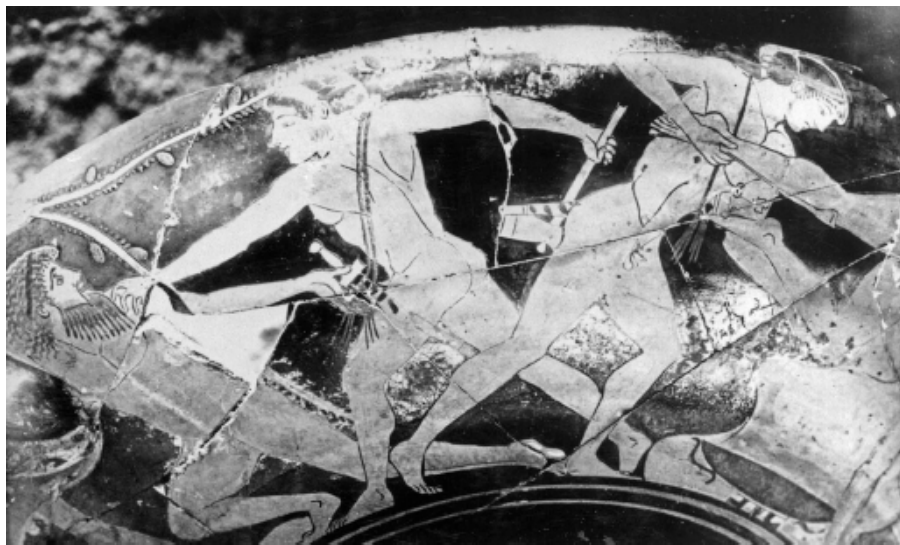


Fig. 5. Cup, Florence 70800. Sinis's pine with cones. Photo: after CVA Florence 3 pl. 98,2.



Fig. 6. Kantharos, Munich 2565. Theseus pulls the pine down. Photo: Museum (R. Kühling).

On later vases Sinis's pine becomes barer and barer. On a bell-krater by the Hephaistos Painter in Madrid,³² where Theseus attacks Sinis with his sword, again the flexibility of the tree is of specific interest to the vase-painter. The scaly bark is marked by small hooks, but the tree is bare, except for the strange bulb at the top. This is probably not a cone. The Hephaistos Painter could have had in mind the typical appearance of pines, which having lost all their needles that are older than two or three years, have a cluster at the top of their branches. A good illustration of this peculiar feature of pines is preserved on a Campana-relief in Paris.³³ Theseus grabs the rough beard of the brigand and swings his club against him, while Sinis stands tied to his tree, which is bare except for the newest clusters of needles at the end of the bough.

On vases depicting the cycle of deeds Theseus mostly punishes Sinis with the latter's own method as pine-bender, thus stressing the physical, mental, and civilizing strength of the Athenians' ideal hero. On a "double cycle cup" by the Phiale-Painter at Harrow-on-the Hill,³⁴ Theseus's deeds are not only depicted on the outside but in a ring around the tondo as well. In this balanced composition the tree is almost graphically depicted with its slim branches extending along the rim of the cup. No details are marked to characterize the coniferous tree, but an ancient Greek would have known what it was supposed to

be – a pine.

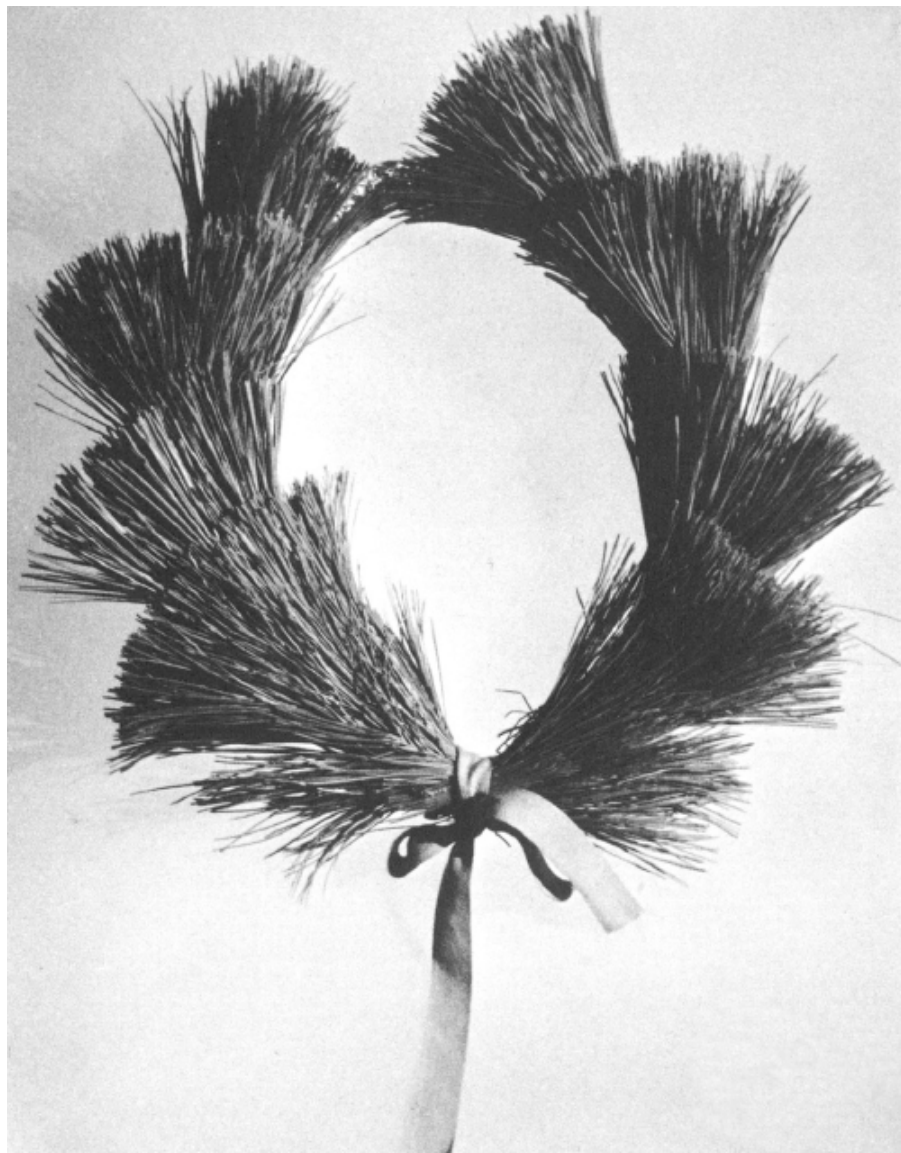


Fig. 7. The Isthmian prize: wreath of Coastal Pine. Photo: after Broneer 1962, pl. 68.

Pine-wreaths at the Isthmian Games

According to Bacchylides,³⁵ Sinis was the son of Poseidon, and some vase-painters may have had his divine descent in mind when they depicted Sinis with a fillet in his wild hair. Indeed the Marmor Parium³⁶ credits Theseus with founding the Isthmian games in honor of his defeat of Sinis. Other sources, ³⁷ however, inform us differently,

such as Plutarch³⁸ who tells us that Theseus founded the games in honour of Poseidon; still others say that he did not actually found them, but reorganized the existing games which were part of an old hero cult of Melikertes/Palaimon.³⁹ The pine plays an important part in the story of Melikertes. As a child he had to flee with his mother Ino/Leukothea, and they jumped into the sea. His dead body was brought by a dolphin to the Isthmus of Corinth, where his corpse was laid on a pile of pine branches. According to other sources he was buried (now named Palaimon) under a pine by Sisyphos who founded the Isthmian games in his honour.⁴⁰

The tree of Sinis and of Melikertes/Palaimon was the coastal pine, an indigenous coniferous tree in the region of the Isthmus, and the Isthmian victory wreath was made of this species of pine (Fig. 7; 10,2).⁴¹ Later, wild celery rather than pine was used to make the wreaths. Pindar⁴² mentions only celery wreaths for the Isthmian games which corresponds to the Nemean victory-wreath. Later, however, pine wreaths were reintroduced for the Isthmian Games, and they appear on an Attic relief in New York⁴³ where they are made of the tops of pine-twigs with small young cones.

Pausanias (2.1.7) entering the Isthmian *temenos* of Poseidon describes on one side the statues of victorious athletes and on the other side “pines planted in a line” and emphasizes their straight growth. It is one of the rare examples in which Pausanias mentions a kind of tree: *πιτύων δένδρα*.⁴⁴ These are clearly coastal pines that have been cultivated in a well-cared row of trees in the sanctuary – the same pine-species from which the Isthmian victory wreaths were made.

Cypress

Traces of cultivated coniferous trees have been found in some sanctuaries.⁴⁵ In the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea⁴⁶ pits for planting trees can be dated from the fifth century BC onwards, and the analysis of organic material indicates that the trees were probably cypresses (*κυπάρισσος*, *Cupressus sempervirens*, Zypresse).⁴⁷ Pausanias describes a grove of cypress trees around the Nemean temple (2. 15. 2: *κυπαρίσσων ἄλσος*), and because these conifers can live very long, the excavators assume that he might have seen the trees which were planted around the temple rebuilt in the fourth century.⁴⁸

The cypress is already known from Homer⁴⁹ as a coniferous tree which provides good timber. There are two forms of this species: the wild and the cultivated cypress. The latter typically has a columnar form (Fig. 10, 5 A.B), and this type of tree was commonly planted in special precincts like sanctuaries and cemeteries, but the extent of its

distribution is not known. In Attic vase-painting the cypress was not depicted as far as we know, as it is not bound to a specific mythological figure in Archaic and Classical times. The story of Kyparissos,⁵⁰ the beautiful beloved of Apollo, who was transformed into a cypress, is not known to have existed before the time of Ovid and Pompeian wall-paintings.

Stone Pine

Stone pines (*Pinus pinea*, Pinie / Schirmkiefer) with their characteristic umbrella-shaped crown (Fig. 10, 4)⁵¹ have been cultivated since antiquity, but it is difficult to determine where they were indigenous. The stands of stone pine in the dune habitats of the northwest Peloponnese in the nature reserve called “*Strophilia*”⁵² probably represent one area of its natural distribution.

We did not find any depiction of stone pine in Attic vase-painting from the sixth to the fourth centuries, but it became prominent in later literary sources and art in two stories. The nymph Pitys⁵³ who was beloved and pursued by Pan – in another version by Boreas as well – was transformed into a stone pine. The other mythological figure is Attis,⁵⁴ the Phrygian son or beloved of Cybele, who castrated himself under a stone pine. Cones of stone pine were used as grave gifts and votive offerings, and there are copies of them in terracotta and glass as well. They were symbols of fertility, and sculptured cones with their typical broad, round form later became a widespread symbol of immortality on graves.⁵⁵ This is understandable, as cones of stone pine are rich in seeds, and they are the only seeds of Mediterranean conifers which are edible.

Coniferous Trees for Ship-building

Plato has a short, elucidating text on trees, especially conifers, in his late work *Nomoi* (705 c). Three men discussing the laws for a model city speak about the location of a new colony. The Athenian asks: “How is the district off for timber for ship-building?” And the Cretan answers: “Here is no fir (ἐλάτη, Tanne)⁵⁶ to speak of, nor mountain pine (πεύκη, *Pinus nigra*, Schwarzkiefer),⁵⁷ and but little cypress (κυπάρισσος, Zypresse); nor could one find coastal pine (πίτυς, *Pinus halepensis*, Aleppokiefer)⁵⁸ or plane (πλάτανος, Platane) which shipwrights are always obliged to use for the interior fittings of ships.”

This text shows that the Greeks’ main concern in distinguishing the species of trees was their practical use. The fir (ἐλάτη, Tanne) is a mountain tree and provides long logs,⁵⁹ therefore, it was used for masts⁶⁰ and for oars as well.⁶¹ If one takes a closer look at the inner

part of a fir tree, one understands why fir timber was preferred for warships. The fir does not produce heavy and dense heartwood (Kernholz) and only little resin (it has no resin ducts / Harzgänge).⁶² As a result, ships made of fir-wood are light and easy to steer – and this is not only important for warships but for pirate ships as well. On a black-figure cup in London⁶³ (Fig. 8) the pirate ship on the right is about to grapple a merchantman. The latter is larger and rounder and probably made of pine (Kiefer). Its timber has heartwood and is rich in resin, which means that ships of pine-wood are more durable but heavier and less easy to steer. They also do not decay quickly and are resistant to insect- and fungus-infestation. This leads us to another use of coniferous trees.

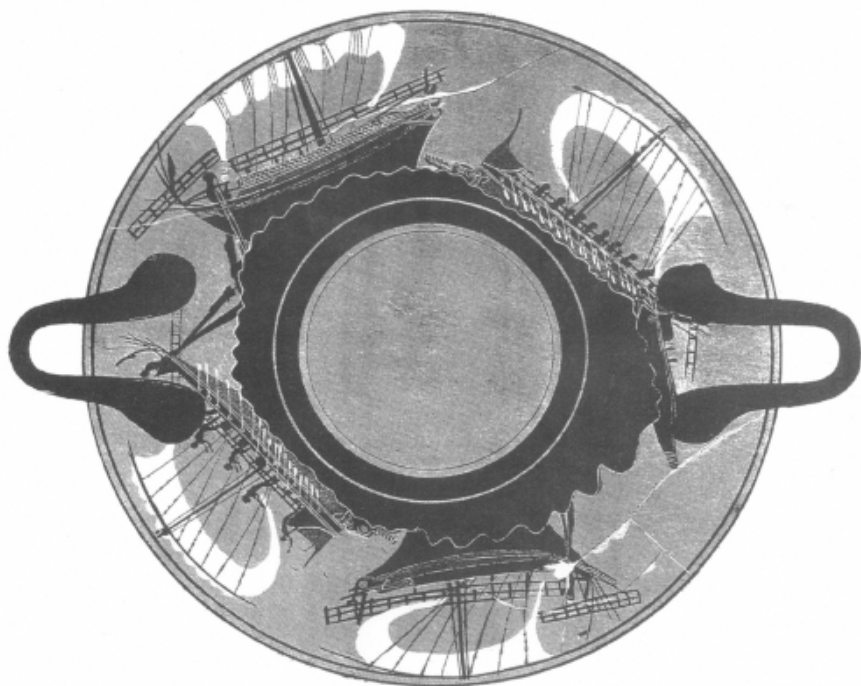


Fig. 8. Cup, London GR 1867.5.-8.963. Merchantmen and lighter pirate ships. Photo: after F.J.A.M. Meijer, in: H.A.G. Brijder et al. (eds), *Varen, Vechten en Verdienen. Scheepvaart in de Oudheid* (1995) 21 fig. 31.

Pitch and Resin

In addition to providing timber for building ships, houses and furniture, as well as for firewood, charcoal and torches, conifers also produce pitch (πίττα, Pech) and resin (ῥητίνη, Harz).⁶⁴ Pitch served to make ships seaworthy by sealing the joins between the boards.⁶⁵ Roofs and doors of temples were also coated with pitch to make them

weatherproof.⁶⁶ Pitch and resin were also important for wine and the wine trade.⁶⁷ The containers for harvesting, storage, and trade were coated with pitch. Resin could also be added to wine in order to enhance the flavour and to preserve it.⁶⁸

Firs and Centaurs

Of all Greek mythological creatures the centaurs⁶⁹ are most closely associated with fir (ἐλάτη, *Abies*, Tanne),⁷⁰ because they live in the wilderness high up in the mountains. Homer called them φῆρες ὀρεσκῶτες⁷¹ (“animal-like creatures of the mountains”). The name of Kaineus’s father actually was Elatos.⁷² In vase-painting the centaurs’ weapons are usually stones or trees, as on a white-ground lekythos by the Athena Painter in Urbana-Champaign (Fig. 9).⁷³ The trees have the typical appearance of firs with symmetrical branches on either side.⁷⁴ On a stamnos in the Louvre⁷⁵ the Kleophrades-Painter equipped the centaurs with huge fir trees and depicted the conifers’ needles in an amazingly simple and terse way by painting just parallel lines that extend across the branches and beyond on each sides. On a stamnos by the Berlin Painter in Munich⁷⁶ the dignified figure of Cheiron is carrying a handsome fir tree. This fir, of course, is not Cheiron’s weapon, but being a civilized centaur he holds the fir like a sceptre.

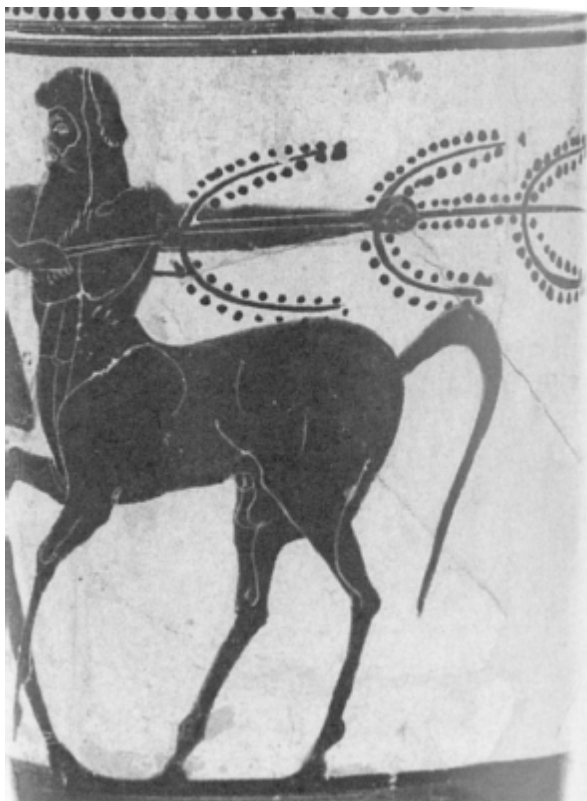


Fig. 9. *Lekythos*, Urbana-Champaign, Krannert Art Museum K 72-13-1. Centaur with fir.
Photo: after LIMC VIII (1997) pl. 424,164.

1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Abies cephalonica</i>	No 2, 3, 4 three different species of the genus <i>Pinus</i> = pine / fir			<i>Cupressus sempervirens</i>	<i>Picea excelsa</i>
Σάμιον	σπάιν, πίττα			κυπάριδος, κυπάριτος	πάι ή παύλη ή σπρούς
Greek Fir	Coastal Pine = Aleppo Pine	Mountain Pine = Black Pine	Stone Pine = Umbrella Pine	Cypress	Spruce
Απολοβάνη	Αλεπρινιέ	Schwarzkiefer	Pine = Schirmkiefer	A = wild form B = cultivated form Zypressen	Fichte

Fig. 10. Table of the Primary Coniferous Trees in Greece.

On the François Vase Cheiron appears together with Iris as the first

to congratulate Peleus and Thetis.⁷⁷ Cheiron's present is the game hanging from a bough he carries on his shoulder. Usually the tree is thought to be a conifer, but Andrew Stewart⁷⁸ suggested it is a "Mediterranean Ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*".⁷⁹ He assumed the tree was the ash from Mount Pelion from which Cheiron fashioned the famous spear⁸⁰ for Peleus. But Stewart mistakes branches with conifer needles – made with strikingly numerous dense incisions – for pinnate leaves with leaflets of an ash. All the trees used as weapons by the other centaurs in the neck-zone of this krater are depicted in the same manner, so Cheiron's tree is certainly a fir, too.⁸¹

Dionysos, the Fir-bender

Theseus's wondrous strength in his encounter with Sinis reminds us of the famous tree-bender in Euripides's *Bacchai* (1064–1075): Dionysos – aware that Pentheus⁸² rejected the new Dionysian cult – piqued Pentheus's curiosity into wanting to observe the women's secret rituals and accompanied him to view them in disguise. On Mount Kithairon Dionysos bent a huge tree right down to the ground for him to sit on. He was cautiously swung up to the top and could spy on the *Bacchai*. Pentheus, however, was detected by the women and killed by his own mad mother and her compatriots who had been driven into a frenzy by Dionysos.

In this story the tree in question is not a pine but a fir (ἐλάτη, Tanne)⁸³ (Fig. 4), which grows in the mountains where the women's rituals took place. No human being would be capable of bending it; thus Euripides uses an impressive figure of speech for the divine power of Dionysos as fir-bender.⁸⁴

Coniferous Trees in Greece

One might perhaps think it is irrelevant whether a branch depicted with needles belongs to a spruce, pine or fir – and in the rare vase-paintings of coniferous trees it is very difficult to distinguish conifers at all. But one thing is certain: they all belong to the five main species of conifers which have grown in Greece since antiquity (Fig. 10, 1–5): Greek Fir (ἐλάτη, *Abies cephalonica*, Apollotanne), and three species of pine (πίτυς or πεύκη) – coastal pine (*Pinus halepensis*, Aleppokiefer), mountain pine (*Pinus nigra*, Schwarzkiefer), and stone pine (*Pinus pinea*, Pinie) – and cypress (κυπάρισσος, *Cupressus sempervirens*, Zypresse),⁸⁵ but no spruce (*Picea excelsa*, Fichte, in modern Greek: ἐρυθρελάτη) (Fig. 10, 6). The distribution of the various species of conifers depends upon regional and local ecological factors which characterize their specific habitat. These are climate,

height above sea level, rainfall, water supply, soil and nutrition.⁸⁶

“Practical use” is the key-word for the classification of conifers – and of trees in general – by the ancient Greeks. They knew of course where the different species of conifers grew, had experience with the appropriateness of their wood for house- and ship-building, and had knowledge about their richness in resin and their suitability for making pitch. Beyond this conifers inspired their – and the vase-painters’ – fantasy. They associated them with specific mythological creatures and locations, as the firs of the wild mountain areas of the centaurs, the fir-seat of Pentheus, and the fatal pine of Sinis.

Abbreviations

- Abatzoglou 1998, ΘΑΜΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΝΤΡΑΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ (1998).
Bridgman 1992, in: S. G. Miller (ed.), *Excavations at Nemea* (1992) 1–98.
Bromberg 1982, Theseus (1982).
Bromberg 1962, *AJA* 66, 1962, 259–263.
Burkert 1972, *Homo necans* (1972).
Dimitrakopoulou 1971, *MüJb* 22, 1971, 7–22.
Hafitz 1966, *AA* 1966, 151–157.
Lehmann 1859, *Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer* (1859 [rp. 1966]).
Makalakis 1967/68, *Ancient Forestry. An Historical Study, Part I: Facts and Information on Trees. Acta Forestalia Fennica*, 82 (1967/68).
Meigle 1982, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (1982).
Mittelman 1967, *The Genus Pinus* (1967).
Morris 1990, Coates, *Die athenische Triere. Geschichte und Rekonstruktion eines Kriegsschiffs der griechischen Antike*, trans. W. Felten (1990).
Neider 1987, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus* (1987).
Neider 1980, *The Rendering of Landscape in Greek and South Italian Vase Painting* (1980).
Schefold 1988, *Die Urkönige/Perseus/Bellerophon/Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (1988).
Schulze 2004, in: H. Weisgerber et al. (eds), *Lexikon der Nadelbäume* (2004).
Sim 1976, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976).
Tillyard 1913, *JHS* 33, 1913, 296–312.
Wilkins 1977, *JHS* 97, 1977, 160–168.

Notes

¹We would like to thank for help with the literature on forestry H. Weisgerber (Hannoversch Münden) and for archaeobotanical information D. Grosser

- (Munich), H. Kroll (Kiel) and F. Megaloudi (Paris). Thanks also to A. Schurz (Mainz) for making the scans.
- Antikensammlungen 8771. Selected bibliography: Dumm 1971, 7–22; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art*, Cambridge (1975) 229. 276 pl. 76c; Williams 1977, 165–168; Brommer 1982, 7 pl. 38; Schefold – Jung 1988, 237 fig. 287; Neils 1987, 57. 155 no. 13 pl. 6 fig. 27; LIMC VII (1994) 929 no. 64 pl. 638, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils); M.A. Tiverios, *Ελληνική τέχνη. Αρχαία αγγεία* (1996) 133 no. 105; 295–296. We would like to thank F. Knauß for the photograph (by R. Kühling) and the permission to publish it.
- 2Brommer 1982, 6–8; LIMC VII (1994) 925–930, esp. nos. 62–85, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 3Apollod. 3.16.2; Hyg. Fab. 38; Plut. Thes. 8. For a discussion of the literary sources: Roscher IV (1909–1915) 922–928, s.v. Sinis (E. Wörner); Tillyard 1913, 298–307; RE 2. ser. III (1929) 238–244, s.v. Sinis (J. Schmidt).
- 4Diod. 4.59.3.
- 5Paus. 2.1.4.
- 6See e.g. the representation on one side of the gilded shrine of Holy Corona (fifteenth-century AD) in St. Servatius's Treasure in Quedlinburg; J. Fritz, in: D. Kötzsche (ed.), *Der Quedlinburger Schatz wiedervereint. Ausstellung Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin* (1992) 114–115 no. 53. Cf. Burkert 1972, 221 n. 15.
- 7Liddell and Scott 1409, s.v. πίτυς.
- 8Liddell and Scott 1398, s.v. πεύκη.
- 9Theophr. Hist. Pl. 3.9.1–8; A. Hort, *Theophrastus. Enquiry Into Plants* (1916 [reprint 1961]) 211–221. 469–471 (index).
- 10Mirov 1967, 4.
- 11Roscher IV (1909–1915) cols 921–934, s.v. Sinis (E. Wörner); RE 2. ser. III (1929) 238–244, s.v. Sinis (J. Schmidt); Hafner 1966, 151–157; Burkert 1972, 220; Brommer 1982, 6–7; Schefold – Jung 1988, 237.
- 12G.T. Tsoumis – N. Athanasiadis, *Συστηματική δασική βοτανική* (1972) 22–24; H.-J. Böhr, in: C. Linau (ed.), *Bericht aus dem Arbeitsgebiet Entwicklungsforschung am Institut für Geographie Münster* 15, 1989, 37–40; Arabatzis 1998, 37–38.
- 13Mirov 1967, *passim*. But one has to be careful. The English word “pine” has led German colleagues to think of pine as “Pinie” (stone pine); see below the section on the Stone Pine.
- 14Mirov 1967, 250–253; Arabatzis 1998, 46; K.P. Panetsos, in: Schütt – Weisgerber 2004, 393–402.
- 15Tillyard 1913, 300–303; LIMC VII (1994) 929–930, s.v. Theseus C. Individual exploit: Sinis (J. Neils).
- 16Berlin F 2580: ARV² 797,143; CVA Berlin 3 pl. 143,1–2; LIMC VII (1994) 929 no. 69, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 17Tillyard 1913, pl. 20; LIMC VII (1994) 930 no. 75, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils). The unknown bearded man on the left gives the impression of a dignified umpire of the contest, the result of which might be foretold by the painter, for Theseus pulls the branch a bit lower.
- 18Ferrara, *Mus. Naz.* 3151: ARV² 1180,1; LIMC VII (1994) 930 no. 80 pl. 640, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 19Antikensammlungen 8771 (*supra* n. 1).
- 20Dumm 1971, 7–22.
- 21Williams 1977, 160–168.
- 22Nelson 1980, 27–39; G. Hedreen, *Capturing Troy. The Narrative Functions of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Greek Art* (2001) 226–233. Cf. also H.

- Sichtermann, Gymnasium 91, 1984, 289–305.
- 23Nelson 1980, 28.
- 24Vatican 16589: ABV 140,1; Simon 1976, pl. 77 – here Fig. 3.
- 25Simon 1976, 88–89 pl. 77.
- 26For firs see below the section on Firs and Centaurs. On the Niobid Krater, Louvre G 341 (ARV² 601,22; Simon 1976, pl. 193), a similar conifer appears as on the blackfigure amphora by the Vatican Mourner (supra n. 24). Here, too, a fir is depicted with its typical symmetrical branches bending upwards on either side. In addition to the different ground levels on which the figures stand, it is the presence of the fir which indicates the mountainous region in which Apollo and Artemis's cruel slaughter of the Niobids takes place.
- 27Neils 1987, 147.
- 28London E 48: ARV² 431,47; CVA British Museum 9 pl. 27a; LIMC VII (1994) 927 no. 39, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 29Florence 70800: ARV² 413,25; CVA Florence 3 pl. 98,2 – here Fig. 5; Neils 1987, 161 no. 61 pl. 10 fig. 49.
- 30LIMC VII (1994) 927 no. 42, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 31Munich 2565: ARV² 889,169; LIMC VII (1994) 929 no. 71 pl. 639, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils). We would like to thank F. Knauß for the photograph (by R. Kühling) and the permission to publish it.
- 32Madrid 11021: ARV² 115,32; LIMC VII (1994) 929 no. 73 pl. 639, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 33Louvre Cp 4184: LIMC VII (1994) 930 no. 85a pl. 641, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 34Harrow School Museum 52: ARV 660; J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (1990) 93 no. N 7bis pls 138–139. Oakley now believes the vase is by the painter himself: V.M. Strocka (ed.), *Meisterwerke. Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler. Freiburg im Breisgau, 30.6.-3.7. 2003* (2005) 292–293; LIMC VII (1994) 928 no. 47 pls 629–630, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 35Bacchyl. 17.19. According to Apollodorus (3.16.2) Sinis was son of Polypemon.
- 36CIG 2374, l. 36.
- 37See: Tillyard 1913, 306–311; M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen* (1982) 131–134; E.R. Gebhard, in: H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Olympia 1875–2000* (2002) 225–228.
- 38Plut. Thes. 25.
- 39Tillyard 1913, 309–312; LIMC VI (1992) 437–444, s.v. Melikertes (E. Vikela – R. Vollkommer); E.R. Gebhard – M.W. Dickie, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Hero Cult* (1999) 159–165.
- 40In the Isthmian sanctuary both the god Poseidon and the hero Melikertes/Palaimon were honoured; Burkert 1972, 219–221. The athletes had to take the oath during a nighttime ritual in the crypt of the Palaimonion. The later monopteros contained a statue of Palaimon on a dolphin and a pine: O. Broneer, *Isthmia II* (1973) 99–111 pl. 42b. For the Isthmian Games: S.G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* (2004) 101–105; F. Knauß, in: R. Wünsche – F. Knauß (eds), *Lockender Lorbeer. Sport und Spiel in der Antike* (2004) 53–55.
- 41Broneer 1962, 259–263 pl. 68 fig. 6 (here Fig. 7); Blech (supra n. 37) 131–134 (he mixes up pine and spruce). In a fragment of Aeschylus's *Isthmiasythai/Theoroi* (H. Lloyd-Jones [ed.]), Aeschylus II [1971] 541–546 fr. 276; H.J. Mette, *Der verlorene Aischylos* [1963] 164–170) Dionysos complains that the satyrs have turned to athletes and wear the pine crown of Poseidon instead of honouring the Dionysian ivy wreath.
- 42Pind. Isthm. 2.16,8. 64; Nem. 4.88; Ol. 13. 33. Blech (supra n. 37) 132–134.
- 43New York, MMA 59.11.19: Broneer 1962, 261 with n. 21 pl. 67 fig. 2; ca. 200 BC.
- 44D.E. Birge, in: S. Alcock – R. Osborne (eds), *Placing the Gods* (1994) 239 n. 28.

- 45For tree or bush-planting with pots besides the Hephaisteion in the Athenian Agora, see D.B. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6, 1937, 396–425. For planting pits besides the temple of Asklepios in Corinth: C. Roebuck, *The Asklepieion and Lerna, Corinth XIV* (1951) 41.
- 46Birge 1992, 88–98 figs 98–109.
- 47Arabatzis 1998, 56; P. Raddi – A. Panconesi, in: Schütt – Weisgerber 2004, 175–186. Birge 1992, 91 n. 281. The result of the analysis was not clear-cut; the organic material could have come from firs, but since firs grow in mountainous areas, the trees planted around the Nemean temple were most probably cypresses.
- 48Birge 1992, 93.
- 49Od. 5.64. 17.340. RE IV (1901) 1909–1938, s.v. Cypresse (Olck); Liddell and Scott 1011, s.v. κυπάρισσος
- 50LMC VI (1992) 165–166, s.v. Kyparissos (J.-R. Gisler).
- 51Arabatzis 1998, 48; F. Bussotti, in: Schütt – Weisgerber 2004, 481–490. Hort (supra n. 9) assumes that Theophrastus's "πέυκη ἡ ἡμερος" and "πέυκη ἡ κωνοφόρος" (Hist. Pl. 2.2.6; 3.9.4) means stone pine. Perhaps stone pine is already depicted in the wall-paintings of Thera: L. Morgan, *The Miniature Wall Paintings of Thera* (1988) 17–18 pls 8. 14–15 (West House, room 5).
- 52Stone pine in modern Greek: στροφιλιά and κουκουναριά (P. Broussalis, *Δέντρα του ελληνικού βουνού* [1967] 4).
- 53LMC VII (1994) 413–414, s.v. Pitys (E. Simon).
- 54LMC III (1986) 22–44, s.v. Attis (M.J. Vermaseren – M.B. De Boer), esp. no. 96 pl. 20; nos. 316–317 pl. 37; no. 397 pl. 42; no. 424 pl. 44.
- 55F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (1942 [reprint 1966]) 219–221 n. 3; 505–506; D. Wortmann, *BJb* 170, 1970, 252–264; E. Diez, in: W. Alzinger et al. (eds), *Pro arte antiqua. Festschrift H. Kenner* (1982) 71–76; E. Dobruna-Salihi, *Arheoloski vestnik* 41, 1990, 235–248 pls 2–3. For a terracotta cone from the Heraion of Samos see H. Kyrieleis, in: R. Hägg (ed.), *Early Greek Cult Practice* (1988) 219 fig. 8. Probably also used as an offering was the natural cone of a stone pine (of the Archaic period?) from the Pitsa-cave in the Museum of Sikyon (Inv. MS 2390: unpublished). Branches and cones probably of stone pine were used in the cult of Demeter during the Milesian Thesmophoria (Steph. Byz. s. v. Μίλητος: πίτυς); U. Kron, *AA* 1992, 623 n. 69. For stone pine seeds and bracts found in ritual deposits: F. Megaloudi, *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 14, 2005, 329–340. F. Megaloudi is preparing the publication of stone pine found as part of fourth-century grave offerings in the classical necropolis of Limenas (Thasos) (personal communication).
- 56The translation of ἐλάτη with "Fichte" in Morrison – Coates 1990, 198–199 is misleading (supra n. 12).
- 57Mountain pine (*Pinus nigra*, Schwarzkiefer): Arabatzis 1998, 49; P. Grossoni, in: Schütt – Weisgerber 2004, 449–462.
- 58R.G. Bury, *Plato IX. Laws* (1961) 257 and Morrison – Coates 1990, 198: πίτυς (= pine) is here incorrectly translated into "larch".
- 59Od. 5, 239 (ἐλάτη οὐρανομήκης).
- 60Od. 2, 424; Theophr. Hist. Pl. 5.1.8.
- 61Od. 12, 172; Il. 7, 5; Eur. Hel. 1461; Theophr. Hist. Pl. 5.1.7.
- 62H.J. Braun, *Lehrbuch der Forstbotanik* (1982) 95–97. 101–102. Theophrastus (Hist. Pl. 5.4.6) stresses, that firwood is most durable in water and, thus, also suitable for bridge-building.
- 63London GR 1867.5.-8.963; O. Höckmann, *Antike Seefahrt* (1985) 56–59 fig. 43; L. Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (1994) 44 fig. 37; F.J.A.M. Meijer, in: H.A.G. Brijder et al. (eds), *Varen, Vechten en Verdienen. Scheepvaart in de Oudheid* (1995) 21 fig. 31 (here Fig. 8).

- 64Liddell and Scott 1407, s.v. πίττα; 1569, s.v. ῥήτινῃ; Theophr. Hist. Pl. 9.2.35; Meiggs 1982, 467–471.
- 65Meiggs 1982, 467; Morrison – Coates 1990, 205–206.
- 66Compare e.g. the accounts of Eleusis (329/8 BC) recording pitch (IG II² 1672.13. 69, 170). It was used in Eleusis and for the roof and doors of the Eleusinian in Athens (IG II² 170.60. 69); Meiggs 1982, 467–468.
- 67These different uses are emphasized in one of Plutarch's table-talks (Mor. 676 a–b) during the Isthmian Games about the question why the pine was sacred to Poseidon and Dionysos.
- 68Meiggs 1982, 468.
- 69LIMC VIII (1997) 671–721, s.v. Kentauroi et Kentaurides (S. Drougou et al.).
- 70Arabatzi 1998, 34; B. Fady, in: Schütt – Weisgerber 2004, 27–34. Fir (genus *Abies*, ἑλάτη, Tanne) sounds very similar to the (southern) German word “Föhre”, but “Föhre” means pine (genus *Pinus*, πέυκη, πίκυς, Kiefer).
- 71Hom. Il. 1,268.
- 72Roscher, ML I (1884–1886) 1231–32, s.v. Elatos 3 (Schultz); LIMC V (1990) 884, s.v. Kaineus (E. Laufer).
- 73Krannert Art Museum K 72–13–1; CVA Urbana-Champaign 1 pl. 29; LIMC VIII (1997) 685 no. 164 pl. 424, s.v. Kentauroi et Kentaurides (S. Drougou et al.) – here Fig 9.
- 74See Theophr. Hist. Pl. 1.8.4. Cf. supra n. 26 and e.g. Phintias's cup, Karlsruhe 63/104: Para 323; CVA Karlsruhe 3 pl. 26,3.
- 75Louvre G 55: ARV² 187,58; LIMC VIII (1997) 687 no. 190 pl. 428, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 76Antikensammlungen 8738: ARV² 209,16; LIMC III (1986) 239 no. 28 pl. 188, s.v. Cheiron (M. Gisler-Huwiler).
- 77Florence 4209: ABV 76,1; LIMC III (1986) 240 no. 42 pl. 190, s.v. Cheiron (M. Gisler-Huwiler).
- 78A. Stewart, in: W.G. Moon (ed.), Ancient Greek Art and Iconography (1983) 64–65 figs 4. 6.
- 79*Fraxinus excelsior* (common ash – not ‘Mediterranean ash’) is widespread over Europe but does not occur in the Greek mountains. Stewart probably thought of *Fraxinus ornus* (Manna or Flowering Ash) as a typical species of the mountainous vegetation zone of Mediterranean deciduous forests (O. Polunin, Flowers of Greece and the Balkans [1980] 42–43. 363–364).
- 80Hom. Il. 16,143. Kleitias would probably have depicted a spear ready for use in Cheiron's hand, not the raw material, if he had wished to show this particular wedding gift.
- 81Simon 1976, pl. 54. See also J.D. Beazley, The Development of Attic Black-Figure (1951) 28: “Fir”.
- 82LIMC VII (1994) 306–316, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bazant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 83Eur. Bacch. 1061. See also Hom. Il. 14,287–289: Hypnos climbed up the highest fir (ἑλάτη) on Mount Ida to spy on Zeus's and Hera's lovemaking.
- 84Pausanias (2.2.7) describes two wooden statues of Dionysos (Baccheios and Lysios) in the Agora of Corinth and refers to the story that they were made from the Pentheus-fir on Mount Kithairon by the Corinthians: see D.E. Birge, in: M.A. Del Chiaro – W.R. Biers (eds), Corinthiaca. Studies in Honour of D.A. Amyx (1986) 25–28; G. Berger assumed a depiction of the statues on the hydria in the Villa Giulia: ARV² 1343a; LIMC VII (1994) 313 no. 65 pl. 262, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bazant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 85The diagram focusses on the five conifer species which grow in Greece autochthonously and which are more or less differentiated by ancient authors. These species were widespread and played an important role in the daily life and

cults of the ancient Greeks. Closely related to *Pinus halepensis* is *Pinus brutia* (or *Pinus halepensis* ssp. *brutia* / Brutian or Calabrian Pine), which is found in place of *Pinus halepensis* in the east of Chalkidiki and on the islands of Chios, Samos, Rhodes, Crete and Cyprus. Included under *Pinus nigra* in the diagram are also the synonyms: *Pinus laricio*, *P. pallasiana*, *P. nigra* ssp. *caramanica*. *Picea excelsa* is added to the diagram, although it was never found in Greece (except in a small area in the Rhodopi Mountains, see supra n. 12), because very often it is erroneously used for other conifer species in translations of ancient literary sources. For botanists additional and less well known or rare conifer species of Greece that are of interest include one species of fir / Tanne (*Abies alba*), four species of pine / Kiefer (*Pinus heldreichii* / *leucodermis*, *P. mugo*, *P. peuce* and *P. sylvestris*), and eight species of juniper / Wachholder (*Juniperus communis*, *J. drupacea*, *J. excelsa*, *J. foetidissima*, *J. macrocarpa*, *J. oxycedrus*, *J. phoenicea* and *J. sabina*), and Yew / Eibe (*Taxus baccata*).

- 86G. Mavrommati⁸, Το βιοκλίμα της Ελλάδος. Σχέσεις κλίματος και φυσικής βλαστήσεως. Βιοκλιματικοί χάρτες (1980) 9–63 (with French summary). Compare the study of Boeotia: O. Rackham, BSA 78, 1983, 291–351.

4 Inside/Outside: Revisiting a Chous in The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sheramy D. Bundrick

A pounding at the front door in the middle of the night.¹ The woman rises from her bed, grasps her lamp, and creeps near to listen. A drunken, dangerous male voice calls from the other side, and the pounding grows louder. The woman trembles and wonders what she should do.

The painter of a chous in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 1) has provided all the elements of a gripping story: action, drama, and suspense.² He has given the story an interesting setting, using a bold attempt at perspective to depict door, threshold, and roof tiles. Unsurprisingly, this vase has been the subject of much discussion since its acquisition by the museum, although scholars still do not agree on a single interpretation. The chous has not been attributed to a specific painter, but its shape and drawing style place it in the last quarter of the fifth century BC.

This chous exemplifies the challenges scholars face in trying to read so-called genre scenes, or scenes of “daily life.” Because vase-paintings reflect popular culture, one is tempted to read all manner of things into scenes of symposia, komoi, weddings, funerals, fights, and other rituals. What relationship do these images have to “reality”? What can they reveal about contemporary sociohistorical attitudes? Given the chances of survival, not to mention the problems of unknown findspots and lacunae in the textual sources, often we find more questions than answers. The questions further multiply in the case of a vase like the Metropolitan chous, whose scene remains unique among surviving vessels.

Previous discussions of the chous have largely focused on the woman in the scene, namely her social status – hetaira or housewife? – and her relationship to the man. What if we begin with the male figure, the komast? By considering the chous in light of contemporary

attitudes toward the komos and symposion, I present a revised interpretation that highlights the complex interplay between the aristocracy and *demos* in the late fifth century BC. More than a straightforward story of domestic dispute, the chous seems to act as broader social commentary. But intended for whom?

The Komast

The identification of the male figure as a reveler stems from his attributes. Mostly nude, save for a wreath and trailing fillet on his head and a himation tossed around his shoulders, he carries an unlit torch with which he prepares to pummel the door. The torch tells the viewer it is nighttime and suggests that the reveler has attended at least one merrymaking event. A large, upside-down *barbitos* is slung over his arm, another clue that he's been out carousing. In contrast to his out-of-control behavior, he is infibulated, a detail that may indicate his social class through allusions to the *gymnasion*, while providing a definite element of irony.³



Fig. 1. Unattributed chous, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1937 (37.11.19). Photo: Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 2. Column-krater by the Florence Painter, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.66.
Photo: Museum.

Some scholars have tried to be more specific in identifying the male figure. One theory holds that he has participated in the festival of the *Anthesteria*, e.g. in the drinking contests believed to have been part of the rites.⁴ This theory derives from the chous's shape and rests upon the assumption that all choes, large and small, and their decoration were connected with the festival.

But there are problems. Whereas miniature choes form a distinctive group that probably can be associated with the *Anthesteria*, large choes (taller than ca. 15 cm) are a more diverse lot, often showing scenes unrelated to the festival.⁵ The chous itself is a favorite fifth- and fourth-century shape, both in red-figure and black-gloss, and on vases choes appear at symposia and in other contexts. This does not

preclude the usage of large choes in the Anthesteria, but there is no evidence that large choes were made exclusively for that purpose. On this particular chous, there are no iconographic clues specifying the Anthesteria, as for example, the representation of a chous and/or food-basket; these would not confirm the connection of the vases with the festival but would lend it stronger support.⁶

Related to the interpretation of the male figure as an Anthesteria festival-goer is the theory that he is Dionysos coming to spend the night with a nervous *basilinna* during their annual *hieros gamos*, a ritual associated by most scholars with the Anthesteria.⁷ Here again, though, if the large choes are disassociated from the festival, this interpretation becomes less tenable. The mood is different from other scenes which have been more persuasively identified as the *hieros gamos*, namely a Polygnotan calyx-krater in Tarquinia, where Dionysos is drunk but not violent.⁸ Moreover, Dionysos rarely plays or even carries a musical instrument in Athenian iconography. He tends to leave the music-making to his followers.⁹

Given the risks in definitively linking the male figure with the Anthesteria either as worshipper or deity, it is best to describe him as a komast. But he is no ordinary komast. He is not the lithe, elegant figure familiar from countless scenes of revelry; he is a balding, paunchy character whose near-nudity highlights his lack of physical fitness.

His face is contorted and almost mask-like, far from idealized. This departure from the iconographic norm seems like caricature, but not necessarily in a comic way.¹⁰ Rather, the komast presents a picture of excess – specifically of aristocratic excess – and this may have serious connotations.

The fact that he is overweight suggests a lack of moderation in the form of gluttony. The connection between overeating and a lack of self-control is familiar from Greek literature, extending back as far as Homer and Hesiod and continuing into the Archaic and Classical periods. Aristotle observes in the *Nichomachean Ethics* (1118b19): “People who overeat are called *gastrimargoi*, meaning that they fill the organ beyond what is needed; it is persons of especially slavish nature that are liable to this behavior.”¹¹

Overweight figures are rare in Athenian vase painting. In the tondo of a cup attributed to the Proto-Panaitian Group (ca. 500 BC), a pudgy reveler with distorted face is shown vomiting.¹² On the reverse of a column-krater by the Florence Painter (ca. 460 BC), a potbellied old man dances wildly with staff in the air (Fig. 2).¹³ Like the reveler on the Proto-Panaitian Group cup and the komast on the Metropolitan chous, the old man is surely drunk. Drunkenness represented its own form of excess; as the poet Theognis proclaimed, “Wine drunk in

excess is an evil; if we drink it wisely it is not an evil but a blessing.”¹⁴ Plato later stated in the *Phaedrus* (81e), “Men who have engaged in bouts of gluttony and hybris and drinking and have not avoided them are likely to assume the form of donkeys and animals of that sort.”¹⁵

On the Metropolitan chous, even the komast’s barbitos could be read as a sign of immoderation. An instrument linked with amateur performance, the barbitos recalls the importance of musical training in the traditional aristocratic education, and thus establishes the komast’s social class. In the late sixth and early fifth centuries, the barbitos was overwhelmingly associated with the symposion, komos, and Dionysian scenes in Athenian iconography. It evoked leisure and revelry, a reputation it carried in literary sources, as well as in visual representation.¹⁶



Fig. 3. Detail of cup by Douris or a painter related to Douris, Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 70/395. Photo: after J. Thimme, *Griechische Vasen, Eine Auswahl aus den Sammlungen des Badisches Landesmuseum* (1975) 123 fig. 39.

However, by the time the Metropolitan chous was produced, attitudes toward the barbitos had begun to change. While the barbitos continued to appear in the rather generic symposion/komos scenes of the second half of the fifth century, it was also newly appropriated for more decorous scenes, especially images of citizen women playing music in their houses.¹⁷ By the end of the century, the barbitos virtually disappeared from Athenian iconography and seems to have quickly become a passé instrument. Aristotle suggests that the Athenians consciously rejected the barbitos, along with other instruments that “promote the pleasure of the people who hear their executants” (*Pol.* 1341a). He implies that playing the barbitos or even listening to it encouraged moral depravity over virtuous behavior.¹⁸

The Eastern associations of the barbitos may have contributed to its eventual abandonment. Other Eastern affectations found in Late Archaic and Early Classical sympotic imagery, such as parasols or so-called Anakreontic costumes, faded from iconographic popularity before the barbitos. Along with these elements, the barbitos may have

developed unwelcome associations with *habrosyne* and *tryphe* – excessive forms of luxury – which by the late fifth century were offensive to democratic sensibilities and were linked with a more aristocratic (i.e. oligarchic) lifestyle.¹⁹ On the Metropolitan chous, the fact that the barbitos is carried by a gluttonous, drunken, presumably elite komast supports such a reading.

The most surprising aspect of the komast concerns his violent behavior. Out-and-out violence – as opposed to harmless horseplay – is uncommon in sympotic and komastic imagery, and when found, it typically carries a message favoring moderation over excess. A cup by Douris (or a painter related to him) presents a well-ordered symposium on its exterior, while the scene on the opposite side suggests events later in the night, once the wine has fully taken hold (Fig. 3).²⁰ Now the symposiasts fight, with one bearded man reaching out to punch and kick another, and yet another having a youth in a headlock. The latter looks out at the viewer with frontal face, echoing a frontal-faced drinker on the other side. The krater at right makes it clear that these men are still in the *andron*. The tondo shows a reclining, bearded man putting his fingers down his throat to induce vomiting, his head supported by a youth, with an *aulos* and barbitos hanging in the field. *Kalos* inscriptions appear on both exterior sides (*ho pais kalos*) and in the tondo (*Aristogoras kalos*).



Fig. 4. Cup by Onesimos, St. Petersburg, Hermitage 2110/651/B651. Photo: after B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (2000) 195 fig. 7,6.

Both exterior scenes of a cup by Onesimos depict a fight in the context of a komos.²¹ Two men – one with a sandal, the other with a staff – attack a third who has fallen to the ground (Fig. 4). The man on the ground attempts to strike back by grabbing his attacker's genitals. The victim's wreath has slipped from his head, identifying him as a member of the original komastic group: a significant detail, since attacking an innocent passerby would represent especially shameful behavior. Two men at left seem confused, while a youth at far right takes refuge by a tree. The tree emphasizes that these komasts have left the *andron* and are now outside in public. Mêlées further rage on the cup's opposite side. A man at left grabs a frontal-faced reveler by the waist, while three men with staffs and raised arms rush toward a fully clothed *auletris*. The tondo shows a man inducing vomiting while a youth holds his head; all three scenes, therefore, address the viewer on the subject of moderation. Here again the *ho pais kalos* inscription appears on both exterior sides, and we may speculate whether it is intended to be ironic.

Like the face of the komast on the Metropolitan chous, the faces of the two attackers and the man on the ground on the Onesimos cup are distorted and mask-like. Despite the occasional use of the term "realism" to describe these and similar figures, the intent seems not to be realism (a loaded and perhaps anachronistic word in this context) but caricature.²² Even the word "caricature," though, is potentially misleading in that its usage implies humor. The transformation of the men's features on the Onesimos cup and the Metropolitan chous emphasizes the bestial excesses of their behavior, and may not be considered humorous at all.²³ They have, as Plato suggests in the above quotation from the *Phaedrus*, become like animals. The striding, mock-heroic pose of the sandal-wielder on the Onesimos cup adds to the scene's irony.²⁴

It seems clear that all the elements of the komast's representation on the Metropolitan chous – his physique, attributes, drunkenness, and violent behavior – contribute to an overall picture of excess. However, the man's transgressions could be identified not only as a lack of moderation, but even more strongly as *hybris*. As Nick Fisher and others have shown, in Athenian law and life *hybris* possessed more than just a religious dimension; it opposed *sophrosyne* and represented pride and excess in its most harmful form.²⁵ Fisher uses Aristotle's definition from the *Rhetoric* (1378b23–35) as a starting point of his analysis:

The *hybrizon* too slights; for *hybris* is doing and saying things at which the victim incurs shame, not in order that one may achieve anything other than what is done, but simply to get pleasure from it. For

those

who act in return for something do not *hybrizein*, they avenge themselves.

The cause of pleasure for the *hybrizontes* is that by harming people they

think they themselves are the more superior. That is why the young and

the rich are *hybristai*; they think they are superior when *hybrizontes*.

26

The understanding of *hybris* and *hybristai* as explained by Aristotle appears elsewhere in Greek texts, including fourth-century orations from the Athenian lawcourts. Athens possessed a *graphe hybreos*, a law against *hybris*, likely instituted under Solon. Under the *graphe* a *hybristes* could be prosecuted for incurring shame and damages against another citizen, or else against the gods.²⁷ This could include such charges as physical violence with the intent to humiliate and/or breaking into someone's house with the intent of causing dishonor, for example by insulting the women of the *oikos*. Sometimes charges of this sort were brought not under the *graphe hybreos* but in other forms, as for example Ariston's suit against Konon (recorded in Demosthenes, *Against Konon*), which was a private suit seeking damages for assault and yet focused on the theme of *hybris*. Indeed, the first word of Demosthenes' speech, written for Ariston, is *hybristheis*, "I have suffered *hybris*" (54.1).²⁸ The speech emphasizes the violence displayed by Conon and his sons toward the victim and especially their heavy drinking, which is presented as an impetus for their behavior.

Aristotle associates *hybris* with the rich in the *Rhetoric*. He says of wealthy *hybristai*, "They judge everything by wealth and think that everything can be bought" (1390b31–91a2 and 1391a17–19).²⁹ This attitude is by no means unique to Aristotle, for it appears in fourth-century orations and in other texts as well.³⁰ The idea of wealth leading to possible *hybris* is wrapped up with the notions of *habrosyne* and *tryphe*. As Leslie Kurke has shown, the Athenian perception of *habrosyne* dramatically changed over the course of the fifth century with the development of radical democracy.³¹ Luxuries admired in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods were increasingly linked with aristocratic ostentation and even oligarchic leanings. The word *tryphe*, implying a more dangerous excess of luxury than *habrosyne*, first appears in Athenian texts during the third quarter of the fifth century, perhaps a response to growing disdain of upper-class excess among the *demos*. The word *tryphe* is used in fourth-century orations to convey an anti-democratic attitude.³²

All this brings us to the period when the Metropolitan chous was

made: the last quarter of the fifth century. By this time sympotic and komastic images had largely fallen out of fashion, and when they are found, are generic in flavor and not particularly distinctive. This change from the rich array of sympotic imagery found earlier no doubt resulted from a decreased focus on aristocratic lifestyles. The symposion and komos were indelibly associated with the elite, even though it is possible middling and lower class citizens indulged in versions of these customs.³³

The symposion and especially the komos became controversial in late fifth-century Athens because of the presumptuous behavior of some upper-class participants. In the summer of 415 BC, the mutilation of the herms and alleged profanation of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Thuc. 6.27–29, 6.60) shone a none-too-flattering spotlight on the aristocratic sympotic associations (*hetaireiai*), a culmination of years of suspicion toward these groups.³⁴ As Thucydides tells it, suspicion fell on elite symposiasts because previously “statues had been defaced by young men who were enjoying themselves after having too much to drink.”³⁵ Suspicion further centered on Alkibiades, rumored to possess antidemocratic tendencies along with his extravagant way of living. Thucydides describes an atmosphere of public outrage and fears of conspiracy against the democratic system in response to the mutilations. Because symposia represented opportunities for elite males to discuss politics, as well as relax and enjoy themselves, it is not surprising that citizens outside that milieu questioned the events taking place behind closed andron doors.

The comedies of Aristophanes confront late fifth-century attitudes regarding the symposion and komos, most notably the *Wasps*, produced in 422 BC.³⁶ Dialogue at the play’s outset mentions the excess of drinking and its association with the well-born (*chrestoi andres*, *Vesp.* 79–80). The play further develops this theme as the young Bdelykleon, a poseur from outside the aristocracy, attempts to introduce his *dikast* father Prokleon to the customs and ceremonials of elite society (*Vesp.* 1122–1263). While the joke appears to be on the gauche Prokleon, it is as much on Bdelykleon and the gentlemen he so admires. Prokleon pretends not to understand his son’s instructions, but really uses them as an opportunity to mock the rich: their clothes, small-talk, drinking songs, even the way they walk.³⁷ He reluctantly trades his humble *dikast*’s cloak for a Persian robe and Spartan shoes, while Bdelykleon coaches him in the art of sympotic song and conversation. Before father and son depart for the symposion, Prokleon objects to drinking in a speech that foreshadows the action to come (1253–1255):

Oh no! Drinking’s bad. Wine gets you doors broken in (*thyrokopesai*),

assault and battery, then paying money for the damage while you're hung over.³⁸

Bdelykleon reassures him that with the drinking practices of the elite comes a distinct advantage:

No, not if you're in the company of fine gentlemen [*andrasí kalois te kagathois*]. They'll beg the victim off, or else you yourself can tell him
some witty story...and then you've turned the whole thing into a joke,
so he lets you off and goes on his merry way.³⁹

In the *Wasps* the elite are presented as having their own form of justice, contrasting with the democratic justice of the lawcourts.⁴⁰

This exchange becomes reality in the last sequence, when Prokleon gets filthy drunk and embarks on a solo komos after stealing the dancing girl (*Vesp.* 1293–1473). Mayhem ensues as he insults and assaults everyone he encounters, from his own servant to a female baker who threatens to sue because she's from a respectable citizen family (1388–1391). Highlighting the seriousness of Prokleon's behavior, his conduct is repeatedly described by words formed with the root *hybris* (1303. 1319. 1418. 1441).⁴¹ In keeping with the stereotype of hybristic elite komasts, Prokleon attempts to weasel his way out of being summoned to court but only succeeds in insulting his victims more. After Bdelykleon drags his father offstage, the chorus of jurors compliments Prokleon with thinly disguised irony (1450–1455):

I do envy the old man
his luck; what a turn-around
from his arid habits and lifestyle!
Now he's learned different ways
and he'll make a really great change
to a life of delicate luxury (*tryphon*).⁴²

The joke is as much on the elite and their sympotic customs as on the hapless Prokleon.

The Metropolitan chous does not illustrate the *Wasps*, but it captures the same stereotypes of aristocratic behavior parodied and critiqued in Aristophanes' play. The vase's viewer understood that the behavior exhibited on the chous could be characteristic of elite komoi, and like Aristophanes' audience, knew that damages or insults like those suggested in the scene could be followed by the komast's attempts to bribe himself out of trouble. Unlike the *Wasps'* Prokleon, however, the komast on the chous appears to be a born elite member (based mainly on the barbitos), which allows for more direct criticism of that social class and its *mores*.

The Woman

Although we can readily identify the social status of the komast on the Metropolitan chous, the woman's is harder to decipher. In earlier fifth-century scenes where male komasts threaten women, the women are clearly hetairai or *pornai*, because they appear in the environment of an andron or as part of a komos procession. Nudity and sexual activity can further assure their identification. A well-known cup by the Pedieus Painter shows distortedfaced *pornai* being sexually and physically molested by symposiasts.⁴³ On a stamnos by Polygnotos, two men prepare to copulate with a naked hetaira or *porne* as a barbitos-playing reveler watches.⁴⁴ On the reverse, a naked auletris is caught between two men who are presumably about to molest her, the one at right holding a sandal. The men on this stamnos differ from the typical representation of Athenian citizens by being ithyphallic, a motif more characteristic of satyrs that underscores the theme of sexual excess.

The woman on the Metropolitan chous lacks the conspicuous attributes of a hetaira. She is neither naked nor even scantily clad, and she is not in a sympotic setting. This ambiguity has not stopped some scholars from identifying her as a hetaira and the drunken komast himself as a rowdy visitor to a brothel.⁴⁵ A literary text cited in support of this identification is Theophrastus, *Characters* 28.3, which suggests respectable women would not open the front door of a house themselves.⁴⁶ But the woman on the Metropolitan chous does not answer the door and is reluctant to do so, radiating fear through her gestures and posture. Who did or did not customarily open doors in Athenian houses is ultimately irrelevant here.

Suppose she is an Athenian citizen woman (*aste*). Having her tremble inside the door points to the behavior of the man outside and sets the two figures in immediate opposition. Even if it is true that respectable women did not open doors themselves, the dramatic impact would be lessened if the painter included a third figure. Instead, the viewer wonders if the woman is alone without anyone to protect her. We cannot even tell whether the two characters know each other, despite attempts to identify them as husband and wife.⁴⁷

Suppose the two characters do *not* know each other. Suppose this citizen man is threatening a citizen woman unrelated to him, a circumstance that would make his actions even more despicable and link him more closely to the dangers of hybris. As noted above, the act of forcibly entering another man's house and insulting the women of the *oikos* (sexually or otherwise) was grounds for prosecution in Athenian courts.⁴⁸ If a man seduced and engaged in a sexual affair with another man's wife, or some other woman in that man's household, he committed *moicheia*, considered a hybriistic act because

the *oikos* had been infiltrated and compromised.⁴⁹ Rape or sexual assault of a citizen woman seem also to have been covered under the *graphe hybreos*, although no surviving court case with this charge exists.⁵⁰ This was probably because a *kyrios* preferred to handle such a sensitive matter privately, rather than expose the woman in question to public scrutiny.

If the *komast* and female figure on the Metropolitan chous are strangers to one another, then the scene has moved beyond *komastic* hijinks to potential criminal activity. Keeping in mind the chronological considerations discussed earlier, together with the general caricatured tone of the male figure on the chous, it is tempting to read the scene as exactly that: a drunken elite *komast's* attempt at invading a home, viewed with critical eyes by the vase-painter.

The Door

The house door, so prominent in the scene and further accentuated by the unusual inclusion of roof tiles, helps support this interpretation. Excepting perhaps the marriage bed, there was no more potent symbol of the *oikos* than its front door, its public face and boundary to the outside world. Here wreaths were hung to celebrate a wedding or the birth of a son, and wool was suspended to announce the birth of a daughter.⁵¹ In some houses the front door could be made of expensive wood with elegant bronze trappings, thus advertising the family's prosperity.⁵² The painter of the Metropolitan chous took special care in portraying the door to heighten its metaphorical role, delineating its metal fittings and even the door knocker, which the *komast* blatantly ignores.

When doors appear in fifth-century vase-painting, it is nearly always in a domestic context and with reference to a citizen *oikos*. Wedding scenes rank among the majority of examples, as do scenes depicting women engaging in household activities. The scene on the Metropolitan chous is the antithesis of a wedding scene in terms of the figures' spatial relationship to the door. Whereas the bride and groom in a wedding scene often move together toward an open door – sometimes with the marriage bed visible inside – here a closed door separates the two characters, emphasizing the woman's lack of sexual desire for this man as well as the man's inappropriateness in trying to force contact.⁵³ As Jenifer Neils has noted in discussing doors on Athenian vases, there may be a visual pun at work: Aristophanes uses the words for “door” or “gateway” (*thyra* and *pyla*) to refer to female sexual organs. To “open the door” or “rush the gates” therefore become euphemistic phrases for sexual intercourse.⁵⁴ The man on the Metropolitan chous in more than one way is trying to “open the door.”

That he will succeed and actually have sex with the woman is not a foregone conclusion, for the door looks sturdy and impregnable, and the woman shows no signs of opening it. His infibulation, in rendering the genitals at least temporarily impracticable, may be another visual clue that his efforts will come to nothing.⁵⁵ But the intent is certainly there, and that in itself reeks of hybris.

The Ambiguity of Genre

By way of conclusion, the late fifth-century chous can be usefully contrasted with another chous in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, attributed to the Niobid Painter and dating from about twenty-five or thirty years earlier (Fig. 5).⁵⁶ Here, too, a komast with a barbitos forms part of the action. He has the perfect body of the idealized Athenian male, accented by the carefully draped himation over his left arm, while his tall boots and leopard-skin fillet add both a Dionysian and Eastern note. A large chous slung over his back suggests he has just come from a symposion or perhaps the Anthesteria festival, but his behavior is far from rowdy. He plays his barbitos calmly and decorously, neither singing nor dancing. The fingers of his left hand touch the strings of the instrument, and his right hand grasps a *plektron*.

Before him dances the uncommon figure of a dwarf, whose achondroplastic body with its large trunk and small legs is clearly intended as a foil to the composed komast.⁵⁷ The dwarf's movements are jerky and uncoordinated, and his face is contorted, almost caricatured. His conspicuous penis dangles between his thighs, while the musician-komast has the dainty, discreet organ one expects from his social class. Based on his uncontrolled dancing, the dwarf is presumably drunk, but the painter has given him neither cup nor chous to confirm that assumption. Indeed, with his snub nose, balding pate, and tufted sideburns, the dwarf recalls not only dwarfs elsewhere in Classical art but also images of satyrs, much like his dignified companion serves as a mortal analog of Dionysos himself.⁵⁸

That the viewer is meant to contrast the elite komast and dancing dwarf is obvious. Is the dwarf the komast's servant, his role in life to entertain his master by foolish antics? Are we seeing the Niobid Painter's interpretation of the scope of the Anthesteria, open to all social classes from the most elite citizen to the most banausic outsider? The dwarf is presented as an outsider in both physical and social respects, but whether this vase is meant as comic or critical – or both – is difficult to say. Its date and quality suggest an elite audience who would have seen itself reflected in the barbitos player, not the dancing dwarf.

On the unattributed chous from a few decades later, at the height of radical democracy, the tables have been switched. Here the elite komast is the outsider, literally outside the decorous domain of the oikos and banging on the door to be admitted. He is the one who is caricatured and exhibits transgressive behavior, which unlike the dwarf's dance on the Niobid Painter's chous, has a dangerous edge. His barbitos has been set aside in favor of violence and presumably lust, his body left to deteriorate through gluttony and overindulgence.

We face a conundrum in evaluating this painter's intended message or even his intended audience. The one who saw this chous determined its meaning. If the viewer was an elite male citizen who indulged in symposia and komoi, then the scene admonished him to behave with sophrosyne and avoid hybris, like many scenes from earlier in the century. This message would have an added frisson given the atmosphere of the time, when so many were concerned about untoward komastic behavior.

What if the viewer was a member not of the elite, but of the demos? Someone who resented the notion that the elite could have their own brand of justice and think they could do whatever they pleased? Such a scene might bolster that person's distrust of the upper classes and confirm the ideals of the radical democracy. This hypothetical viewer might find the scene funny in terms of the pudgy komast, or he might grumble aloud about the presumptions of the rich. Maybe, like Aristophanes' Prokleon, he was a dikast who heard cases in the courts about drunken violence in association with komoi.

Both scenarios – among others – remain plausible, which in itself raises an interesting question. Athenian vase-painters were storytellers, but they were also businessmen who wanted their products to appeal to a wide range of customers at home and abroad. Perhaps we are wrong to seek one definitive interpretation of a seemingly ambiguous “genre scene” like that on the Metropolitan chous. Perhaps the painter intended the vase to speak equally to a customer of whatever political persuasion who might come to his shop in the Kerameikos, and for the customer to see in it whatever he (or for that matter, she) wished to see.

Let us return to the *Wasps* and the exchange between Prokleon and Bdelykleon discussed earlier. The seeming ambiguities of Aristophanes' socio-political beliefs have been debated; in the case of the *Wasps*, the play appears to have dual meanings depending on who is watching it. If the Athenian theater-goer in question was a member of the upper class, then Prokleon is the butt of the joke, a gauche nobody who has no business at a symposion. That theatergoer would laugh at Prokleon's attempts to ape elite customs and see his misbegotten komos as the inevitable outcome of a demotic hayseed

trying to be something he's not. But if the theater-goer was a member of the demos, then Bdelykleon is the one who looks foolish, and Prokleon the one who looks clever in lampooning silly upper-class manners. To such a viewer, Prokleon's komos is as rowdy and ridiculous as elite komoi in general, and his rude behavior just like the members of the hetaireiai that the theater-goer was likely to have heard about.



The meaning of the play – the opinion about who is the insider and who is the outsider – lies in the eye of the beholder, and Aristophanes apparently intended it that way. I propose a similar model for understanding the Metropolitan *chous* and any number of “genre scenes” about which scholars tend to disagree. We tend to assume there is only one correct interpretation and one correct viewpoint, but perhaps the fact that consensus is often elusive brings us closer to the painter’s original intent than we think.

Notes

¹Thanks to J. Oakley and O. Palagia for the invitation to participate in the Athens conference, and to fellow speakers and audience members for their helpful comments, especially J. Neils, J. Oakley, H.A. Shapiro, and B. Wescoat. I am grateful to the University of South Florida St. Petersburg for financial assistance with photographs and permissions, and to the following for their help: J. Mertens, E. Sullivan, and J. Zeffel (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), and J. Beard (Walters Art Museum).

²New York 37.11.19; G. Richter, *BMetMus* 34, 1939, 231–232; H.R. Immerwahr, *TransactAmPhilAss* 77, 1946, 247–250; G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* (1951) no. 761 fig. 117; M. Maas – J.M. Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (1989) 115. 132 fig. 7; E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (1993) 67 fig. 48; B. Sparkes, *The Red and the Black: Studies in Ancient Greek Pottery* (1996) 60; E. Parisinou, *GaR* 47, 2000, 20–23 fig. 1; J. Neils, in: B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (2000) 210–211 fig. 8,3; R. Sutton, in: A. Chapin (ed.), *fffff: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr, Hesperia Suppl.* 33 (2004) 331–333 fig. 17,3.

³For infibulation, see F. Lissarrague, in: D. Halperin – J. Winkler – F. Zeitlin (eds), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (1990) 59–61 (focusing on infibulated satyrs); R. Osborne, *Gender and History* 9, 1997, 515–517; W. Sweet, *AncW* 11, 1985, 43–52 for the practice as it related to athletes. Infibulated komasts appear on such vessels as a cup by Douris, Berlin 2289 (ARV² 435,95; BAdd² 238); column-krater by the Cleveland Painter, Cleveland 1930.104 (ARV² 516,1; BAdd² 253; J. Neils, *ClevStHistArt* 1, 1996, 14 fig. 2); and column-krater by the Cleveland Painter, Chiusi C1850 (ARV² 519,9; J. Neils [supra] 15 fig. 3). I thank J. Neils for drawing my attention to this detail and providing the reference for her article.

⁴E.g. Richter (supra n. 2); van Hoorn (supra n. 2) no. 761; Maas – Snyder (supra n. 2) 132 fig. 7 [caption].

⁵R. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (1992). Cf. also J.R. Green, *BSA* 66, 1972, 223; J.R. Green, *BICS* 19, 1972, 2. 6–7; G. Ham, in: M. Padilla (ed.), *Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion, Society* (1999) 204–205 and *passim*.

⁶Food-basket and wreathed *chous* together, e.g. *chous* attributed to the Oionokles Painter, ca. 470 BC, Getty 86.AE.237; E. Knauer, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (1986) 91–100; J. Neils – J. Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient*

- Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past (2003) 261–262 cat. 66.
- 7E. Simon, *AntK* 8, 1963, 16–17; Parisinou (*supra* n. 2) 21–22 hedges her bets on the identification as Dionysos.
- 8Tarquinia RC 4197 (ARV² 1057,96; Para 445; BAdd² 322).
- 9A notable exception: tondo of cup by the Brygos Painter, Cab. Méd. 576 (ARV² 371,14; BAdd² 225; S. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* [2005] 108 fig. 62). Dionysos holds a syrinx while a satyr plays an aulos on a chous attributed to the Ethiop Painter, Jena 423 (ARV² 666,6).
- 10E.g. Sutton (*supra* n. 2) 331: “The encounter is clearly comic and may well have been inspired by a stage production.” Also J. Bazant, *Les citoyens sur les vases athéniens du 6e au 4e siècle av. J.-C.* (1985) 52, cited by Sutton.
- 11Trans. D. Steiner, *Arethusa* 35, 2002, 299, and see Steiner in general for the theme of gluttony.
- 12Louvre G 25 (ARV² 316,5; BAdd² 214).
- 13Baltimore 48.66 (ARV² 543,36; CVA Walters Art Gallery 1 12–13 fig. 4,1 pls. 16,1–4; 19,2).
- 14Trans. F. Lissarrague, *The Aesthetics of the Greek Banquet* (1990) 9.
- 15Trans. Steiner (*supra* n. 11) 298.
- 16Maas – Snyder (*supra* n. 2) 113–138; Bundrick (*supra* n. 9) 21–25. 80–92. 106–116.
- 17E.g. calyx-krater by the Christie Painter, Würzburg 521 (ARV² 1046,7; BAdd² 320; Bundrick [*supra* n. 9] 24 fig. 12).
- 18Trans. A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings I: The Musician and his Art* (1984) 178.
- 19L. Kurke, *ClAnt* 11, 1992, 97–104; Bundrick (*supra* n. 9) 24–25. 84–87.
- 20Karlsruhe 70/395 (BAdd² 393; CVA Karlsruhe 3 65–69 pls. 30,1–4; 31,1–2; 32,1–6; J. Thimme, *Griechische Vasen, Eine Auswahl aus den Sammlungen des Badisches Landesmuseum* [1975] 120–123 figs. 37–39).
- 21Hermitage 2110/651/B651 (ARV² 325,77; Para 511; R. Sutton, in: Cohen (*supra* n. 2) 195 fig. 7,6).
- 22“Realism,” e.g. Sutton (*supra* n. 21) 200, with regards to the Onesimos cup specifically.
- 23Compare the way satyrs are frequently used in Athenian vase-painting as analogues for the animalistic side of human behavior, as examined in the scholarship of F. Lissarrague.
- 24Compare the pose of Theseus on another cup by Onesimos, Louvre G 104 (ARV² 318,1; Para 358; BAdd² 214).
- 25For *hybris*: D. MacDowell, *GaR* 23, 1976, 14–31; N. Fisher, *GaR* 23, 1976, 177–193; N. Fisher, *GaR* 26, 1979, 32–47; D. Cohen, *GaR* 38, 1991, 171–188; N. Fisher, *Hybris* (1992); D. Cohen, *Law, Violence, and Community in Classical Athens* (1995).
- 26Trans. N. Fisher, in: Fisher 1976 (*supra* n. 25) 178.
- 27For the *graphe hybreos*, Fisher 1992 (*supra* n. 25) 36–85, including a survey of earlier scholarship.
- 28Cohen 1995 (*supra* n. 25) 120, and for further discussion of the case, 119–130.
- 29Trans. N. Fisher, in: Fisher 1976 (*supra* n. 25) 182.
- 30Cf. also Lysias 24.15–18, as noted in J. Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (1989) 208; Cohen 1995 (*supra* n. 25) 141. For further discussion with regards to the orations: Ober (*supra*) 205–212, focusing in particular on Demosthenes’s *Against Meidias*.
- 31Kurke (*supra* n. 19).
- 32Kurke (*supra* n. 19) 105.
- 33N. Fisher, in: D. Harvey – J. Wilkins (eds), *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy* (2000) 355–396 for recent discussion.

- 34See e.g. R. Osborne, *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 31, 1985, 47–73; N. Fisher, in: M. Grant – R. Kitzinger (eds), *Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean II* (1988) 1184–1185; O. Murray, in: O. Murray (ed.), *Symptotica: A Symposium on the Symposium* (1990) 149–161; J. Luke, *GaR* 41, 1994, 23–32.
- 35Trans. R. Warner (Penguin ed., 1954).
- 36For analysis of this play and its sympotic themes, see J. Vaio, *GrRomByzSt* 12, 1971, 335–351; E. Bowie, in: O. Murray – M. Tecusan (eds), *In Vino Veritas* (1995) 113–125; N. Slater, in: A. Sommerstein – C. Atherton (eds), *Education in Greek Fiction* (1996) 27–52; A. Bowie, *JHS* 117, 1997, 1–21; B. Pütz, *The Symposium and Komos in Aristophanes* (2003).
- 37Compare the analysis in Vaio (supra n. 36) 337 and Pütz (supra n. 36) 111–126.
- 38Trans. J. Henderson (Loeb ed., 1998).
- 39Trans. J. Henderson (Loeb ed., 1998).
- 40Compare A. Bowie (supra n. 36) 11 on this theme.
- 41Pütz (supra n. 36) 181.
- 42Trans. J. Henderson (Loeb ed., 1998).
- 43Louvre G 13 (ARV² 86a; BAdd² 170; Sutton [supra n. 21] 196 fig. 7,7 [side A]).
- 44Louvre C 9682 (ARV² 1029,16; BAdd² 317; S. Matheson, *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* [1995] no. P 17 pl. 43).
- 45E.g. Immerwahr (supra n. 2) 247–250 for the brothel identification. Neils (supra n. 2) 210–211 suggests “she must be either a courtesan or a female slave.” Sutton (supra n. 2) 333 following the same line of thinking as Neils, says “It was perhaps understood that this is a woman of no social standing, either a slave or a woman lacking the proper supervision and protection of a *kyrios*, a category that would include prostitutes and many other women.”
- 46Neils (supra n. 2) 211; Sutton (supra n. 2) 332–333. Neils also cites Hekabe’s speech in Euripides’s *Trojan Women* 194 as evidence that elderly women could open doors; she suggests “because the woman on the New York vase is not elderly, she must be either a courtesan or a female slave.” Immerwahr (supra n. 2) 248–250 cites Ar. *Ecc.* 960ff., in which a drunk young man sings at a hetaira’s door then pounds on it with a torch, in his larger discussion of the literary topos of the lover at the door. The scene on the Metropolitan chous may well allude to that literary topos, but I would argue to subvert it in a dramatic reversal rather than depict it outright.
- 47Richter (supra n. 2) 231–232; Keuls (supra n. 2) 67 fig. 48; Sparkes (supra n. 2) 60; Parisinou (supra n. 2) 20–23.
- 48Cf. the case discussed in Lysias, *Against Simon*; see commentary in Cohen 1995 (supra n. 25) 131–135 and 132 for forced entry into the house.
- 49C. Patterson, *The Family in Greek History* (1998) 114–125. 130–132, stressing that *moicheia* was more than just “adultery.”
- 50As S. Cole, *ClPhil* 79, 1984, 98 points out, the word *hybrizein* could be used as a euphemism in the context of sexual assault. Either a *graphe hybreos* or a more general *dike biaion* (assault charge) could be brought in cases of rape or sexual assault against males or females. See also E. Harris, *ClQ* 40, 1990, 370–377; Cohen 1991 (supra n. 25); Cohen 1995 (supra n. 25); C. Carey, *ClQ* 45, 1995, 407–417; Patterson (supra n. 49) 163–174.
- 51J. Neils, in: Neils – Oakley (supra n. 6) 143.
- 52M. Goldberg, in: P. Allison (ed.), *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (1999) 154.
- 53Contrast also the Polygnotan calyx-krater in Tarquinia (supra n. 8), where the woman inside the door opens it and appears to welcome the approaching drunken Dionysos.
- 54Neils (supra n. 2) 213, citing e.g. Ar., *Lys.* 250. 309. 1163 with the *thyra/pyla*

terminology.

- 55 Compare Lissarrague (supra n. 3) 60, discussing a scene with two infibulated satyrs pursuing maenads: columnkrater by the Florence Painter, Ferrara T1039 (ARV² 543,53; BAdd² 256).
- 56 New York 1982.474, presently displayed in the Museum's study gallery, Metropolitan Museum of Art Annual Report for 1982–1983, 35.
- 57 V. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (1993) 8–10 on achondroplasia, 163–245 on dwarfs in Greek art and society. For dwarfs, see also M. Robertson, in: A. Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* (1979) 129–134; H.A. Shapiro, *AJA* 88, 1984, 391–392; M. Padgett, in: Cohen (supra n. 2) 47–48 (on the name vase of the Dwarf Painter, Boston 76.45).
- 58 Dasen (supra n. 57) 173. 236ff. for iconographic parallels between dwarfs and satyrs.

5 Herakles, Athena und Chthonia Gorgo: Mythos und Kunst in den Töpferwerkstätten des Kerameikos in Athen

Stamatis Fritzilas

Unterschiedliche Ansichten sind bis heute geäußert worden bezüglich der Interpretation des gorgonenartigen vierbeinigen Ungeheuers, welches Herakles an einen Strick gebunden führt. Es ist nur auf einer kleinen Gruppe von Vasen aus miteinander verwandten Werkstattkreisen spätarchaischer Zeit dargestellt. Dieses schwer deutbare mythologische Ungeheuer hat der Athena-Maler auf einer weißgrundigen schwarzfigurigen Oinochoe der Sèvres-Klasse im Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Abb. 1) wiedergegeben.¹ In dieser Darstellung hebt das gorgonenartige Untier den Kopf und versucht Herakles einzuschüchtern, indem es Feuer speit. Der Heros hebt seine Keule, um es zu bändigen. Dasselbe Thema erscheint auf zwei Skyphoi des Theseus-Malers,² von denen sich der eine in Athen befindet (Abb. 2)³ und der andere in einer Privatsammlung in Monopoli in Italien (Abb. 3).⁴ Dieselben Protagonisten zeigt auch ein dritter Skyphos der Heron-Klasse in Kopenhagen (Abb. 4).⁵

Bezüglich der Darstellungen der Oinochoe in Boston sowie der drei Skyphoi existiert bis heute keine allgemein akzeptierte Interpretation. Das erwähnte Ungeheuer weist keinerlei Ähnlichkeit zu irgendeiner der bekannten Bestien der antiken griechischen Kunst auf. Alle Forscher, die eine der oben angeführten Vasen veröffentlichten oder sich damit beschäftigten, vertraten unterschiedliche Deutungen. So wurde vorgeschlagen, dass das Ungeheuer mit einem der bekannten Furcht einflößenden Wesen oder Untiere der klassischen Antike zu identifizieren sei oder diesem zumindest ähnlich wäre, wie Thanatos,⁶ Lamia,⁷ Sphinx,⁸ Kerberos,⁹ Mormolyke¹⁰ und der Lernäischen Hydra.¹¹ Andere wiederum zogen es vor, dieses Wesen unbenannt zu

belassen.¹² E.T. Vermeule wies darauf hin, dass sich in den schriftlichen Quellen keine entsprechende Überlieferung erhalten habe. Daher zweifelte die Forscherin nicht nur an der Möglichkeit, dieses mythologische Rätsel zu lösen, sondern auch am tatsächlichen Vorhandensein eines solchen Mythos. Ihres Erachtens handelte es sich mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit um eine kunstvolle Erfindung, eine kurzzeitige künstlerische Schöpfung.¹³ J. Boardman zog bei seiner letzten Behandlung des Themas keine der bis dahin vorgetragenen Interpretationen als Lösung in Betracht, sondern überließ das Problem der neueren Forschung.¹⁴

Von den bis heute gemachten Vorschlägen ist m.E. keiner überzeugend. Allerdings stimme ich mit denjenigen Forschern überein, die glauben, dass das Ungeheuer in diesen Szenen aus der Unterwelt stamme. Hier soll jedoch ein neuer, abweichender Vorschlag für die Interpretation der wiedergegebenen Szene vorgestellt werden. Nach sorgfältiger Untersuchung des Ungeheuers auf den beiden Skyphoi des Theseus-Malers, also dem im Athener Nationalmuseum und dem in der Privatsammlung in Monopoli in Italien, ist festzustellen, dass es beide Male einen gorgonenhaften Kopf aufweist (Abb. 2).¹⁵ Die charakteristischen Merkmale sind vorhanden, wie sie von den zahlreichen Abbildungen des Gorgonenhauptes in der antiken Kunst bekannt sind: ein übergroßer runder Kopf, dichtes Haar, ein großes Ohr, ein rundes Auge, eine betonte Augenbraue, stumpfe Nase, dicke Lippen, der Mund ist offen, die Zunge hängt heraus und ein Stoßzahn ist über der Oberlippe angegeben.¹⁶ Das Gorgonenhaupt ist bei diesen sowie auch den anderen beiden Vasen der Gruppe nicht frontal, sondern in Seitenansicht dargestellt. Auch auf dem Skyphos in Kopenhagen (Abb. 4) weist das Ungeheuer, das von Herakles aus der felsigen Öffnung der Höhle heraus gezogen wird, die gleichen Merkmale auf wie das von vielen Abbildungen vertraute Fratzens Gesicht des frontalen Gorgoneions.¹⁷ Folglich kann die Behauptung aufgestellt werden, dass hier der Grundsatz aufgegeben wird, das Gorgoneion in der antiken Kunst immer frontal darzustellen.¹⁸

Die Vasen des Theseus-Malers, der ein Werkstatt-Mitarbeiter und Lehrer des Athena-Malers war, zeigen unzweifelhaft, dass das ungewöhnliche Ungeheuer, welches von Herakles gezogen wird, als Haupt ein Gorgoneion hat (Abb. 2–3).¹⁹ Der gorgonenförmige Kopf wurde in der Antike mit den Körpern verschiedener mythologischer Gestalten oder Tiere verbunden, wie der Potnia Theron, den Sphingen, Kentauren, Löwen oder Panther.²⁰ Die vierbeinige Bestie, die uns hier beschäftigt, ist jedoch eine andere, bis heute unbekannte Gorgo. Beim Vergleich mit der Gorgo Medusa sind Ähnlichkeiten bezüglich des gorgonenhaften Kopfes, der Brüste, der dichten Behaarung und des

abstoßenden Anblicks festzustellen. Als markante Unterschiede sind aufzuführen, daß es ungeflügelt ist, keine Schlangen aufweist und mit einem Körper versehen ist, der an eine Löwin oder ein stark behaartes Schaf erinnert.



Abb. 1. Oinochoe des Athena-Malers. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Inv. 98.924. Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. Foto: Museum.

Mehr Informationen über dieses Ungeheuer sind den antiken Schriftquellen zu entnehmen. Berühmt war ein vierfüßiges Scheußal, welches den charakteristischen Beinamen «κατώβλεπον» (auf Lateinisch «catoblepas») trug, da es – zu Boden schauend – seine Augen nach unten gerichtet hatte. Die Reste dieses Mythos in den antiken Schriftquellen kommen aus unterschiedlichen Epochen. Oftmals stammen sie aus solchen Werken, die wunderbare und phantasievolle Geschichten von Tieren und Ungeheuern zum Gegenstand hatten. Antike griechische und römische Schriftsteller erwähnen das Untier oder kommentieren einige seiner Merkmale. Sogar byzantinische Gelehrte erwähnen es (Tab. 1).



Abb. 2. Skyphos des Theseus-Malers von der Akropolis. Athen, Nationalmuseum Inv. Acr. 1306. Foto: Verfasser.



Abb. 3. Skyphos des Theseus-Malers aus Egnazia. Monopoli, Privatslg. Foto: nach M. Reho-Bumalova, BABesch 58, 1983, 58 Taf. 1.



Abb. 4. Skyphos. Kopenhagen, Nationalmuseum Inv. 834. Foto: Museum.

<i>Jahrhundert</i>	<i>Name/Beiname</i>	<i>Schriftsteller</i>	<i>Titel des Werks</i>
5. Jh. v. Chr.	Γοργόνα / Γοργώ	Euripides	Ioni
3. Jh. v. Chr.	Κατώβλεψ	Archelaos	Idiophye (ad Athen.)
1. Jh. n. Chr.	Γοργόνα, Κατώβλεπον	Alexander von Myzdos	Kleion historia (ad Athen.)
1. Jh. n. Chr.	catoblepas	Pomponius Mela	De clauographia
1. Jh. n. Chr.	catoblepas	Plinius maior	Historia Naturalis
3. Jh. n. Chr.	Γοργόνα	Athenaios	Dignosoplistae
3. Jh. n. Chr.	Κατώβλεπον	Ailinos	De natura animalium
3. Jh. n. Chr.	catoblepas	Solinus	Polyistor
6. Jh. n. Chr.	Κατώβλεπον	Timothens von Gaza	Peri zoon
7. Jh. n. Chr.	Κατώβλεψ	Georgios Pisides	Hexameton oder Kosmourgia
9. Jh. N. Chr.	Κατώβλεψ	Theognostos	Kanones
12. Jh. n. Chr.	a) Γοργόνα, κατώβλεψα κατωβλεσκον b) κατωβλεπα c) κατωβλεψ d) κατωβλεσκον	Eustathios, Erzbischof von Thessalonike	a) Kommentare zur Odyssee b) Epistole 17 c) Episkepsis bin monachulu d) Peri hypokriseos
12. Jh. n. Chr.	Κατώβλεψ	Konstantinos Manasses	Aristandros und Kalitheia
13. Jh. n. Chr.	Κατώβλεψ Κατωβλεπον	Mannel Philes	Peri zoon idiotetos

Tab. 1. Die literarischen Quellen.

Zweimal wird die mythologische Bezeichnung zusammen mit dem sagenhaften Beinamen des Ungeheuers, also «Γοργόνα» und «κατώβλεπον», wiedergegeben, genauso oft wird es nur als «Γοργόνα» bezeichnet. Im Allgemeinen wird aber der mythologische Hauptname ausgelassen und der die Eigenart bezeichnende Beiname erwähnt, nämlich «κατώβλεπον» oder «κατωβλεψ» in den griechischen Schriftquellen, «catoblepas» in den lateinischen. In den Quellen der griechischen und der römischen Antike wird die Gorgo als vierfüßiges Ungeheuer wiedergegeben, das von der Erdmutter Ge in Lybien geboren wurde (Athen. 5, 221 B-C; Ail. nat. 7, 5; Eust., Scholia ad Hom. Od. 11, 633). Der sagenhafte Beiname der Gorgo (κατώβλεπον, von der Präposition κάτω und dem Verb βλέπω), bezeugt ihre chthonische Natur und die mütterliche Beziehung, welche die Ge ihr gegenüber hatte. Euripides spricht von einer „chthonischen Gorgo“ (χθόνια γοργόνα), welche von Ge in der Gigantomachie geboren wurde, wie in der Folge zu sehen sein wird. Mehrere der physiognomischen Charakteristika, welche die literarischen Quellen dieser eigentümlichen mythischen Gorgo zuweisen, scheinen denen der Gorgo zu entsprechen, die Herakles zieht. Auf der Oinochoe in Boston (Abb. 1) ist die Gorgo zu sehen, wie sie Flammen aus dem Rachen speit. Folglich handelt es sich bei ihr um ein Feuer speiendes Ungeheuer der Ge, wie Typhon. Eustathios, der Erzbischof von Thessaloniki, berichtet im Kommentar zum Gorgonenhaupt in der Odyssee, dass diese Gorgo Feuer speite (Scholia ad Hom. Od. 11, 633).²¹ Eine ausführliche poetische Beschreibung derselben Fähigkeit liefert der byzantinische Jambendichter Georgios Pisides.²² Er vergleicht die Flammen, welche das Ungeheuer ausstößt,

mit einer Fackel und stellt sie der Lava des Ätna gegenüber (Hexaëmeron 947–955). Auch eine byzantinische Paraphrase des Werks von Timotheos von Gaza über exotische Tiere, die um 500 n. Chr. in Palästina geschrieben wurde, erwähnt, dass dieses Ungeheuer Feuer speie.²³ Alexandros von Myndos²⁴ berichtet über eine weitere Fähigkeit dieser Gorgo, nämlich mit ihren Blicken zu töten (Athen. 5, 221 B-C). Auch Pomponius Mela (De Chorographia 3, 9, 98–99), Plinius der Ältere (Plin. nat. 8,77) und Solinus (Polyhist. 30, 22) erwähnen diese übernatürliche Kraft der Augen. Wie die Medusa scheint also auch diese Gorgo den Todesblick zu besitzen.²⁵ Einige Zeugnisse berichten vom schrägen Auge, dem grimmigen Blick und der buschigen Augenbraue, wie das des Ailianos (nat. 7, 5) oder des Manuel Phile (Peri zoön idiotetos 1084). Auf der Oinochoe des Athena-Malers (Abb. 1) fällt auf, dass der im Profil dargestellte Kopf der Gorgo ein zweites Auge besitzt, welches ein wenig weiter unten aufgezeichnet ist, also auf der Wange und in der Nähe der Nase. Außerdem ist angegeben, dass sie knurrt.²⁶

Ihr Haupthaar ist lang und am unteren Abschnitt gebunden. Der schriftlichen Überlieferung zufolge hatte die Gorgo langes Haar, das ins Gesicht fiel und dabei ihre Augen bedeckte (Athen. 5, 221 B-C). Zudem handelt es sich bei ihr um ein Ungeheuer mittlerer Größe, wie Plinius (nat. 8, 77: *modica fera*), Pomponius (Chorograph. 3, 9, 98: *non grandis fera*) und Solinus (Polyhist. 30, 22: *modica bestia*) berichten. Die Gorgo trägt Brüste am Bauch und dichte Behaarung am Körper, Merkmale, die an die Gorgo Medusa erinnern (Aischyl. Prom. 799). Weiterhin wird erwähnt, dass sie einem stark behaarten Wildschaf oder Kälbchen ähnelt (Athen. 5, 221 B-C), welche Beschreibung auf die Darstellungen des Ungeheuers auf den Vasen des Theseus- und des Athena-Malers zutrifft.

Eine Aussage, die den ausführlicheren der erhaltenen Schriftquellen gemeinsam ist, bezeugt, dass diese Gorgo einen voluminösen Kopf besaß, welchen sie aufgrund seines großen Gewichtes zur Erde gerichtet trug. Auf den Skyphoi des Theseus-Malers hat das Untier einen unverhältnismäßig großen Kopf. Besonders auf dem Skyphos in Athen ist er nach unten gerichtet (Abb. 2) und offensichtlich übergewichtig, wie ihn die römischen Schriftsteller beschreiben, insbesondere Pomponius Mela (Chorograph. 3, 9, 98), Plinius der Ältere (nat. 8, 77) und Solinus (Polyhist. 30, 22). Die Unterschiede in der Komposition der individuellen Vasenmaler sind der Bewegung des Kopfes zu verdanken, die entweder nach unten oder nach oben gerichtet sein kann.

Auf den Vasendarstellungen wird die Haltung des Helden im Wesentlichen durch die Reaktionen der Gorgo bestimmt, der die Keule entweder gesenkt hält oder aber erhoben, um sie einzuschüchtern. Es

ist möglich, drei ikonographische Varianten zu unterscheiden:

I. Auf dem Skyphos in Athen (Abb. 2) hat die Gorgo den Kopf gesenkt, schaut nach unten und folgt ohne Widerstand. Herakles schreitet mit der gesenkten Keule nach rechts.

II. Auf dem Skyphos in Kopenhagen (Abb. 4) hat die Gorgo den Kopf gesenkt, schaut nach unten und kommt aus einer Höhlenöffnung hervor. Herakles zieht sie nach draußen, wobei er die Keule gesenkt hält.

III. Auf dem Skyphos in Monopoli (Abb. 3) wie auch auf der Oinochoe in Boston (Abb. 1) hebt die Gorgo den Kopf, weigert sich zu folgen und versucht Herakles einzuschüchtern, indem sie ihre Zunge herausstreckt oder Flammen speit. Der Heros hebt die Keule hoch, um sie zu bändigen.

Dieselbe Gorgo ist nicht nur auf den oben genannten Vasen abgebildet, sondern auch auf dem Fragment eines attisch-schwarzfigurigen Pinax aus späarchaischer Zeit (Abb. 5). Gefunden wurde er zusammen mit einer Menge von Votiven aus Ton und Marmor, die während der alten Ausgrabungen auf der Athener Akropolis ans Tageslicht kamen. Heute befindet sich der Pinax im Nationalmuseum in Athen und wurde in die Veröffentlichung der Keramik des Heiligtums durch B. Graef und E. Langlotz aufgenommen, doch die Darstellung auf ihm bleibt bis heute im Wesentlichen ungedeutet.²⁷

Dieses Fragment bewahrt eine bis heute einzigartige Darstellung des Kerameikos in Athen. Auf seinem linken Abschnitt zeigt es die Rückseite des Körpers und des rechten Oberschenkels von Athena. Die Göttin ist durch die Schlangen leicht zu erkennen, die unter ihrem Chiton hervorschauen. Von den Überresten der rechten Schulter mit den Enden der langen Haarzöpfe der Göttin, ist erkennbar, dass sie in der nicht erhaltenen rechten Hand eine Lanze hielt. Aus der Position der Hüfte und des Oberschenkels geht hervor, dass sie stark ausschreitend wiedergegeben war, also im so genannten Promachos-Typus, wie er auf den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren erscheint.²⁸ Auf dem rechten Abschnitt des Fragmentes ist der vordere Teil der Brust und des Kopfes eines Ungeheuers erhalten, das Flammen aus dem Rachen speit. Der erhaltene Abschnitt (Abb. 5) zeigt in Bezug auf die Höhe, das Gesichtprofil, die Brust und das Fell eine große Ähnlichkeit mit der Gorgo, wie sie auf der Oinochoe in Boston (Abb. 1) dargestellt ist. Auf dem fragmentarischen Pinax befindet sich der Kopf der Bestie nahe am rückwärtigen Körper der Athena, dort wo die Schlangen aus dem Chiton hervorragen. Folglich ist die Göttin nach links gewendet und hat ihren Rücken dem Ungeheuer zugewandt. Die Reste der aufgetragenen weißen Farbe, unter der einige eingeritzte Details des Kopfes erhalten sind, bestätigen, dass das Ungeheuer weiblichen



Abb. 5. Fragm. Votivtafel von der Akropolis. Athen, Nationalmuseum Inv. Acr 2507. Foto: DAI Athen, Inst. Neg.Nr. AKR V 688.

Alles deutet darauf hin, dass hier ein seltener Mythos mit gegnerischen Gestalten abgebildet ist, etwa vergleichbar mit Euripides' Darbietung seines „Ion“. Aus einer Stichomythie zwischen Kreusa und ihrem greisen Diener geht hervor, dass die Erdmutter Ge in der Phlegra eine Gorgo gebär, um ihren Geschwistern, den Giganten, in der Schlacht gegen die olympischen Götter zu helfen (Ion

987–994). Dieser athenischen Überlieferung zufolge ist die Gorgo, welche auf dem Schlachtfeld des Kampfes der Giganten mit den olympischen Göttern geboren wird, sicher nicht die Medusa, die von Keto geboren und von Perseus in Libyen geköpft wird, sondern die Chthonia Gorgo, welche von Ge zur Welt gebracht wird.²⁹



Abb. 6. Fragm. Votivtafel des Paseas von der Akropolis. Athen, Nationalmuseum, Inv. Acr. 2585. Foto: DAI Athen Inst. Neg. Nr. AKR V 682.

Es wird deutlich, dass Athena den Flammen dieser Gorgo nur die Schlangenköpfe entgegensetzt, die von der Rückseite ihres Chitons hervorragen. Sie kann ihre Lanze nicht verwenden, da sie dem Ungeheuer den Rücken zuwendet. Die Schlangen der Göttin waren wohl geeigneter ihm zu begegnen, da die chthonische Natur dieser Tiere verwandt ist mit derjenigen, die ein Sprössling der Ge besaß (Ion 1053).³⁰ Allerdings darf nicht außer Acht bleiben, dass Athena im Laufe der Schlacht eine Begegnung mit der Gorgo zu vermeiden scheint, da sie weder den Flammen noch dem tödlichen Blick

begegnen möchte. Den gleichen Trick wie den, den Athena hier während der Gigantomachie anwendet,³¹ gebrauchte auch Perseus in Libyen, als er unter Anleitung der Göttin die Gorgo Medusa enthauptete. Gemäß einer wohlbekannten Mythenversion riet Athena dem Helden, seinen Schild als Spiegel zu benutzen, um die Bestie mittels ihres Spiegelbildes sehen zu können (Lukian. Ἐνῶλ. 4, 14, 2.).³² Einem anderen Zeugnis zufolge breitete der Heros die dichten Haare der Medusa über ihre Augen und bedeckte damit ihr Gesicht, so dass er sie schließlich enthaupten konnte (Lucan. Bell. civ. 9, 680–684).³³ Ohne die genannten Tricks hätten weder Perseus noch Athena dem Todesblick widerstehen können.³⁴

Die Schlangen der Ägis waren also, wenn man der Überlieferung folgt, bereits vorher bei der Göttin vorhanden. Auf dem Pinax-Fragment deutet die Ausrichtung der Göttin nach links auf die Existenz einer zweiten gegnerischen Gestalt hin. Es ist nicht abwegig zu vermuten, dass dies im Rahmen der betreffenden Schlacht ein Kind der Gaia sei, vielleicht ein Gigant, der durch die Lanze der Göttin ins Wanken geraten ist. Falls dies zutrifft handelt es sich höchstwahrscheinlich um Enkelados.³⁵ Das Bildrepertoire der Votivpinakes von der Akropolis spricht für diese Ansicht. Ihre Themen beziehen sich direkt auf die Göttin (Abb. 6).³⁶ Ihre Verwendung als Weihung und ihre besondere Beziehung zur Schutzgöttin der Stadt liefert wohl eine überzeugende Antwort auf die Frage, aus welchem Grund ein solcher Mythos, der bis heute nicht auf anderen Formen attischer Vasen zu finden ist, bildlich dargestellt wurde. Die erhaltene Szene auf dem schwarzfigurigen Pinax belegt, dass diese besondere athenische Überlieferung bezüglich der Herkunft der Ägis von der Chthonia Gorgo kein Produkt einer vorübergehenden dichterischen Phantasie war, sondern vielmehr ein alter attischer Mythos.³⁷

Die obere zeitliche Grenze für die Darstellung des Mythos in der Bildkunst fällt möglicherweise in die Jahre um 530 v. Chr., also eine Zeit, in der das Gorgoneion anfängt, die Ägis der Stadtbeschützerin Athena zu schmücken.³⁸ Die Rezitationen homerischer Epen in Athen und die Darstellung der Eigenschaften des Gorgoneions und der Ägis begünstigten wahrscheinlich die Vermischung der für die Bildung dieser mythologischen Überlieferung verantwortlichen Elemente. Dieser athenische Mythos liefert für die Herkunft von Athenas Ägis eine lokalpatriotische Erklärung, die sehr von dem in verschiedenen Gebieten Griechenlands verbreiteten Mythos des Perseus abweicht.³⁹ In der Gigantomachie besiegen Athena, Zeus und die anderen Götter die Feinde, die Hybris und die ungesetzliche Gewalt verkörpern.⁴⁰

Die eventuelle Anwesenheit der Gorgo zusammen mit Herakles auf dem Pinax der Akropolis ist unwahrscheinlich, sollte jedoch aufgrund der kleinen Ausmaße des Fragments als Möglichkeit nicht völlig

ausgeschlossen werden. Auf dem Votivpinax ist die Chthonia Gorgo m.E. im Rahmen einer mythologischen Episode dargestellt, die sich von dem Mythos auf den Vasenbildern in Assoziation mit Herakles unterscheidet. Mit Hilfe des attischen Mythos über die Entstehung der Ägis auf dem schwarzfigurigen Pinax gelangt man zu einer besseren Lesung der Tragödie Ion und zum besseren Verständnis einiger ihrer schwer verständlichen Verse. Euripides verleiht dieser mythologischen Überlieferung eine athenische Herkunft. Die zwei Blutstropfen mit gegensätzlicher Wirkung, welche aus ein und derselben Ader der Gorgo vergossen wurden, haben eine wichtige Funktion in der Handlung des Werkes. Zuerst übergibt Athena dieses Gift dem neugeborenen Erichthonios⁴¹ (Ion 998–1003), dann kommt die Kreusa in seinen Besitz, und danach gibt diese es dem greisen Diener. Letzterer versucht entsprechend der Ausführung des Planes, Ion zu ermorden. Schließlich gießt Ion selbst das Gift unversehens in seinen Wein, und zwar bei einem Trankopfer zu Ehren der delphischen Ge (Ion 1193). Als einziges Opfer ist eine Taube zu bedauern, die zufällig davon trank. Demnach kehrte das von einem Kind der Ge stammende Gift (Ion 1185) schließlich zu dieser zurück. Euripides bringt es unmittelbar mit Athena und ihrem vormundschaftlichen Interesse an den Erechtheiden in Beziehung. Während der Inszenierung des Dramas wurde der Dialog methodisch vorbereitet. Ge, Gorgo, Athena und Erichthonios, d.h. Gestalten, die mit dem Gift der Kreusa zu tun haben, haben eine wichtige Rolle im Drama inne. Der Dichter hält ihre Anwesenheit von Anfang an durch sporadische Erwähnungen lebendig. Der Mythos der Gigantomachie wird bei der Beschreibung des Giebels des Apollontempels in Delphi erwähnt, dem Aufenthaltsort Ions (Ion 206–218). Später wird dieselbe Schlacht ein weiteres Mal genannt, nämlich als Kreusa Athena als Göttin des Sieges anruft, welche die Giganten an der Seite des Zeus (Ion 1529–1530) bekämpft hatte. Athena wird mit bekannten Beinamen oder Eigenschaften angerufen,⁴² aber auch mit der seltenen Charakterisierung Γοργοφόνα, welche die Vernichtung der Gorgo bezeugt (Ion 1478).⁴³ Mit entsprechender Häufigkeit kommen Erwähnungen der Gorgo vor, der Gegnerin der Göttin. Die Personen des Dramas sprechen indirekt über dieses chthonische Ungeheuer (Ion 1053), wenn sie sich auf die todbringenden Blutstropfen beziehen (Ion 1003. 1053–1055. 1233–1234. 1264). Ein Gorgonenhaupt befindet sich in der Mitte des Schildes (Ion 209–210) und der Ägis der Athena (Ion 995). Die Gorgo ist in die Säuglingswindeln Ions während seiner Geburt in der Höhle unterhalb des Akropolis-Felsens (Ion 1421) eingewebt; Gorgonen schmücken auch den Omphalos des delphischen Heiligtums im Zentrum der Erde (Ion 225).

Das Fell und der Kopf des getöteten Ungeheuers werden in der Folge

zur Ägis und zum Gorgoneion der Athena (Ion 995).⁴⁴ An dieser Stelle ist anzumerken, dass das Feuer aus dem Rachen der Gorgo mit der epischen Überlieferung übereinstimmt, die die Flamme unmittelbar mit der Ägis und dem Gorgoneion verbindet. Es sei daran erinnert, dass Achill unbewaffnet voranschreitet, um die Trojaner daran zu hindern, den Leichnam des Patroklos mitzunehmen, als Athena eingreift und ihm die Ägis mit dem Haupt der Gorgo darauf (Hom. Il. 5, 738–742) über die Schulter hängt (Hom. Il. 18, 220–229). In diesem Moment kommt aus dem Kopf des Helden – wahrscheinlich mit Hilfe des Gorgoneions – eine hohe Flamme heraus und bringt einen durchdringenden Schrei hervor, ähnlich dem Klang einer Trompete, der die Gegner in Angst und Schrecken versetzt. Diese Darlegung zeigt, dass die magische Kraft der Ägis dem Kopf der Gorgo zu verdanken ist, welcher ein blendendes Feuer und eine dröhnende Stimme hervorbringt. Wie der Blitz des Zeus, so ruft auch die Ägis der Göttin eine Lähmung beim Feind hervor.

Euripides hält sich nicht mit einer Beschreibung der Gorgo auf. Allerdings scheint aus einer Anspielung (Ion 1261–1265) hervorzugehen, dass ihm das Feuerspeien⁴⁵ dieser Gorgo geläufig ist. In seinem Zorn über den Plan seiner Ermordung vergleicht Ion Kreusa mit einer Otter oder mit einem Feuer speienden Ungeheuer, welches jedes Mal, wenn es nach oben schaut, mit Flammen droht (Ion 1262–1263: *ἐχιδναν τήνδ' ἔφυσας ἥ πυρὸς δράκοντ' ἀναβλέποντα ποινίαν φλόγα*).⁴⁶ Durch die entsprechende Formulierung wurde die arglistige Idee der Kreusa unverhohlen mit der dämonischen Fähigkeit der Gorgo in Beziehung gesetzt, und durch den das Substantiv bestimmenden adjektivischen Gebrauch des Partizips noch bestärkt: *δράκοντ' ἀναβλέποντα* < *ἀναβλέπω* = *ἀνὰ* + *βλέπω*.⁴⁷ Dabei handelt es sich m.E. um ein Wortspiel für die Theaterzuschauer, und eine dichterische Kreation auf der Basis des legendären Beinamens der Gorgo. Auf diese Weise wird die Fähigkeit des Ungeheuers sichtbar, sowohl im Leben als auch im Tod gefährlich zu bleiben, da es auch noch durch Flammen und Blutstropfen eine Bedrohung darstellt.⁴⁸

Der Vergleich der Gorgo mit einer Otter (Ion 1233–1234)⁴⁹ hat Parallelen auch in anderen Werken des Athener Tragödiendichters, wie z.B. in den „Hiketiden“. Die Mutter von Theseus, Aithra, vergleicht den nach oben gerichteten Blick, den die Heimatstadt des Theseus aufweise, wenn Feinde die Stadt verspotteten, mit jenem der Gorgo (Suppl. 322), als sie im Heiligtum von Eleusis den Frauen aus Argos gegenüber steht. Auch Euripides' Beschreibung des rasenden Herakles ist eine Anspielung auf den Gorgo-Mythos, da der Held die Unförmigkeit sowie die übrigen Charakteristika des Gorgonenhauptes annimmt. Auf dem Höhepunkt der Raserei ergreift ihn die Lyssa, die er mit Grimassen, Gesten und Schreien nachahmt. Wortlos schüttelt er

den Kopf und verdreht seine Augen (Herc. 868); keuchend und brüllend ruft er die Moiren des Todes aus dem Tartaros (Herc. 870). Etwas später zeigt er sein vor Zorn entstelltes Gesicht mit dem böartigen Blick der Gorgo (Herc. 990), während seiner Brust ein flammender Atem entweicht (Herc. 1091–1092).⁵⁰ Folglich sind der feurige Atem und der wilde Blick des Herakles in Verbindung mit dem Mord an seinen beiden Kindern und seiner Frau Megara ein Zustand von Besessenheit, entsprechend demjenigen der Kreusa, als sie versucht, ihren Sohn Ion zu ermorden.

Kehren wir jedoch zu den Vasen zurück, auf denen Herakles und Gorgo als Bidkombination auftreten. Auf dem Skyphos in Kopenhagen (Abb. 4) zieht Herakles den überdimensionalen Kopf der unwilligen Gorgo mittels eines Seiles um den Hals aus einem Felsenschlund ins Freie. Die Höhle, die hinter dem steinigen Eingang zu vermuten ist, kann nichts anderes bezeichnen als den Ort, an dem sie hauste. Homer liefert den Beweis, dass ein „Gorgonenhaupt“ (Hom. Od. 11, 633–635)⁵¹ in der Unterwelt existierte, sodaß die Felsöffnung auf dem Skyphos in Kopenhagen umgehend als Eingang in die Unterwelt bezeichnet werden kann.⁵² Nach ihrer Tötung durch Athena in der Gigantomachie kann die Gorgo nur gemeinsam mit den anderen Bestien in den unterirdischen Gängen des Hades weiter hausen (Aristoph. Ran. 477).⁵³

Es ist denkbar, dass eine Theaterszene der Anlass für diese mythologische Darlegung war, nach der Herakles die Gorgo aus dem Hades hochzieht. Apollodor berichtet, dass bei Herakles' Abstieg in die Unterwelt die Seelen die Flucht ergriffen, mit Ausnahme der des Meleager und der Gorgo Medusa.⁵⁴ Es ist also nicht auszuschließen, dass diese Begegnung den Anstoß zur Bildung eines neuen Mythos in Dichtung oder Theater gab.⁵⁵ Offenbar muss der Held hier etwas Ähnliches ausführen wie die zwölfte Heldentat, die Entführung des Kerberos aus der Unterwelt.



Abb. 7. Oinochoe aus der Werkstatt des Athena-Malers aus Kameiros. Berlin, Staatliche Museen – Antikensammlung Inv. F. 1934. Foto: Museum.

Der Verlust der übernatürlichen Fähigkeiten der Gorgo wird auf der Oinochoe sowie den vorher diskutierten Skyphoi (Abb. 1–4) offenbar.

Der Held fürchtet ihren versteinernden Blick nicht, sondern dreht sich in allen Fällen zu ihr um und schaut sie an, ob er sie mit der Keule einschüchtern muß oder nicht. Eine derartige Umkehrung des Mythos würde zu einer Theaterszene passen. Die Gorgo muß also ihre Kraft verloren haben, sie ist bereits ein *κενὸν εἶδωλον*, wie die Toten (Apollod. 2, 5, 12, 4). Der Heros zieht demnach eine Seele hinter sich her, die der toten Gorgo. Die Darstellung des Skyphos in Kopenhagen zeigt eine Momentaufnahme des Aufstiegs aus dem Hades. Bekanntlich spielt die Höhle eine wichtige Rolle, da die Öffnung den Auf- und Abstieg außernatürlicher Wesen erleichtert.⁵⁶ Im Falle einer Erscheinung des Ungeheuers im Theater ist anzunehmen, dass es aus einem entsprechend gestalteten unterirdischen oder ebenerdigen Raum herauskommend präsentiert wurde.

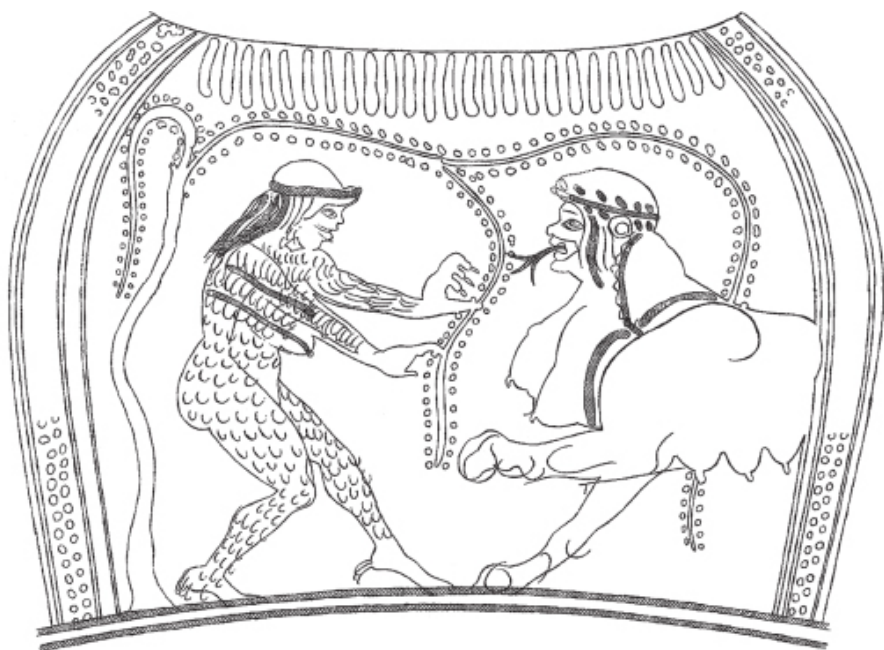


Abb. 8. Oinochoe aus der Werkstatt des Athena-Malers aus Kameiros. Berlin, Staatl. Museen – Antikensammlung Inv. F. 1934. Zeichnung: nach M. Mayer, AZ 43, 1885, 199 Taf. 7, 2.

Es ist eine wohlbekannte Tatsache, dass Fabelwesen von großer Bedeutung in der Theaterproduktion sind.⁵⁷ Auf der Oinochoe des Athena-Malers (Abb. 1) schmückt ein Diadem die Haare der Gorgo. Ihre Körperhaltung verrät, dass sie dem Helden nicht folgen möchte. Sie sträubt sich und lässt trotzigem Widerstand erkennen, wie auch Kerberos gegen Herakles in ähnlichen Szenen reagiert. Die Gorgo verlagert hier das Gewicht auf die Vorderbeine, ihr Körper ist angespannt und sie hebt gleichzeitig den Kopf. Herakles ist von ihrem

Todesblick und dem flammenden Atem unbeeindruckt.⁵⁸ Er zieht mit einer Hand das Seil, während er mit der anderen die Keule erhebt, um das Monster einzuschüchtern.

Auf den beiden Skyphoi des Theseus-Malers (Abb. 2, 3) wird offenkundig, dass der Künstler das furchtbare Ungeheuer in spöttischer Weise porträtieren wollte; auf den Haupthaaren der Bestie sitzt jeweils ein Polos oder ein Kranz mit Efeublättern und am Ohr ein Ring. Die Gorgo zeigt ein sporadisches Verhalten, das eine Mal folgt sie sittsam dem Helden (Abb. 2), das andere Mal weigert sie sich (Abb. 3). Die unvorhersehbaren Reaktionen machen das Anbinden an ein Seil notwendig.⁵⁹ Falls die Vasenbilder tatsächlich einen Mythos der Theaterbühne wiedergeben, wurde die Rolle der Gorgo wahrscheinlich von einem Schauspieler mit monsterartiger Maske⁶⁰ gespielt. Mit der Hilfe eines podestartigen Wagens (ἐκκύκλημα) konnte das Ungeheuer in die Orchestra des Theaters hinein und wieder hinausgebracht werden.⁶¹

Für die oben geäußerte Ansicht bezüglich der Verspottung des Ungeheuers durch die Athener Vasenmaler spricht auch seine Darstellung in einer anderen Episode. Diese ist nur bekannt von einer im letzten Weltkrieg verloren gegangenen Oinochoe aus der Werkstatt des Athena-Malers (Abb. 7).⁶² Die alte Umzeichnung der Erstpublikation (Abb. 8) zeigt, wie der Vorderteil der Bestie von rechts hervorkommt. Diese Gestalt, für welche die Benennung „Lamia“ vorgeschlagen wurde, hat regelrechte Brüste sowie Zitzen am Bauch. Wie die von Herakles geführte Gorgo hat sie ein Halsband um, und in den Haaren einen Kranz. Sie speit Feuer aus dem Maul, während sich vor ihr eine exotische weibliche Gestalt befindet, die ihre Krallen zeigt.⁶³ Das Haarkleid dieser Frauengestalt wird ähnlich wiedergegeben wie das der als Vögel verkleideten Tänzer auf der bekannten Oinochoe des Gela-Malers in London; deren Darstellung wird ebenfalls als Reflektion der Theaterproduktion dieser Zeit angesehen.⁶⁴

Wenn also die Inspirationsquelle der hier behandelten Vasenbilder ein Theaterstück ist, dann muss dieses um 500 v. Chr. in Athen aufgeführt worden sein.⁶⁵ In diesem Fall war es zeitgleich mit Werken der Generation der großen athenischen Dichter wie Pratinas oder Aischylos. Die Erfindung eines neuen Mythos, der die lächerliche Maske der vierfüßigen Gorgo vorführte, ist offenbar der Umkehrung der Rolle zu verdanken, welche sie in der attischen Gigantomachie besaß. Der Zweikampf der übernatürlich starken Gorgo mit der Göttin Athena schließt also nicht aus, dass es sich dabei um die Szene aus einem heute verlorenen Werk mit dem Thema der Schlacht der Phlegra handelt.⁶⁶ Von dem Augenblick an, in dem Herakles und Gorgo in derselben Schlacht kämpfen,⁶⁷ ist es möglich, dass hier eine

Übertragung der Gestalten aus der Tragödie ins Satyrspiel vorliegt. Das Satyrspiel des Aischylos ist charakterisiert durch die Umkehrung und den Wechsel des Blickwinkels des Mythos in jener Epoche, und schöpft gewöhnlich seine Inspiration aus denselben Mythenzyklen wie die Tragödie.⁶⁸ Falls sich auf diesen Vasen das Thema eines Satyrspiels widerspiegelt, würde dieses von seiner thematischen Begrenztheit sicherlich auf eine ausführlichere Trilogie hinführen, indem der Dichter sowohl eine dramatische als auch eine optimistische Seite der Geschichte hinzufügen würde.

Die Anfänge der Geschichte müssen mit dem in der Antike verbreiteten Glauben an die Existenz von Gorgonen am äußersten Ende Libyens verwickelt sein.⁶⁹ Das Vorhandensein des gorgonenartigen Kopfes bei Tieren oder Ungeheuern hat die jüngere Forschung immer wieder beschäftigt. Spuren seiner widernatürlichen Gestalt wurden – jeweils ohne stichhaltige Beweisführung – im Nahen Osten,⁷⁰ in der kretisch-mykenischen⁷¹ und in der sumerisch-akkadischen Kultur gesucht.⁷² Vorgeschlagen wurden Vergleiche mit dem Löwen,⁷³ der Gestalt der ägyptischen Gottheit Bes und dem Dämonen Humbaba aus der assyrischen Kunst.⁷⁴ Beobachtet wurde, dass das Gorgonengesicht, wenn es am Körper eines Tieres oder Ungeheuers angebracht ist, notwendigerweise Unförmigkeit, Häßlichkeit, eine eigentümliche Erscheinung oder das Brüllen als Charakteristika aufweisen muss.⁷⁵ Die Darstellungen des Theseus-Malers und des Athena-Malers entsprechen offenbar den obigen Feststellungen. Unterschiede in den Darstellungen der Gorgo auf den Vasen bestehen zwar, sind aber sicherlich eine Schöpfung der individuellen Phantasie und künstlerischen Persönlichkeit.



Abb. 9. Zeichnung eines Gnu: nach Brehms Tierleben. Allgemeine Runde des Tierreichs² (1920) 192.

Aristophanes kennt die Τιθράσται Γοργόνες (Ran. 477), während Diodor die große Anzahl von Gorgonen erwähnt, die in Libyen wohnen, und gegen die Perseus einen Feldzug unternimmt (Diod. 3, 52). Euripides berichtet, dass König Pentheus nicht von einer Frau geboren wurde, sondern von einer Löwin oder von einem libyschen Genus der Gorgonen (Bacch. 990). Daher ist von vorneherein die Auffassung nicht abzulehnen, dass diese Gorgo eine Mischung aus dem Gorgoneion und dem Körper eines wilden Tieres aus Libyen bildete. Diese vierfüßige Gorgo hatte sich also wahrscheinlich den Körper eines Gnus ausgeliehen, wie bereits in der Forschung vorgeschlagen wurde (Abb. 9).⁷⁶ Von Athenaios ist zu erfahren, dass das Fell einer solchen Gorgo einmal in menschliche Hände geriet. Es hieß, dass Gaius Marius beim Feldzug gegen Jugurtha in Afrika solche Felle in Empfang nahm. Später brachte der römische Feldherr die Felle nach Rom und weihte sie im Herkules-Tempel. Wegen ihres eigentümlichen Aussehens wußte damals niemand, von welchem Tier sie stammten (Athen. 5, 221 C – 222 A). Ailianos (nat. 7, 5) liefert gleichfalls eine ausführliche Beschreibung des Ungeheuers, wobei er es als von der Ge Libyens geboren präsentiert;⁷⁷ er versäumt dabei aber, den Todesblick zu erwähnen.

Wahrscheinlich entstanden diese Varianten der Mythen in der römischen Kaiserzeit und basieren auf einer Geschichte, derzufolge Marius mehrere Wildtierfelle nach Rom brachte. Es ist kein Zufall, dass Ailianos⁷⁸ wie auch Athenaios⁷⁹ von einem ähnlichen Untier berichten, nachdem sie in derselben Stadt lebten. Aus all diesen Überlegungen kann man folgern, dass die Sage um die Bestie und das Aussehen der Chthonia Gorgo auf den Werken der attischen Töpferwerkstätten im Zusammenhang gesehen werden müssen, und sicherlich nicht nur ein Produkt der Phantasie der attischen Vasenmaler waren. Die Kreation des mythologischen Ungeheuers auf der Grundlage eines exotischen Tieres aus Libyen legt die Vorstellung nahe, dass die Dichter sowie die Vasenmaler es von mündlichen Zeugenberichten kennengelernt hatten, während nicht auszuschließen ist, dass sie gleichfalls ein entsprechendes Fell gesehen hatten.⁸⁰



Abb. 10. Skyphos des Theseus-Malers aus Egnazia. Monopoli, Privatslg. Foto: nach M. Reho-Bumbalova, BABesch 58, 1983, Taf. 2.

Man kommt den Anfängen der Bildung des Mythos um die vierfüßige Gorgo wahrscheinlich am nächsten, wenn man dem Bericht von Herodot (4, 189) Glauben schenken will, dass die Ägis der Palladien der Athena aus Ziegen von Libyen bestanden.⁸¹ Dass die Ägis das Fell einer Ziege⁸² war, ist eine Ansicht, die schon mehrere Altertumsforscher vertreten haben.⁸³ Im Lexikon des Hesychios bedeutet αἰγίς: ὄπλον ἐξ αἰγείου (δέρματος).⁸⁴ Zeus wurde αἰγίοχος genannt, da er das Fell der Ziege trug, die ihn gesäugt hatte (Diod. 5, 70.).⁸⁵

Die Herkunft der oben genannten Vasen aus verwandten Werkstattkreisen weist darauf hin, dass das hier behandelte mythologische Thema der Heraufführung eines Ungeheuers aus der Unterwelt, das von Athena in Phlegra getötet worden war, nur eine relativ kurze Zeit lang von den Künstlern in attischen Töpferwerkstätten gemalt wurde. Als das mythologische Ungeheuer zum Gegenstand der athenischen Satire wurde,⁸⁶ nahmen einige Vasenmaler des späten schwarzfigurigen Stils die ungewöhnliche Episode ins Repertoire ihrer Werke auf. Eingeführt wurde das originelle Thema vom Theseus-Maler, was aus den starken Verspottungselementen der Gorgo, wie eigentümlicher Erscheinung, Ohrring, Diadem, Efeukranz hervorgeht. Kennzeichnend für seine Arbeit ist auch die gelungene inhaltliche Verbindung zwischen den beiden Hauptseiten seiner Vasen; er stellt eine mythologische Heldentat auf der einen Seite einer kühnen Tat aus dem Alltagsleben der Jäger auf der anderen Seite gegenüber.⁸⁷ Auf dem fragmentarischen Skyphos in Athen ist die Jagdszene nicht gut erhalten. Auf dem zweiten Skyphos gleichen Themas in Monopoli sind zwei Jäger mit Speeren dargestellt, die gerade das Wildschwein durchbohren, das sie in der Wurzel eines gegabelten Baumes gefangen haben; währenddessen kommt ein dritter Mann von hinten, der mit erhobener Axt über dem Kopf des Tieres zum Schlag ausholt (Abb. 10). Bedeutungszusammenhang und innerer Bezug zwischen den Hauptseiten der Vase weisen darauf hin, dass der Theseus-Maler, dieser bedeutende Maler des späten attisch-schwarzfigurigen Stils, der Schöpfer dieses originellen Themas ist, bei dem Herakles die Chthonia Gorgo aus dem Hades herauszieht.

Dank

Der vorliegende Beitrag ging aus der Hauptabschlussarbeit des Aufbaustudiums hervor, die 1995 beim Fachbereich Geschichte und Archäologie der Aristoteles-Universität Thessaloniki eingereicht und angenommen wurde. Für verschiedene Hinweise sowie für Kritik beim ursprünglichen Text der Studie bin ich dem Aufsicht führenden Professor M. Tiverios zu inständigem Dank verpflichtet. Für die Genehmigung zum Studium von Denkmälern und für die Überlassung von Photographien danke ich der Direktion des Athener Nationalmuseums, dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Athen, den Staatlichen Museen – Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, dem Museum of Fine Arts, Boston und dem Nationalmuseum in Kopenhagen. Außerdem danke ich M. Schäfer, Athen, für die Übersetzung des Textes aus dem Griechischen recht herzlich. – Abkürzungen für Zitate aus Werken antiker Autoren richten sich nach

Notes

- 1Boston, MFA Inv. 98.924: ABV 524,1; E. Vermeule, in: U. Höchmann – A. Krug (Hrsg.), Festschrift für Frank Brommer (1977) 295ff.; M. Tiverios, *AEphem* 1978, Taf. 39a.
- 2Zum Werk dieses Malers s. Verf., *Ο Ζωγράφος του Θησέα. Η αττική αγγειογραφία στην εποχή της νεοσούστατης αθηναϊκής Δημοκρατίας, Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* Nr. 245 (2006).
- 3Nationalmuseum Inv. Acr. 1306 (erh. H 0,16 m): ABL 143–144. 250 Nr. 25; B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (1925) 147 Taf. 75; Th. Karagiorga, *Γοργείη Κεφαλή* (1970) 104 Abb. 12; Vermeule a.O. (Anm. 1) Taf. 81,1; Tiverios a.O. (Anm. 1) Abb. 1; Verf. a.O. (Anm. 2) 74 Kat.-Nr. 100 Taf. 31.
- 4Aus Egnazia (H 0,182): M. Reho-Bumbalova, *BABesch* 58, 1983, 53–60; Verf. a.O. (Anm. 2) 74 Kat.-Nr. 101 Taf. 31.
- 5Nationalmuseum Inv. 834: CVA Kopenhagen 3 97 Taf. 119,8; Vermeule a.O. (Anm. 1) Taf. 80,4; Tiverios a.O. (Anm. 1) Taf. 39b.
- 6Roscher, *ML V* (1916–1924) 519, s.v. Thanatos (O. Waser). Vgl. P. Ducati, *MonAnt* 20, 1910, 653.
- 7Graef – Langlotz a.O. (Anm. 3) 147 Nr. 1306; Reho-Bumbalova a.O. (Anm. 4) 56; K. Schefold – F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst, Geschichte der griechischen Sagenbilder IV* (1988) 198 Abb. 245; I. Scheibler, *AntK* 43, 2000, 29. 34. Vgl. *LIMC VI* (1992) 189, s.v. Lamia (J. Boardman).
- 8Vermeule a.O. (Anm. 1) 295.
- 9Roscher, *ML I,2* (1884–1886) 2221, s.v. Herakles (A. Furtwängler); CVA Kopenhagen 3 97 (K.F. Johansen).
- 10H. Besig, *Gorgo und Gorgoneion in der archaischen griechischen Kunst* (1937) 16; Karagiorga a.O. (Anm. 3) 104.
- 11Tiverios a.O. (Anm. 1) 109–118.
- 12S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints, grecs et étrusques I* (1899) 490; F. Brommer, *Vasenliste zur griechischen Heldensage*³ (1973) 207; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases. A Handbook* (1974) Abb. 253; R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece* (1994) 106.
- 13Vermeule a.O. (Anm. 1) 295: »The corresponding myth has not come down to us, if there was a myth»; s. auch F. Brommer, *Herakles II. Die unkanonischen Taten des Helden* (1984) 20. 146.
- 14*LIMC V* (1990) 120 Nr. 2834–2837, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman): »The dog-elements and scheme with leash or chain clearly relate to Kerberos, yet this is not the dog of Hades but a female counterpart of unknown (to us, or perhaps anyone) identity, living for a brief period in the imaginations of artists in an Athenian pottery«. s. ebenso J. Boardman, in: M. Gnade (Hrsg.), *Stips Votiva. Papers presented to C.M. Stibbe* (1991) 7–8.
- 15Vgl. Besig a.O. (Anm. 10).
- 16Vgl. den Kopf des Ungeheuers auf den hier besprochenen Vasen mit dem Gorgoneion z.B. auf dem Teller des Kleitias in New York, MMA Inv. 31.11.4: D. von Bothmer (Hrsg.), *The Amasis Painter and his World. Vase-painting in Sixth-century B.C. Athens*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, September 13th–October 27th 1985 (1985) 152 Nr. 92, und auf dem Teller des Lydos in München, *Antikenslg. Inv. 8760: Para 46*; M.A. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός και τό έργο*

- του (1976) 78. 89 Taf. 79a. Zur heraushängenden Zunge des Gorgoneions s. Karagiorga a.O. (Anm. 3) 105 Anm. 5. Zum gorgonenförmigen Kopf allgemein s. LIMC IV (1988) 1285ff., s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones (S.C. Dahlinger).
- 17 Zum Gorgoneion als Verkörperung des Schreckens s. J.E. Harrison, *Epilegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1921) 3–4.
- 18 Zum Grundsatz der frontalen Wiedergabe des Gorgoneions s. etwa Karagiorga a.O. (Anm. 3) 105; J.P. Vernant, *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays* (1991) 112.
- 19 Zu Herakles und Ungeheuern s. J. Boardman, in: C. Bonnet – C. Jourdain-Annequin – V. Pirenne-Delforge (Hrsg.), *Le Bestiaire d' Héraklès. III^e Rencontre héracléenne*, Actes du Colloque organisé à l' Université de Liège et aux Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix de Namur du 14 au 16 novembre 1996, 7. Suppl. Kernos (1998) 27ff.
- 20 Zum Thema s. C. Christou, Potnia Theron. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung, Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt einer Gottheit (1968) 136–153; Karagiorga a.O. (Anm. 3) 47ff. bes. 65ff.; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Au miroir du masque*, in: *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique* (1984) 147ff. bes. 152–155.
- 21 s. ebenfalls Eustathios, *Epistole* 17.
- 22 Zu Georgios Pisides s. A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia Poemi* (1959) 16; I. Karagiannopoulos, *Πηγαί της Βυζαντινής Ιστορίας*² (1971) 161.
- 23 *Περὶ Ζώων* 53. F.S. Bobenheimer and A. Rabinowitz, *Timotheus of Gaza on Animals. Περὶ Ζώων. Fragments of a Byzantine Paraphrase of an Animal-book of the 5th Century A.D.* (O.J.) 13. Vgl. Konstantinos Manasses, Aristandros und Kallithea B 39.
- 24 Zum Werk des Alexandros von Myndos, einer Mischung aus Wundererzählung und Zoologie s. M. Wellmann, *Hermes* 26, 1891, 481ff.; RE I (1894) 1459–1460, s.v. Alexandros (M. Wellmann); V.Ch. Wilhelm – W. Schmidt, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Die nachklassische Periode der griechischen Literatur* (1920) 288.
- 25 Vgl. Pind. 1, 10, 47. Aischyl. *Prom.* 799–800. Zum verderbenden Blick s. zuletzt T. Rakoczy, *Böser Blick, Macht des Auges und Neid der Götter. Eine Untersuchung zur Kraft des Blickes in der griechischen Literatur* (1996).
- 26 Zum Klang, den das Gorgonengesicht hervorruft, s. Pind. P. 12, 6; Hes. *Scut.* 235. T. Howe, *AJA* 58, 1954, 209, beobachtet, dass sich ein kräftiges Geräusch hinter dem Gorgonenhaupt verbirgt und deshalb ein weit geöffneter Rachen nötig ist, damit dessen Aushauchung aus der Kehle entweichen kann.
- 27 Athen, NM Inv. Acr. 2507: Seine maximale H beträgt 0,05 m und seine maximale Breite 0,04 m. Die bis heute einzige Deutung findet sich im Kommentar der Erstveröffentlichung, s. dazu Graef – Langlotz a.O. (Anm. 3) 244: »Hinter der Göttin eine Sirene, an deren Nase etwas abgesplittet«.
- 28 Zur Athena im Typus der Promachos s. P.D. Valavanis, *Παναθηναϊκοί αμφορείς από την Ερέτρια. Συμβολή στην αττική αγγειογραφία του 4^{ου} π.Χ. αι.* (1991) 63ff. Zu den älteren Beispielen dieses ikonographischen Typus der Athena s. M.B. Moore, *MetrMusJ* 34, 1999, 37ff.
- 29 Einige Forscher vertraten die Meinung, dass sich der Dichter als Gegner der Göttin die Gorgo Medusa ausleiht, die Perseus in Libyen tötet; s. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Euripides Ion*² (1969) 131–132; A.S. Owen, *Euripides Ion* (1963) 135 Anm. 988; A. Kirchhof (Hrsg.), *Euripides III* (1867); A.S. Way (Hrsg.), *Euripides IV* (1971); s. auch A.B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion III* (1940) 844; A.P. Burnett, *Ion Euripides* (1970) 146.
- 30 Zu den entsprechenden Beispielen, bei denen die heilige Schlange als Helfer der Göttin fungiert und mit einem Giganten kämpft, s. M. Tiverios, in: W.D.E. Coulson

- O. Palagia, T.L. Shear, Jr. – H.A. Shapiro – F.J. Frost (Hrsg.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy*. Proceedings of an International Conference Celebrating 2500 Years since the Birth of Democracy in Greece, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, December 4–6, 1992, Oxbow Monograph 37 (1994) 135–136 mit Anm. 42 Abb. 6–7.
- 31Zur Schlacht der Götter gegen die Giganten s. Pind. N. 1, 67–72; Pind. I. 6, 33; Diod. 4, 21, 5–7. Vgl. K.W. Arafat, *Classical Zeus* (1990) 12ff.; T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (1993) 445ff.
- 32Zum Motiv des Spiegelbildes im Mythos der Gorgonen s. L. Balensiefen, *Die Bedeutung des Spiegelbildes als ikonographisches Motiv in der antiken Kunst* (1990) 113–130. Vgl. K. Ziegler, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 24, 1926, 1–18.
- 33W. Ehlers, *Lucanus, Der Bürgerkrieg* (1973) 67.
- 34Zu Athena als πολύμητις s. Hom. Od. 13, 298–299; 15, 282; Hom. Il. 5, 260. Dazu ausführlich J.P. Vernant – M. Detienne, *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*, Übersetzung von J. Lloyd (1978) 177ff. Vgl. H. Kenner, *ÖJh* 51, 1976/77, 126–127; M. Sakalaki, *Η απάτη στην ελληνική αρχαϊκή εποχή* (1992) 36ff. bes. 56–57.
- 35T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (1986) 61ff. s. etwa die Schale des Epitimos in Kopenhagen, NM Inv. 13966 (Para 48) sowie die Olpe der Leagros-Gruppe in Rom, Villa Giulia Inv. M 538 (ABV 378,251; Inschrift: ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΣ, ΕΝΚΕΛΑΔΟΣ). Athena kann einen gegnerischen Giganten mit der Lanze durchbohren, während sich gleichzeitig ein weiterer hinter der Göttin befindet, wie auf einer schwarzfigurigen Schale vom Ende des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. aus Emporion auf der iberischen Halbinsel, heute in Barcelona, Museu d' Arqueologia de Catalunya – Barcelona Inv. 418: P.C. Bonet – C.S. Fernández (Hrsg.), *Οι Αρχαίοι Έλληνες στην Ισπανία. Στα ίχνη του Ηρακλή*, Kat. (dreisprachige Ausgabe) der Ausstellung im Nationalmus. Athen, 27. Mai – 5. Juli 1998 (1998) 310 Nr. 50.
- 36Zum Thema des Zweikampfes der Athena mit Engelados auf den Pinakes von der Akropolis s. z.B. einen Pinax der Klasse von Athen 581 in Athen, NM Inv. Acr. 2499: ABV 506; Graef – Langlotz a.O. (Anm. 3) 243 Nr. 2499 Taf. 102; einen Pinax des Paseas, Athen, NM Inv. Acr. 2584: ABV 399,1; ARV² 164. Zu weiteren Vasen der Akropolis mit demselben Thema s. M. Tiverios, *Προβλήματα της μελανόμορφης αττικής κεραμικής*² (1988) 137–139 Abb. 40–41.
- 37s. LIMC IV 1 (1988) 192, s.v. Gigantes (F. Vian – M.B. Moore). Zu Athena und Gorgo s. RE VII (1912) 1641–1642, s.v. Gorgo (K. Ziegler); F. Vian, *La Guerre des Géants* (1952) 198–199; D.R. West, *Some Cults of Greek Goddesses and Female Daemons of Oriental Origin* (1995) 142–146.
- 38Zur Athena des Endoios mit der Wiedergabe von Gorgoneion und Ägis s. H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939) 109ff. Nr. 60; I. Trianti, *Το Μουσείο Ακροπόλεως* (1998) 159 Abb. 171–172; s. etwa auch die Amphoren des Andokides in Bologna, Mus. Civico Inv. 151 (ABV 255,5; ARV² 4,10; CVA Bologna 5 Taf. 96,7), in Berlin, Staatliche Museen – Antikenslg. Nr. 2159 (ARV² 3,1) und in New York, MMA Inv. 63.11.6 (Para 320,2bis; J. Floren, *Studien zur Typologie des Gorgoneion* [1977] 54).
- 39L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States I* (1896) 288.
- 40Im symbolischen Gehalt der Gigantomachie kommt der Sieg der uranischen Götter über die chthonischen Wesen, die Herrschaft der Zivilisation gegenüber den irrationalen Kräften der Natur zum Ausdruck. Zur Symbolik der Schlacht s. Aristoph. Equ. 566. Zur Strafe für Hybris s. Pind. P. 8, 12, 18. Vgl. R. Parker, in: J. Bremmer (Hrsg.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (1990) 192–193; K. Dowden, *The Uses of Greek Mythology* (1992) 160.
- 41Vgl. Apollod. 3, 10, 3.

- 42Sie ist Tochter des Zeus (Ion 21. 452–456. 991. 1606), geboren am Tritonsee (Ion 872), Göttin der Akropolis (Ion 11), trägt die Ägis (Ion 996), stiftet als Geschenk den heiligen Ölbaum (Ion 1433–1434. 1478) und liebt die Stadt (Ion 1617).
- 43Burnett a.O. (Anm. 29) 147. Zu diesem Beinamen s. Orph. h. 32, 8.
- 44L. Preller – C. Robert, Griechische Mythologie. Theogonie und Götter I (1894) 192; H.J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology (1928) 30.
- 45Die physiognomischen Charakteristika der Gorgo waren wahrscheinlich für die Zuschauer im Theater selbstverständlich oder die Notwendigkeit zur Beschränkung auf das Wesentliche des Dramas erlaubte nicht deren Erwähnung.
- 46Ion 1261–1265.
- 47Zum Wort δράκων im euripideischen Werk s. J.T. Allen – G. Italie, Concordance to Euripides (1954) 169.
- 48Ein anderes Feuer speiendes Ungeheuer, die sogenannte Αἰγίς, wurde ebenfalls von Gaia geboren. Dem Mythos zufolge spuckte auch sie Flammen aus ihrem Hals (ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἀπλᾶτον ἐκβάλλον φλόγα). Diese Version der Geschichte unterscheidet sich dadurch, dass Athena sie tötet und ihr Fell vor der Gigantomachie zur Ägis macht; die Göttin sichert dadurch die Ordnung in der zivilisierten Welt. s. dazu Dionysios Skythobrachion, FGrHist 1, 32 F8, 70, 4–6 = Diod. 3, 70, 4–6.
- 49Da er auch in Vers Nr. 1015 von Schlangen einer Gorgo spricht, bleibt unbekannt, inwieweit das von ihm gezeichnete Bild mit demjenigen übereinstimmt, das die spätarchaischen Vasendarstellungen bieten. Vielleicht kannte der Dichter nur die mythologische Überlieferung, ohne an ein detailliertes ikonographisches Vorbild zu denken.
- 50Diese Zeugnisse erlangen tiefere Bedeutung, wenn wir sie mit der Aussage des Xenophon vergleichen, der berichtet, dass alle, die von bestimmten Gottheiten ergriffen sind, eine Schauer erregende Stimme, gewaltsame Bewegungen und einen der Gorgo ähnlichen Blick besitzen (Symp. 1, 10: γοργότεροι). Vgl. H. Jeanmaire, Dionysos. Histoire du culte de Bacchus (1951) 284.
- 51Zur Problematik um diese homerischen Verse s. RE Suppl. XI (1968) 811–812, s.v. Homeros (A. Lesky); LIMC IV 1 (1988) 285, s.v. Gorgo (S.C. Dahlinger).
- 52Dieselbe Auffassung vertritt Vermeule a.O. (Anm. 1) 295; Tiverios a.O. (Anm. 1) 116.
- 53Zur Gorgo im Hades s. J.H. Croon, JHS 75, 1955, 9ff. Vgl. J. Harington, The Sixth Book of Vergil's Aeneid (1991) 110.
- 54Apollod. 2, 5, 12, 4. Zu den Bildzeugnissen mit Herakles und Gorgo Medusa im Hades s. LIMC V 1 (1990) 176 Nr. 3452, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman). Zu Herakles' Abstieg in die Unterwelt s. N. Robertson, Hermes 108, 1980, 274ff. Zu den Unterwerltsfahrten von Heroen s. J.L. Calvo Martínez in: V. Pirenne-Delforge – E. Suárez de la Torre (Hrsg.), Héros et héroïnes dans les mythes et les cultes grecs, Actes du Colloque organisé à l' Université de Valladolid du 26 au 29 mai 1999, 10. Suppl. Kernos (2000) 67–78.
- 55Für eine Gegenüberstellung der hier besprochenen Darstellungen mit der Überlieferung des Apollodor s. F. Brommer, Herakles II. Die unkanonischen Taten des Helden (1984) 20.
- 56Soph. Phil. 1663; Eur. Cycl. 100. Zum Thema allg. s. W. Jobst, Die Höhle im griechischen Theater des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Eine Untersuchung zur Inszenierung klassischer Dramen (1970).
- 57z.B. das Satyrspiel ‚Sphinx‘ von Aischylos; s. dazu E. Simon, Das Satyrspiel Sphinx des Aischylos, SBHeidelberg 1981, Bericht 5, 7ff.; M. Tiverios, in: J. Leclant (Hrsg.), ἀγαθὸς δαίμων. Mythes et cultes: études d' iconographie en l' honneur de Lilly Kahil, 38. Suppl. BCH (2000) 477 ff. bes. 480.
- 58s. R. Kannicht – B. Snell (Hrsg.), Fragmenta Adespota, TrGF Bd. 2 (1981) 242 fr. F

658. Diese Verse gehören zu einem fragmentarisch erhaltenen Theaterstück, das den Titel ‚Perithoos‘ trug und wahrscheinlich eine mit dem Abstieg in den Hades zusammenhängende Tat des Herakles zum Thema hat.
- 59 Zur Beziehung zwischen der Gorgo, dem durchgegangenen Pferd und dem von Dämonen Besessenen s. Vernant – Detienne a.O. (Anm. 34) 187ff.
- 60 Hesych. s.v. γόργεια. προσωπεῖα; Suda s.v. γοργόνειον. ἀντὶ τοῦ προσωπεῖον. Zum zeremoniellen Gebrauch des Gorgoneions s. Karagiorga a.O. (Anm. 3) 112ff. Zur Theatermaske s. allg. G. Kachler, Zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der griechischen Theatermaske (1991) mit umfangreicher Lit.
- 61 Zum Gebrauch dieser Maschine in den älteren Phasen des klassischen Theaters s. N. Chourmouziades, Ὅροι καὶ μετασχηματισμοὶ στὴν ἀρχαία ἐλληνικὴ τραγωδία² (1991) 61 ff.; O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (1993) 325–327. 369–370. 442.
- 62 Einst in Berlin, Staatliche Museen – Antikenslg. Inv. 1934: A. Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlungen im Antiquarium I (1885) 407 Nr. 1934; M. Mayer, *AZ* 43, 1885, 199 Taf. 7,2 (Umzeichnung); E. Romagnoli, *Ausonia* 2, 1907, 164. 166 Abb. 18; *ABV* 528,44; *ABL* 144. 260 Nr. 1; Vermeule a.O. (Anm. 1) 296ff. Taf. 80,3; Reho-Bumbalova a.O. (Anm. 4) 55 Anm. 14 Taf. 8.
- 63 *LMC VI* 1 (1992) 189, s.v. Lamia (J. Boardman).
- 64 *BM Inv.* 1842.7 – 28.787 (B 509): R. Green – E. Handley, *Images of the Greek Theatre* (1995) Abb. 3.
- 65 *Iverios* a.O. (Anm. 1) 116.
- 66 Die antike literarische Überlieferung kennt einige Varianten. Einem Fragment des Werkes ‚Sphinx‘ von Epicharmos zufolge tötet Athena in Kämpfen gegen Kronos den Pallas und trägt dessen Haut; s. dazu C. Austin (Hrsg.), *Comiconum Graecorum Fragmenta* (1973) 78. In der Gedichtesammlung *Μερόπις* wird angegeben, wie Athena den Asteros niederwirft ein unverwundbares menschliches Geschöpf, das seine Gegner in Schlachten auf Kos besiegte. Die Göttin siegte nicht nur über ihn, sondern zog seine Haut ab und trug diese anschließend zum Schutz gegen künftige Gefahren. Zu dieser Überlieferung s. H. Lloyd-Jones – P. Parsons (eds), *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (1983) 903A.
- 67 *Apollod.* 1, 6, 1–2; *Eur. Herc.* 177–180; *Pind.* I. 6. 33–5; *Eur. Ion* 987–991.
- 68 N. Chourmouziades, *Σατυρικά*² (1984) 44. 147. Werke, die sich auf die Reise zur oder von der Unterwelt beziehen, waren die *Ψυχάγωγοί* des Aischylos, s. S. Radt (Hrsg.), *Aeschylus, TrGF* Bd. 3, 370–371, oder das Satyrspiel *Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ* bzw. *Εἴλοτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταϊνάρῳ σάτυροι*, s. F. Sutton, in: B. Seidensticker (Hrsg.), *Satyrspiel* (1989) 319. 321. Zum Einfluß des Aischylos auf Werke der klassischen Kunst s. A. Kossatz-Deißmann, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen* (1978) passim; E. Simon, *The Kurashiki Ninagawa Museum. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities* (1982) 74.
- 69 Vgl. *Schol. ad Pind.* N. 10, 72 b.
- 70 B. Goldmann, *Berytus* 14, 1961, 1–23.
- 71 S. Marinatos, *AEphem* 1927/1928, 7–41.
- 72 E. Will, *RA*, 1947, 60–76.
- 73 C. Blinkenberg, *RA* 1924, 267–279.
- 74 C. Hopkins, *AJA* 38, 1934, 341–353; S.R. Wilk, *Medusa. Solving the Mystery of the Gorgon* (2000) 63ff.
- 75 Zur Herkunft und Funktion des Gorgonengesichts Howe a.O. (Anm. 26) 212.
- 76 S. A.F. Scholfield, *Aelian. On the Characteristics of Animals* (1959) 98; H. Rackham, *Pliny. Natural History III* (1956) 56; s. auch ältere Lemmata von allgemeinen Handbüchern der Zoologie oder von Enzyklopädien, die den Beinamen oder den Namen der Gorgo in Bezug auf das konkrete Tier benutzen; s. dazu A. Brehm, *Die Säugetiere*, in: O. Straffen (Hrsg.), *Brehms Tierleben*.

- Allgemeine Runde des Tierreichs² (1920) 192; Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia III (1897) 819; The Century Dictionary III (1906) 2555, s.v. Gnu. 2579, s.v. Gorgonia; The Encyclopaedia Britannica XII (1910/11) 159, s.v. Gnu. Zur Bezeichnung «Catoblepas Gnu» vgl. O. Keller, Die Antike Tierwelt (1909) 296. Aufgrund seiner Erscheinung wurde es mit einer wilden Bestie oder einem Wildschaf verglichen, s. dazu C.J. Cornish, Les animaux vivants du monde (1931) 16: »Les colons hollandais du sud l' Afrique les connoissent sous le nom de 'wild beast' (bete sauvage), ou de 'wild cattle' (betail sauvage)«. Moderne Zoologen vergleichen es mit einem Untier, s. etwa B. Grzimek, Animal Life Encyclopedia² (1972) 409: »This gnu, with its 'high-spirited-exaggerated' movements and the erect manes on the nose, neck, throat and chest, looks like a veritable monster«.
- 77Das sprachlich veränderte Zeugnis des Manuel Philes, Peri zoön idiotetos 47 (1081–1105) stützt sich ausschließlich auf das Lemma des Ailianos. Philes widmete dieses Werk über Tiere dem byzantinischen Kaiser Michael Palaiologos.
- 78A. Lesky, Geschichte der griechischen Literatur² (1963) 909; A.F. Scholfield, Aelian. On the Characteristics of Animals I (1958) S. xi; A. Diehle, Die griechische und lateinische Literatur der Kaiserzeit: von Augustus bis Justinian (1989) 485.
- 79C.B. Gulick, Athenaeus. The Deipnosophists I (1927) S. viii. ix.
- 80Aristot. hist. an. 606 B: Λέγεται δὲ τις παροιμία, ὅτι αἰεὶ φέρει τι ἢ λιβύη καινόν.
- 81Zu Nachforschungen bezüglich der Ursprünge der Göttin Athena auf dem afrikanischen Kontinent s. M. Bernal, Black Athena. The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization I (1987) 20–21. 51–53. 66; M.R. Lefkowitz – G.M. Rogers (Hrsg.), Black Athena Revisited (1996) 193–194. 272. 287; M. Lefkowitz, Not out of Africa: How Afrocentrism became an Excuse to Teach Myth as History (1996) 65. 70. Zuletzt M. Bernal, in: W. van Binsbergen (Hrsg.), Black Athena: Ten Years After, Talanta 38/39, 1996/97, 65–98 bes. 94–97.
- 82Etymologisch ist das Wort αἰγίς – αἰγίδος mit dem Wort αἶξ – αἰγός verbunden. Die αἰγίς ist das Femininum der dritten Deklination und ἡ αἰγέα das Femininum der ersten Deklination; s. Liddell and Scott, s.v. αἰγίς; P. Chantraine, Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue grecque (1968), s.v. αἰγίς. Vgl. Eur. Cycl. 360: δασυμάλλω ἐν αἰγίδι κλινομένω. Die Theorien bezüglich der Herkunft der Ägis der Athena finden sich zusammengefasst bei P.A. Marx, The Attributes of Athena in Athenian Narrative Art circa 675–530, Diss. University of Maryland (1988) 1–81.
- 83L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States I (1896) 99–100; J.H. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion³ (1922) 192; K. Kerényi, Die Jungfrau und Mutter der griechischen Religion. Eine Studie über Pallas Athene (1952) 57–62; D. von Bothmer, The Amasis Painter and his World. Vase-Painting in Sixth-Century Athens (1985) 240; W. Burkert, Greek Religion (1985) 140.
- 84Hesych. s.v. αἰγίς.
- 85Aus den Mythen bezüglich der Amme des Zeus ist zu erfahren, dass die Ägis, mit welcher der Gott die Titanen bekämpfte und auch besiegte, das Fell der Ziege Amaltheia war; war sie doch als Rüstung unverwundbar und rief Schrecken hervor. Eratosth. Κατ. 13. Vgl. Wilk a.O. (Anm. 74) 43.
- 86Zur selben Zeit wird eine Gruppe schwarzfiguriger Skyphoi mit dem Gorgoneion verziert, s. dazu B. Freyer-Schauenburg, JdI 85, 1970, 1ff.; M. Reho, La ceramica attica a figure nere e rosse nella Tracia Bulgara (1990) 63 Nr. 1 Taf. 6.
- 87Verf. a.O. (Anm. 2) Kat.-Nr. 100. 101 Taf. 31.

6 Seeing the Image: Constructing a Data-Base of the Imagery on Attic Pottery from 635 to 300 BC

Filippo and Innocenza Giudice

Translated by Francesco Muscolino

The original idea for this contribution dates back to 1996, when it was conceived at the congress organised by the École Française de Rome on *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique. Fonction et image*.¹ On that occasion, I pointed out the astonishing coincidence between some events of the period of the Persian Wars, narrated by Herodotus, and the contemporary “iconographic fortune” of some subjects closely related to the historian’s account. These same themes, however, were depicted totally differently in the twenty-five years following the victory over the Persians.

At that same congress I complained about the lack of a data-base which would afford a global vision of the themes represented on Attic pottery and allow us to evaluate the history of their use by comparison with one another from the beginning of Attic figured pottery until its end. Thanks to the Archivio Ceramografico of Catania University,² we have now begun to create a data-base that will include all the vases listed by Haspels and Beazley, with the goal of being able to make future additions. With this work we hope to provide scholars with a tool to guide them in discerning the iconographic choices of the painters operating in Athens from the last quarter of seventh century to the catastrophic Peloponnesian War, and even into the fourth century, when the production of Attic pottery had a remarkable revival, not so evident in Beazley’s lists.³

We announced the first investigations on this subject at the congresses in Kiel and Boston.⁴ From the start of our work, a correct chronology of Attic pottery has been of fundamental importance. This chronology is very difficult to discern accurately from Beazley’s work,

especially for the sixth century, because Beazley does not follow a strictly chronological sequence, but places the older painters side by side with the more recent ones, both in the sections dedicated to classes and painters, as well as those devoted to the workshops specializing in certain forms.

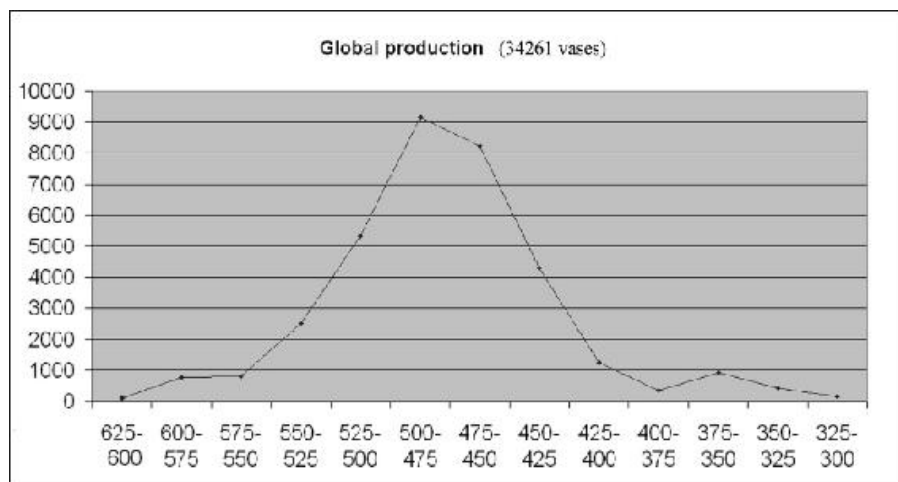


Fig. 1.

Moreover, the continuous increase in the number of known vases, due to new excavations, the art market or new publication of collections, makes it difficult to establish a general framework. All these obstacles were pointed out by Jan Bažant when he used the Beazley Archive in Oxford.⁵ Actually, the criterion of basing the statistics on the vases in the Beazley Archive highlighted the difficulty of incorporating the new vases, due to the lack of a clear point of reference between the old data and the new. We preferred, at this point, to use in our research twenty-five year periods, the same system adopted elsewhere in monitoring the distribution of Attic pottery all over the Mediterranean area. Also in this case, the most reliable basis for incorporating the new vases appears to be the framework offered by Beazley's lists, opportunely "normalized" – as I have already pointed out – into a correct chronological sequence. The same method has now been extended to the iconographic categories, which we shall speak about shortly, thus allowing a continuous monitoring of the development of the single themes both globally and in the thirteen twenty-five year periods in which we have divided the last quarter of the seventh, and the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries BC.⁶

In short, if our method is correct, we should be able to obtain more precise answers about the relationship between subject and history, accomplishing what Sally Humphries hoped to in *Saggi antropologici*

sulla Grecia antica,⁷ in which she lamented that in general the testimony offered by pottery is scarcely used from the point of view of social history.

(F.G.)

The data-base we are trying to create,⁸ built on a rigid chronological framework, and organised in a synthetic way, can be further subdivided, in order to obtain a flexible instrument useful to the needs of different scholars and capable of giving an answer to the complexity and variability of the “Greek way of living and thinking” over a period of three centuries. The difficulty in constructing such a reference framework does not escape anyone: constant monitoring is required in order to continually verify the reliability of the data provided by Beazley.⁹ In creating the data-base we are studying the possibility of varying the questions according to the development of our research that often, as we know, can suggest associations not evident at first sight.

In quantifying the single categories, we have favored not so much the number of vases produced in Athenian workshops, as that of the subjects depicted. Otherwise, it would not have been possible to know which image was favored by the Greek or non-Greek customer. For example, in a scene of a Gigantomachy with Athena, it is difficult to understand if the subject was chosen for the presence of the goddess or rather for the mythic fight in itself; or, to cite another example, if a scene depicting Zeus pursuing Ganymede was chosen because of the god or the pursuit.¹⁰

<i>Sphere of Divine</i>		
	Major, minor, generic Deities	4,432 images
	Nike	1,189 images
	Dionysian scenes (with and without Dionysos)	5522 images
<i>Sphere of Heroes, Anti-Heroes And of The "Different"</i>		
	Heroes and various myths (Herakles 2508; Theseus 508; etc.)	3,550 images
	Trojan cycle	920 images
	Amazonomachy / Amazons	846 images
	Gigantomachy / Giants	405 images
	Centauromachy / Centaurs	376 images
	Gryponomachy	93 images
	Ixotic subjects	205 images
<i>Sphere of Mankind</i>		
Contacts with divine	Everyday life with Nikai and Erotes	400 images
	Cult	719 images
Contacts with the underworld	Funerary scenes	1,100 images
Sphere of military life	Horsemen	810 images
	Military life	3,405 images
	Chariots	593 images
Sphere of sport	Sports	2,364 images
	Musical scenes	286 images
Sphere of practical activities	Everyday life	3,435 images
	Hunting and fishing	137 images
Sphere of generic human relationships	Men, women, youths, boys	6,288 images
Sphere of pleasure	Komos	1,838 images
	Symposium (1149); nose between eyes (54)	1,203 images
	"Divine" (627) and "human" (88) pursuits	695 images
	Running women	525 images
	Courting	168 images
	Making love	81 images
<i>Sphere of Animality</i>		
	"Real" (2323) and "fantastic" (906) animals	3,229 images

Fig. 2.

After this necessary introduction, we present here the outline of the global production of Attic pottery, unfortunately not yet complete, although at an advanced stage of completion (Fig. 1). We have

extracted the main 'iconographic categories' (Figs 2–3), arranged in order to allow the immediate visualization of the global fortune of all the broad categories of subjects during the over three centuries of ceramic production. Twenty-nine categories, that do not try to be definitive or unalterable, are listed in the table. To these categories we associate, as we will see later, sub-categories, temporary and capable of improvement, according to the progress of the research.

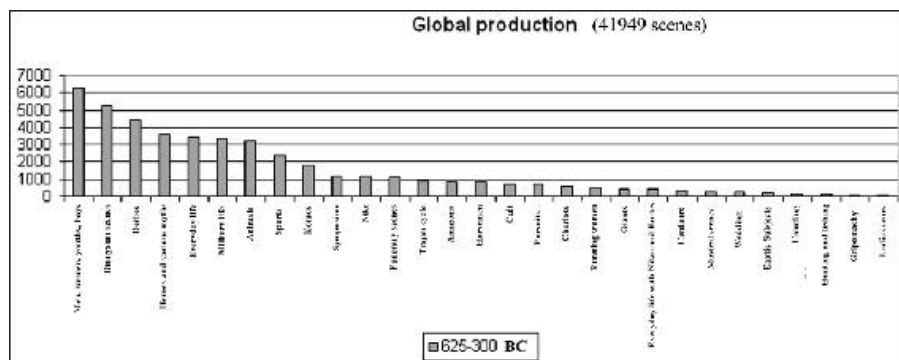


Fig. 3.

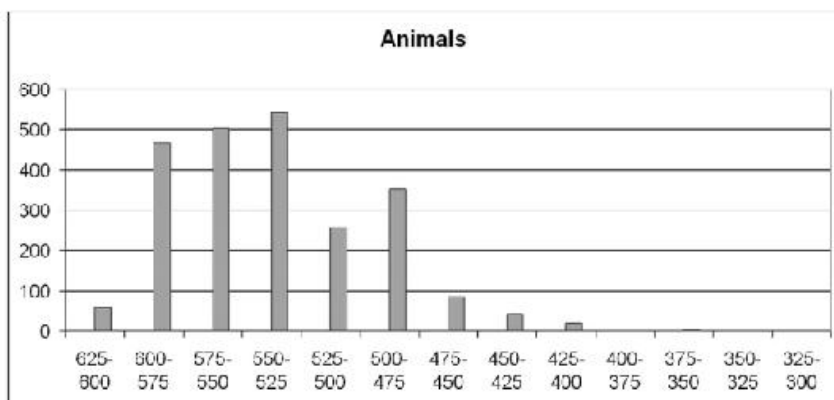
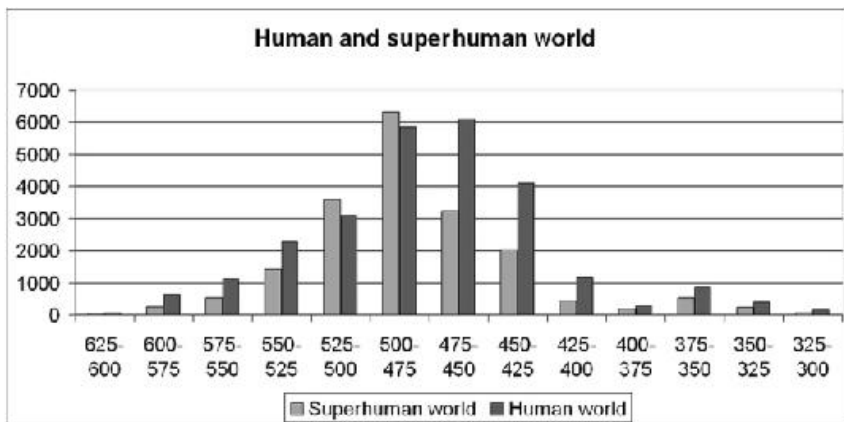


Fig. 4.

The so-called conversation scenes are the most common subject (Fig. 3), because, as we shall see, from a certain point of time onward, they are often shown on the secondary side of the vase, gradually replacing scenes of animals.

For reasons of space, we cannot analyse the single themes here; nevertheless, it is worth focusing attention on the lower level of this *gradatio*: the scenes of love-making (Fig. 3 – Erotic). Out of 41,949 images, these scenes are attested only 81 times and occupy the last place in the table. This unexpected fact poses the question why the subject is so popular in the works of modern scholars, yet not very popular with the vase-painters. Do these scenes have any sociological meaning for the Attic vase-painters?

We move now to present a broader picture (Fig. 4), ordering and dividing all the scenes into two broad spheres: that of gods and of heroes (and of their antagonists), and that of the human and animal worlds. The table, chronologically ordered, indicates the relationship between the two spheres from the last quarter of the seventh to the fourth century BC. Leaving aside the prevalence of animal friezes

during the first hundred years of Attic black-figure pottery (625–525 BC) (Fig. 4,2), the world of gods and heroes is more popular than that of living beings at about 525 BC, until the period of the Persian Wars, after which it undergoes a sharp fall; from this moment on the human sphere has a supremacy that continues to be evident until Attic red-figure ceases to be made.

The pre-eminence of the divine visible in our graphs seems to reflect typical Archaic Greek culture that places the human sphere in total subordination to the divine. The deeply rooted conception that man is at the mercy of uncontrollable forces, seems in the years immediately following the Persian Wars to make room for one where man is responsible for himself in accordance with the nascent legal institutions in Athenian society. All this is promptly echoed in the contemporary dramas of Aeschylus, in which the examination of the relationship between autonomous and conscious human decision, and teleological determinism is of central importance.

(I.G.R.)

The histograms, when chronologically ordered, yield insights for all 29 categories from the last quarter of seventh to the end of the fourth century BC (Figs 2–3). From 625 to 550 BC (Fig. 5,1–3) scenes with animals prevail; in the following quarter (550–525 BC) (Fig. 5,4) this subject tends to decrease progressively, while war scenes clearly increase. Meanwhile, the constant rise in scenes with gods and heroes is evident. In the last quarter of the sixth century (Fig. 6,1) the Dionysian scenes are the most popular, followed by scenes of war, various heroes and myths, and gods. In the first quarter of the fifth century BC (Fig. 6,2) the Dionysian scenes continue as the most popular, followed by gods, heroes, and then war scenes.

This datum should probably be considered in relation to the information found in the written sources, i.e. that the tyrant Peisistratos established at Athens in 536 BC dramatic contests on the occasion of the main religious festival in honor of Dionysos – the Greater Dionysia which was celebrated in the Spring.¹¹ The popularity of these Dionysiac images continues throughout the first quarter of the fifth century (Fig. 6,3) and are followed in frequency by the representations of gods and heroes and, then, of war.

From 475–450 BC (Fig. 6,3), however, scenes of everyday life and the so-called conversation scenes are favored. In the divine sphere, Nike has, as we shall see, increased greatly in popularity, unparalleled in the preceding period (Fig. 6,2). Scenes of conversation and of everyday life remain popular in the following fifty years (Fig. 6,4–5). In the same period funerary scenes become remarkably important, more so in 450–425 BC (Fig. 6,4) than in 475–450 BC (Fig. 6,3).

During the fourth century the iconography changes completely. In the first quarter (400–375 BC) (Fig. 7,1) the leading place is held by scenes of sport, representations of divinities, and Dionysian scenes; conversation scenes also continue to be favored. The same trend is evident in the second quarter (375–350 BC) (Fig. 7,2), when a decrease in agonistic scenes and an increase in conversation scenes becomes evident. The number of Dionysian scenes remains high. In the third quarter of the century (350–325 BC) (Fig. 7,3) the pattern is similar to that of the preceding quarter, except for an increase in the representations of deities. The fourth century closes with the absolute prevalence of conversation scenes (Fig. 7,4), followed by sport. The Dionysian, heroic, and exotic scenes, as well as the running women are still more popular than the rest of the others.

This brief outline provides points of reference for the evaluation of the history of use of the subjects attested in over three centuries, from 625 to 300 BC. It needs a long filter to evaluate the variations of Athenian imagery, from the positivistic phase to the symbolic or metaphoric moment. The route is, of course, long and not without obstacles, and we need to consider all those elements (literary, epigraphic, numismatic, etc.) that may contribute to providing concrete answers to questions posed by the data evidenced in the graphs. Still, bearing in mind these limits, we now pass from the examination of the broad partitions to an analysis that favors a closer inspection of particulars.

As for the divine sphere, the most popular scenes are Dionysian with some 5,522 images (Fig. 8,1), followed by other deities with 4,432 images (Fig. 8,2) and, then, Nike with 1189 images (Fig. 8,3). The moment of the greatest popularity of the first two more or less coincide; Nike, on the other hand, has her *floruit* between 475 and 450 BC, when Athens was victorious over the Persian fleet and army.

In the category of demigods, Herakles, the civilizer *par excellence*, has a role of absolute pre-eminence (with 2,208 images) (Fig. 9,1), followed by Theseus (with 508 images) (Fig. 9,2), other minor heroes (with 3,550 images) (Fig. 9,3), and the Trojan cycle (with 920 images) (Fig. 9,4). The comparison between Herakles and Theseus is also significant (Fig. 9,5). The representations of Herakles show a sudden increase in the last quarter of the sixth century, reaching their height during the Persian Wars, and then falling sharply from in 475–450 BC. Although Theseus, as we have seen, registers notably lower quantities (508 images *versus* the 2,108 of Herakles), pictures of him show a steady increase from 550–525 BC to 500–475 BC. He reaches the same level but does not replace the figure of Herakles in the post-war period. A slight preference for the Athenian hero in Attic imagery begins to emerge only from 475–450 BC, becoming even more evident

during the Age of Perikles.

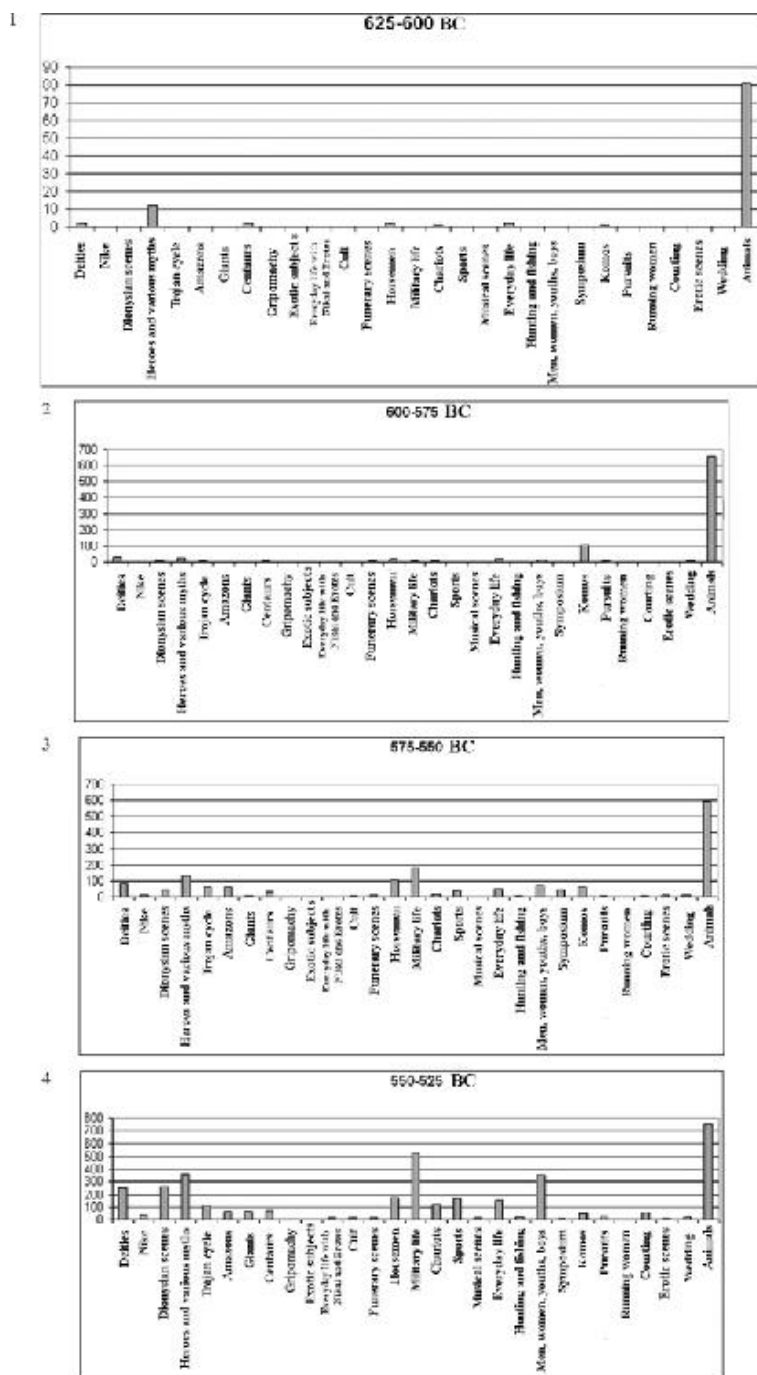
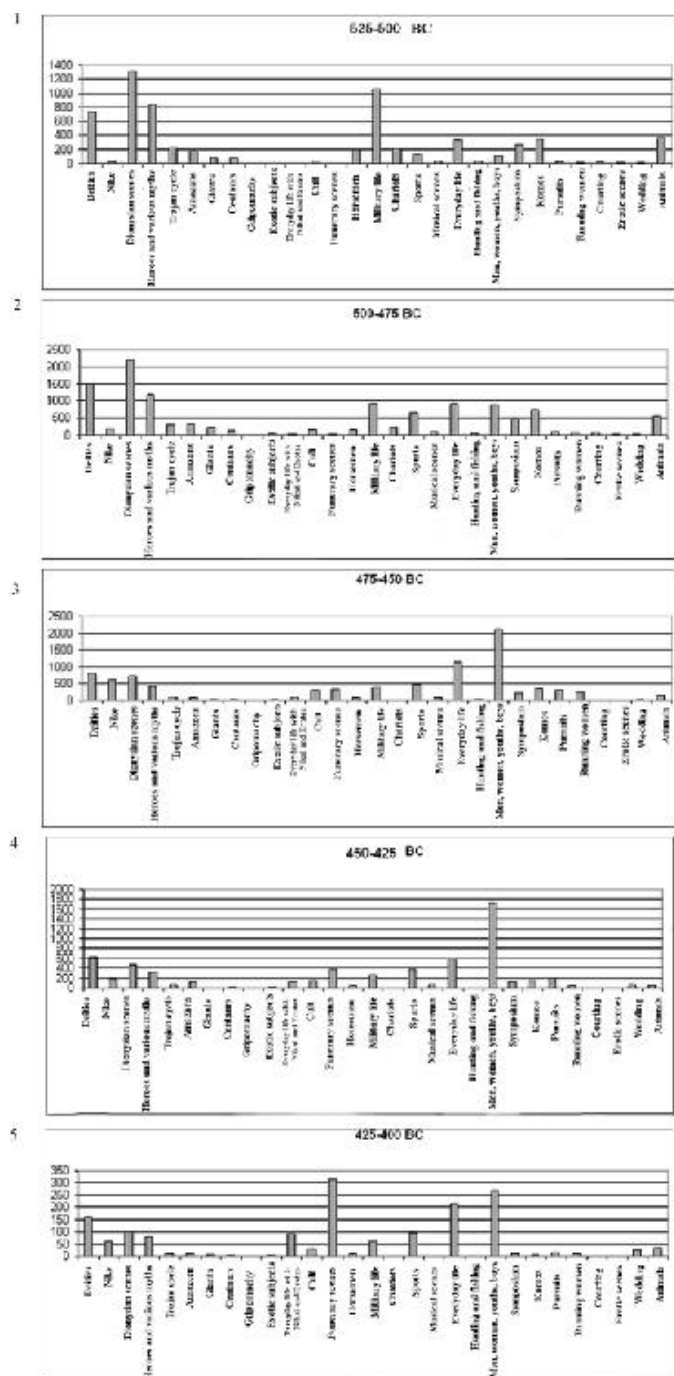


Fig. 5.



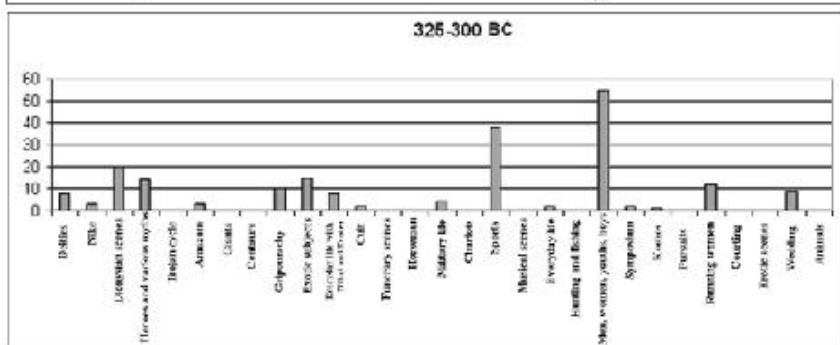
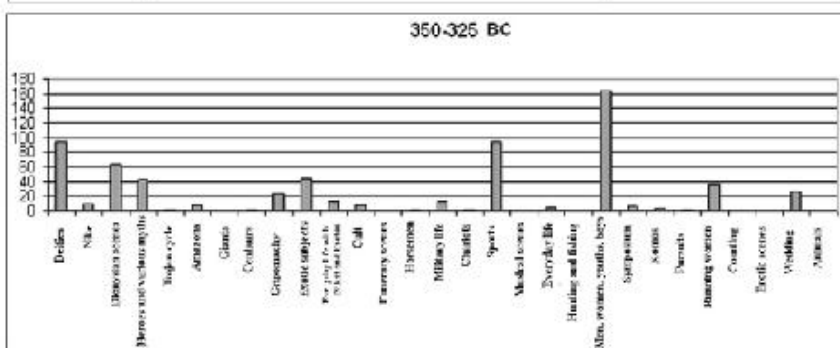
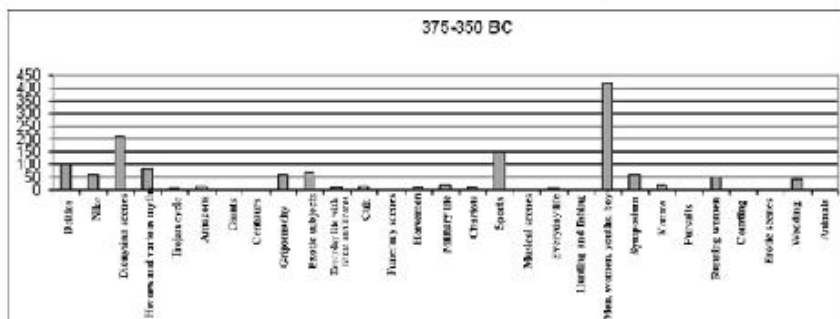
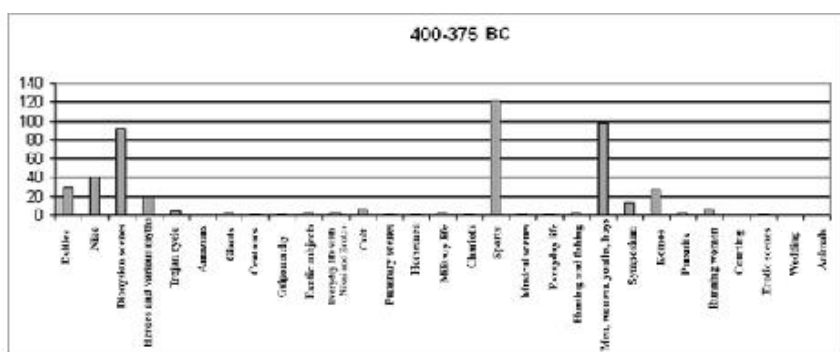


Fig. 7.

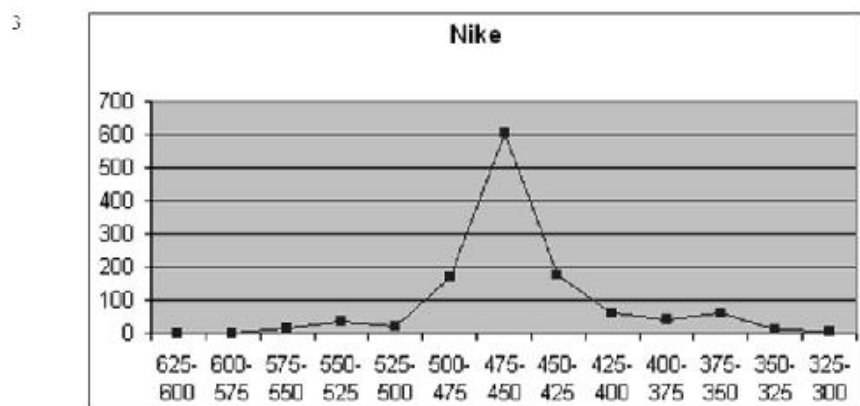
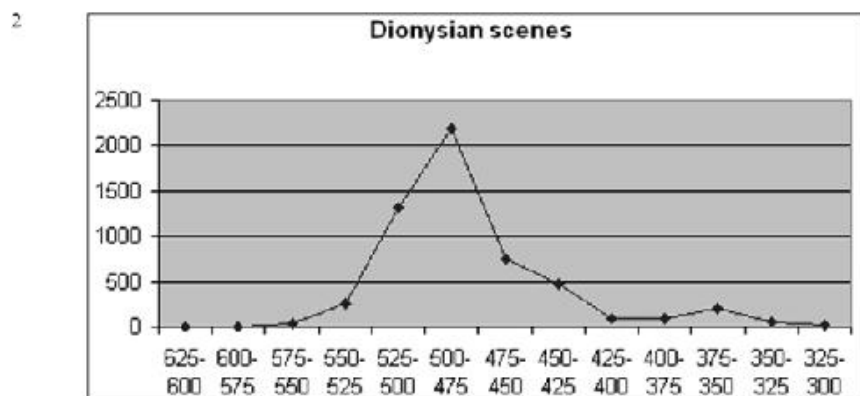
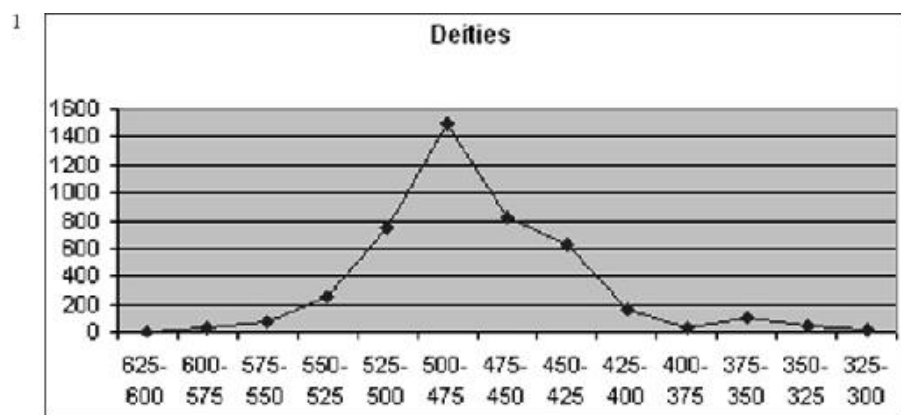


Fig. 8.

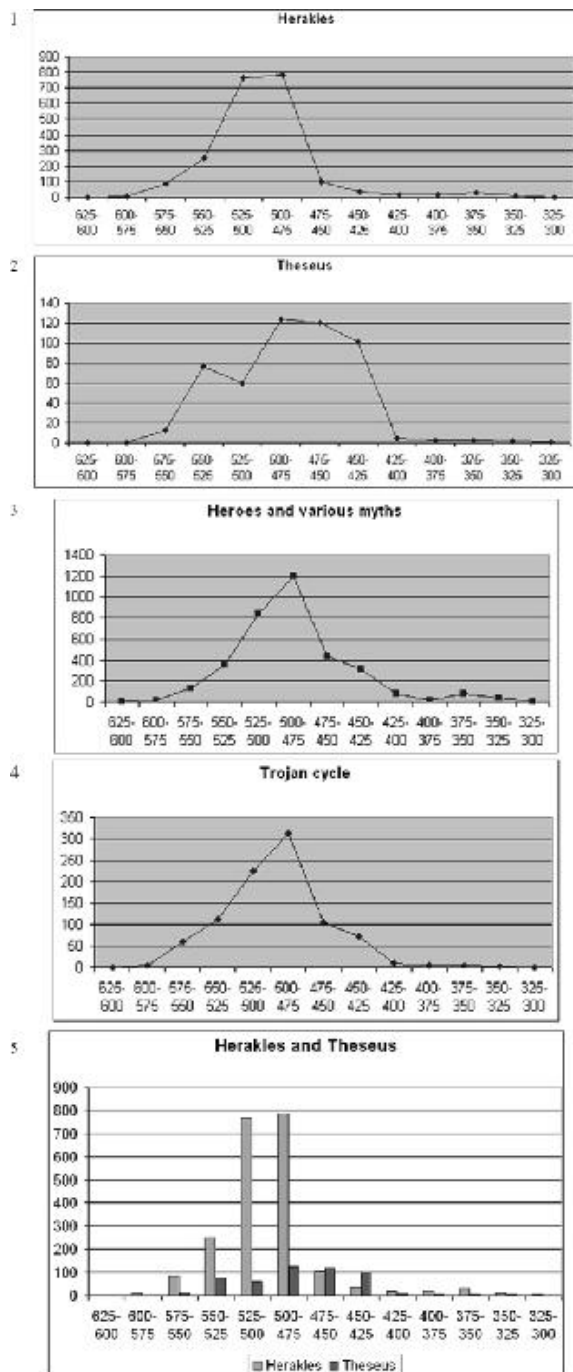


Fig. 9.

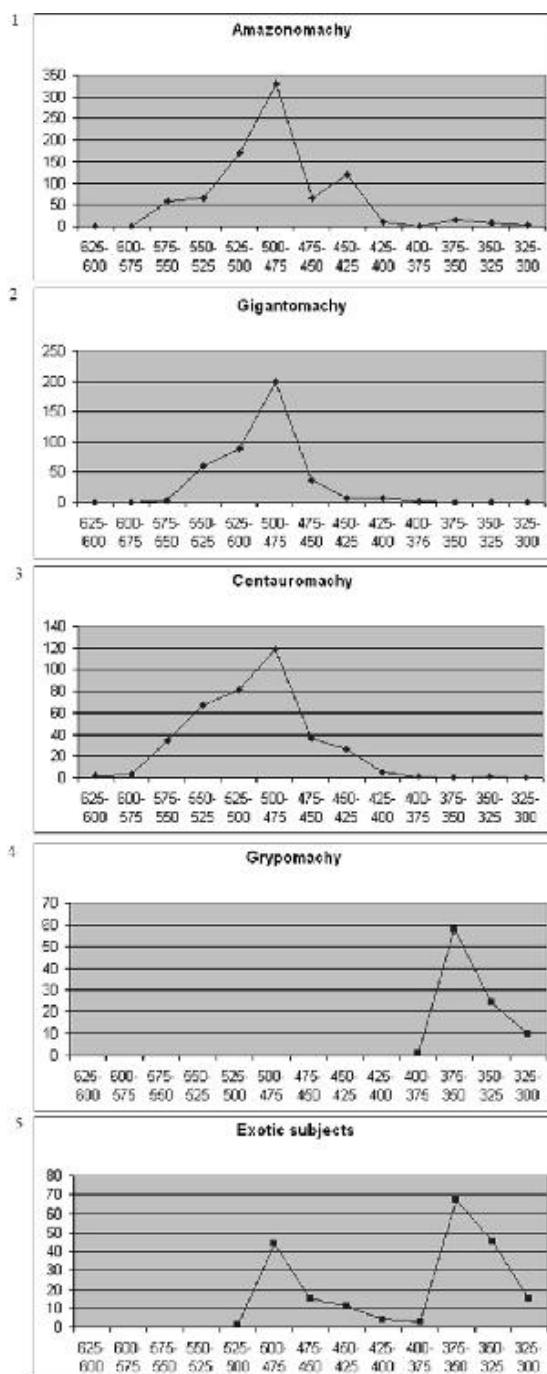


Fig. 10.

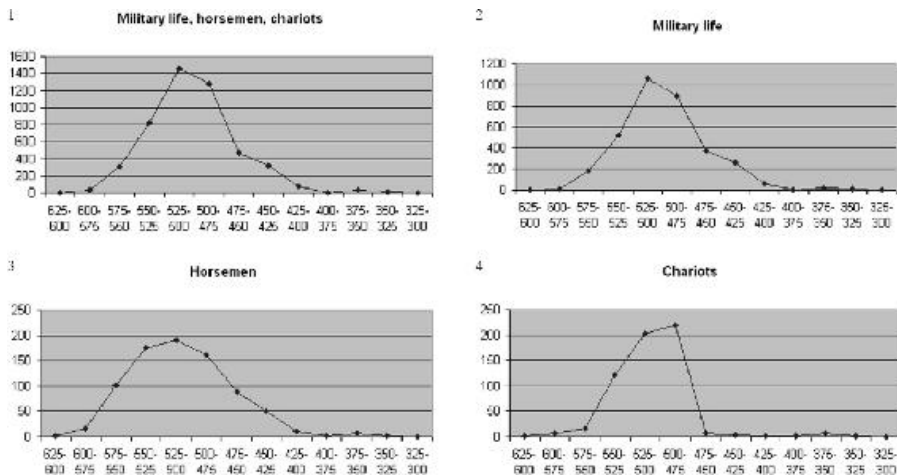


Fig. 11.

In respect to the great mythical fights, the Amazonomachy is the most important with 846 images (Fig. 10,1), followed by the Gigantomachy with 405 (Fig. 10,2), the Centauromachy with 376 (Fig. 10,3), and the Grypomachy with 93 (Fig. 10,4). These four themes are most popular during the Persian Wars, the dramatic struggle between civilisation and barbarity, symbolised by such representations. We cannot be sure if the same meaning is to be recognized in the Gripomachy and in the revival of exotic themes (Fig. 10,5), which were to become highly popular in the fourth century. It is also possible that all these themes are to be ascribed to the painters' desire to satisfy the tastes and the traditions of the new markets: Northeastern Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Black Sea region.

Let us now pass to the sphere of mankind and consider the ten major themes and their pertinent sub-themes which are listed in Fig. 2 and are divided into subcategories referring to public and private human activity. In the sphere of public commitment, we include military activity (Fig. 11,1–4), for which the time of greatest use as a subject in Attic pottery is in the years preceding the Persian Wars (525–500 BC) when we can imagine there was strong anti-Persian sentiment, and during the period of the war (500–475 BC).

Traite d'union between war and private activity are the agonistic scenes (Fig. 12,1) prevalent in the period of Persian Wars. Their *floruit*, perhaps not by chance, has a correspondence with all the "escapist" themes, such as the scenes of music (Fig. 12,2), hunting and fishing (Fig. 12,3), the symposium (Fig. 12,4), the komos (Fig. 12,5), courting (Fig. 12,6), and explicit eroticism (Fig. 12,7).

Although they differ in terms of number, the symposium (1,149 images: Fig. 12,4) and the komos (1,838 images: Fig. 12,5) present an

astonishing similarity regarding the moment of their greatest diffusion (500–475 BC), finding a parallel with the previously mentioned agonistic scenes (Fig. 12,1). Further, the nose between eyes (Fig. 12,8) on eye cups creates a correspondence between the face of the symposiast and that represented on the vase when the symposiast raises the cup to drink (Fig. 13),¹² thereby alluding also to symposium and komos scenes.

During the Persian Wars, the theme of the war coexists with those of emotional disengagement (Fig. 12,1–7), courting (Fig. 12,6) and love-making (Fig. 12,7). It is no coincidence that the themes of “explicit” sex and erotic pleasure have their highest peak during the Persian Wars, and fall briskly in the following period.

From this point of view, it is significant that the cult scenes present in 719 images (Fig. 14,1) reach their peak in the period following the Athenian victory over the Persians (475–450 BC), showing a clear rise in comparison with the preceding period. The relationship with the gods seems now to normalise by means of normal cult practices, and the anxiety created by the war in the previous period dissipates.

In the same period the representations of daily activities increase (Fig. 14,2) together with that of generic conversation (Fig. 14,3). Moreover, the images of pursuit between man and woman become very popular (Fig. 14,4), and also the scenes with running women, perhaps taken from pursuit and representing the preliminary act of the *gamos*.

(F.G.).

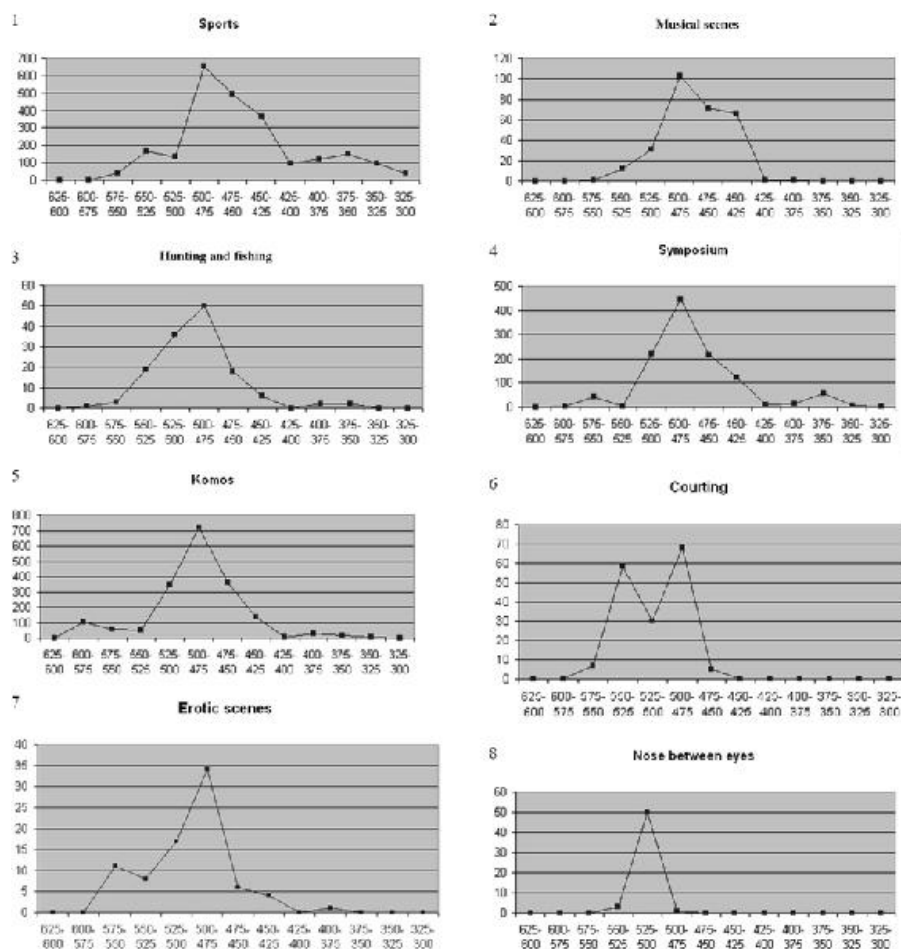


Fig. 12.

Scenes of weddings (Fig. 15,1) occur frequently in the last quarter of the sixth century and then again in 450–425 BC. In the first period, their appearance coincides with the socio-political evolution and is probably due to the democratic reforms of Kleisthenes.¹³ The perpetuation of the *oikoi*, and thereby the city, was trusted to the newly established, legally guaranteed, family units. The second period, 450 to 425 BC, follows the promulgation of Perikles's decree in 451 BC, which limited the rights of citizenship only to those who were born of an Athenian mother and father, and may be the reason for the reappearance of this subject.¹⁴

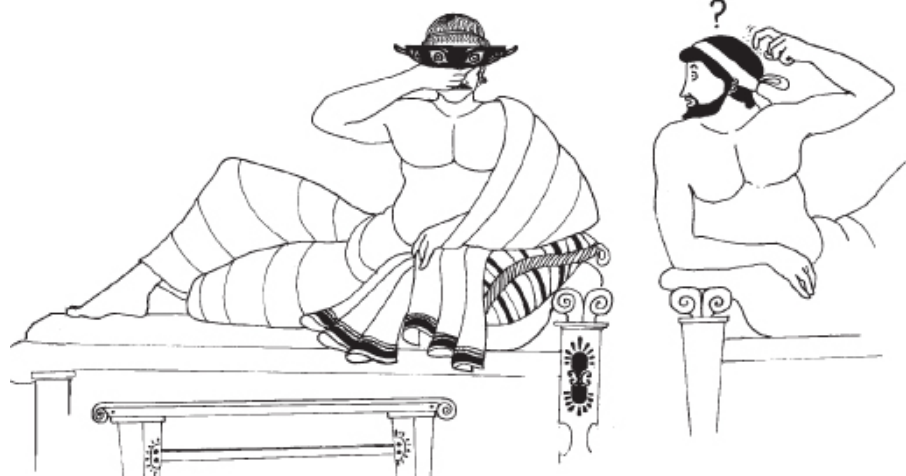


Fig. 13.

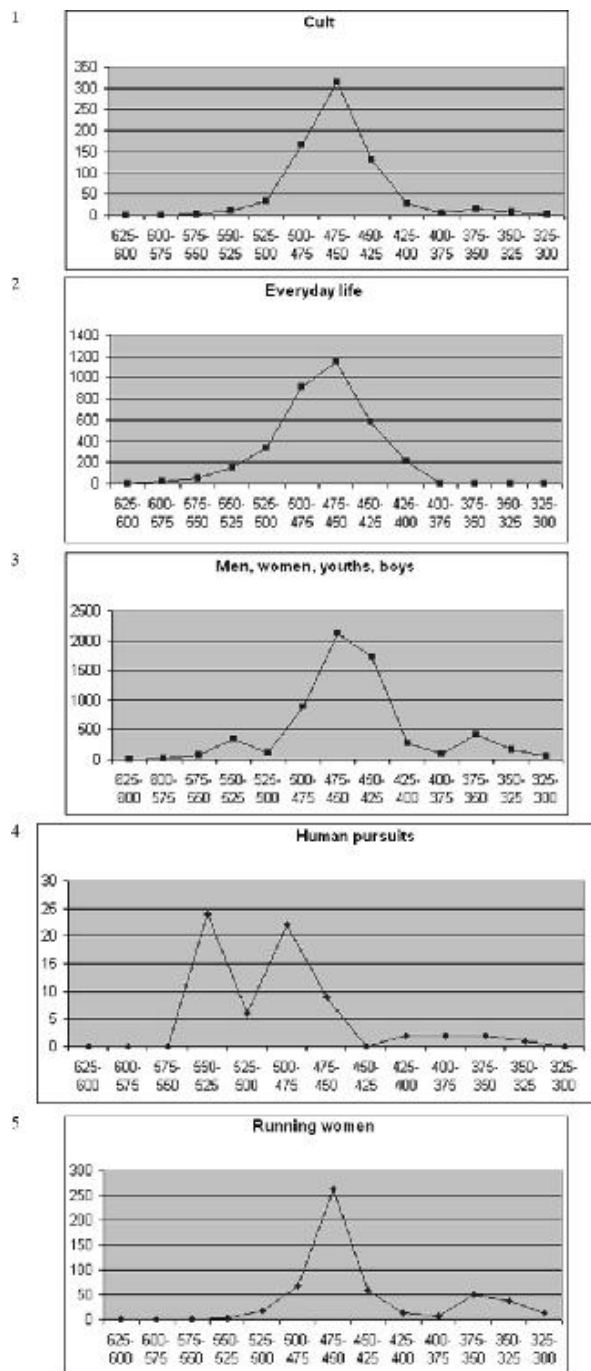


Fig. 14.

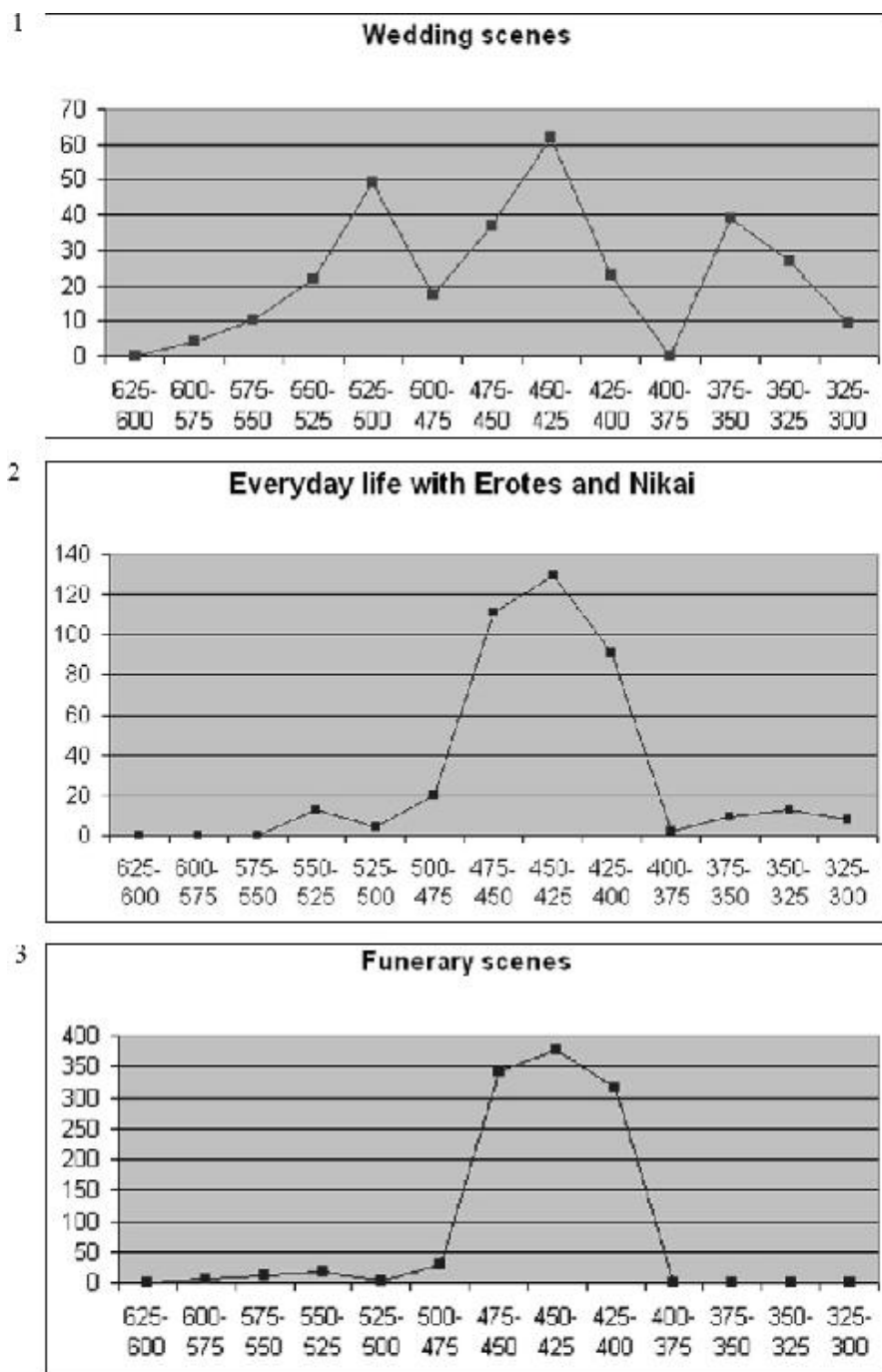


Fig. 16.

It is not surprising, then, that the initiation of this new perspective, in which marital relationships constitute the framework on which the community of citizens is built, stimulates reflection and finds a

necessary echo in the collective imagination that is reflected in literature and the representations adorning the vases.

In the period 450–425 BC, we witness the preponderance of quiet scenes of contact with the Olympic and the para-Olympic world. Not by chance an identical pattern is found in images of daily life with Eros and Nikai (Fig. 15,2) and the quiet images of the funeral (Fig. 15,3).

(I.G.R.)

To conclude, we are continuing to use the methodology presented at the congress of Rome in order to make this first attempt at presenting the production of figured pottery in a synoptic way. This includes tracing the use of single themes and how they were affected by the stimulus of a mentality characterised by a turbulent dynamism – from the Archaic, to the Classic and Post-Classical culture. The completion and refinement of such an enormous quantity of data is still some way off, but with patience it will be completed in several years.

(F.G.)

With the contribution of Elvia and Giada Giudice, Francesco Muscolino, Giuseppe Sanfilippo Chiarello, Rossano Scicolone, Sebastiano Luca Tata and the cooperation of G. Barbagallo, L. Consoli, S. Corsaro, S. Cuffari, V. Platania, G. Proiti, R. Zappalà.

Notes

1F. Giudice, in: *Le mythe grec dans l'Italie antique. Fonction et image. Actes du colloque international*, Rome 14 – 16 novembre 1996 (1999) 267–327.

2The classification of the vases by theme was entrusted to Giovanna Barbagallo, Loredana Consoli, Sara Corsaro, Sebastiano Cuffari, Valeria Platania, Giuseppe Proiti, Rossano Scicolone, Sebastiano Luca Tata, and Roberta Zappalà. It was coordinated by Sebastiano Barresi (komos and symposium) and Francesco Muscolino (Nike and Eros). Elvia and Giada Giudice also cooperated greatly in this project. For the *Archivio Ceramografico*, see F. Giudice, *ACalc* 10 (1999) 79–88.

3Giudice (supra n. 3).

4F. Giudice – S. Barresi, in: *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Akten des Internationalen Vasen-Symposiums in Kiel vom 24.–28.9.2001* (2003) 280–286; F. Giudice presented the poster, “Post-Paralipomena”, at conventions in Kiel (supra) and at Boston (XVI International Congress of Classical Archaeology, 23–26 August 2003).

5J. Bažant, *Métis* 5, 1990, 93–112.

6The chronology of the fourth century has been refined by Francesco Muscolino during his research at the *Archivio ceramografico* of Catania University and while working on his doctoral dissertation coordinated by the Universities of Palermo, Catania, and Messina.

7S. Humphreys, *Saggi antropologici sulla Grecia antica* (1979) 240.

8F. Giudice, in: *Iconografia 2005. Immagini e immaginari dall'antichità classica al*

mondo moderno, Antenor – Quaderni 5, 2006, 83–88.

9This methodology was first used for Magna Grecia at Acquasparta (F. Giudice, *Ostraka* 6, 1997, 401–413). Later at congresss at Kiel in 2001 and at Boston in 2003 it was employed for the thirteen areas and sub-areas in which all the Mediterranean area has been subdivided: supra n. 4.

10F: Giudice – N. Foti – E. Giudice, in: *Lo stile severo in Grecia e in Occidente. Aspetti e problemi* (1995) 115–201.

11According to the Marmor Parium the first tragic contest took place in the 61st Olympiad (536/5–533/2 BC) and was won by Thespis.

12This iconographic feature starts in the last quarter of the sixth century. The drawing is by Pussia Siciliano.

13Essential elements of the legal wedding in the Classical period are: the *eggye*, the *proix*, and the *ekdosis*, all of which need to take place in order for a union to be valid. J-P. Vernant, *Mythe et société en grèce ancienne* (1974) 57–81 underlines, in particular, that the wedding by means of the *eggye* and the *proix* insured a legitimate unit and an authentic lineage. The city meanwhile aimed at maintaining through the generations the permanency of its structures and of its constitution, giving to the families the task of perpetuating the *oikoi* and of stabilizing the city that, moreover, was jealously defended from external intrusions. [F.G.]

14Arist. *Ath. Pol.*; Plut., *Per.*, 37.3.

7 The Jena Workshop Reconsidered: Some New Thoughts on Old Finds

Kleopatra Kathariou

In the early 1850's a large number of fragments was found during the building of an Athenian house on modern Hermes Street. Part of this find was bought by C.W. Goettling on behalf of the Archaeological Museum of the University of Jena;¹ the rest is lost, except for a fragment that once belonged to L. Preller.² J.D. Beazley, who paid a visit to Jena and studied the fragments preserved in the local museum, first named the artist who decorated the fragments "the Jena Painter". In the 1930's W. Hahland in his important studies on the Attic pottery of the late fifth and the early fourth centuries published some of the Jena fragments and praised their high artistic quality,³ whereas K. Schefold in his studies on the vases of the so-called Kerch style acknowledged the important role of the Jena Painter in the formation of the Kerch style and the artist's close relation to the Herakles Painter.⁴ Beazley, in the first edition of his *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*,⁵ refined the list of the works by the Jena Painter and concluded that both the best and the worst pieces were all painted by one hand. Later on in the second edition⁶ he changed his mind and talked about "the Jena workshop", distinguishing the style of the Jena Painter himself from what he termed style B, style C, and the style of an artist who worked in the manner of the Jena Painter, "the Diomed Painter".

In 1994 V. Paul-Zinserling, the former curator of the Archeological Museum of Jena University, published a monograph on the Jena Painter that grew out of her habilitation thesis.⁷ In this thorough publication she presented those fragments recorded by Beazley which were of iconographical importance. In an exhibition prepared two years later by students of Classical Archaeology at Jena University, under the guidance of faculty members, 71 fragments from this find were presented to the public for the first time.⁸ Unfortunately, from

these fragments, which were included in the inventory of the exhibition catalogue, only seven were illustrated. More recently, in an exhibition organized in Berlin,⁹ there was a selection of 23 out of the 142 fragments which form the find in Jena; among the fragments included in the exhibition catalogue were two stemless cups illustrated for the first time.¹⁰

The need for new research on the specific vase-painter and his workshop has been pointed out twice. First, J.H. Oakley, in a conference about pottery workshops, while referring to the deposit from Hermes Street, noted that: "...Although a number of the more important vases have been published and the definitive work on the Jena Painter is being prepared by Dr. V. Paul-Zinserling of Jena University, again no overview of the material or workshop has been published...".¹¹ Later, Paul-Zinserling mentioned in the conclusions of her monograph on the Jena Painter that "...Eine spätere Untersuchung müßte ihr Augenmerk auch auf die Formentwicklung der verwendeten Schalentypen sowie die stilkritische Aufarbeitung von Ornamenten und Bildern des seit Beazleys Zeit angewachsenen Schalencorpus legen, um auch den hier weitgehend vernachlässigten Aspekt der handwerklich-künstlerischen Stellung dieser Werkstatt deutlicher zu bestimmen...".¹² These statements served as a stimulus for the postdoctoral study I undertook and defined its structure and objectives. Here, I shall present some of the results of this study, focusing primarily on the Type B cups produced in the Jena workshop. Before doing so, however, I want to mention some minor but interesting discoveries made while studying the collection at Jena University.

The first concerns the fragment Jena, SAK 0404 (Fig. 1).¹³ Previously it was not thought to belong to the deposit, which is why it was kept in a separate drawer along with various other red-figure fragments of unknown provenance. It is a single fragment from the bowl of a drinking vessel, glazed inside and painted outside. The inclination of its walls indicates that it belongs to a cupskyphos. The fragment preserves part of a female figure which is shown standing to the left, her left arm placed akimbo. The brown dilute glaze, which has been used to indicate a fold of her drapery, clearly shows that it is painted in Beazley's style C. The figure is analogous to the female shown standing between two youths on side A of the fragmentary cup-skyphos Jena, SAK 0456 (7)¹⁴ and even more so to that on side A of the cup-skyphos Jena, SAK 0452 (13) (Fig. 2).¹⁵ In fact, I discovered that the fragment actually belongs to and joins side B of the cup-skyphos with inventory number 0452.

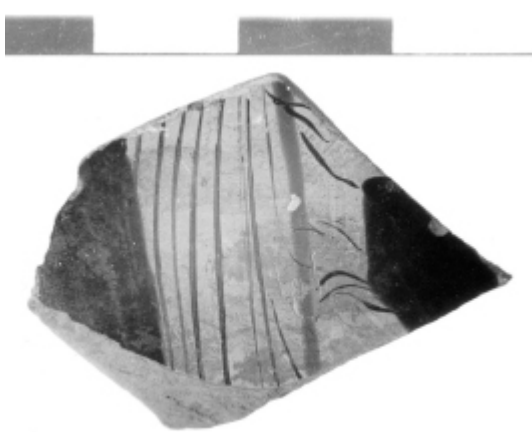


Fig. 1. Jena, SAK 0404. Photo: Museum.

A second discovery involves a small fragment that preserves part of the rim and the bowl of a shallow drinking vessel (Figs 3–4). It also had been kept in a drawer together with other unregistered fragments (it now has the inv. no. 0449) and was considered to be Roman due to its orange-red color. In fact, it is a fragment of a stemless lipless cup which is glazed on the outside and decorated on the inside. This shape was produced in great numbers by the Jena workshop. The identification is confirmed by comparing the profile drawing of this fragment with the other fragments of vases of this shape illustrated in Fig. 7. Its misleading color is the result of its having been misfired in the kiln.¹⁶

Many other fragmentary stemlesses of the same type are partly misfired. Two good examples are Jena, SAK 0424 (Fig. 5),¹⁷ which is partly misfired grey, and Jena, SAK 0423 (Fig. 6),¹⁸ which is partly misfired brownish red.

Several other types of flaws and defects can be detected on other fragments of the Jena deposit, such as air pockets and spalls, which are quite common, but not shown here. Illustrated are only the arrow-like marks visible on the inside of some stemless cups without lip, such as Jena, SAK 0411,¹⁹ Jena, SAK 0423 (Fig. 6),²⁰ Jena, SAK 0424 (Fig. 5)²¹ and Jena, SAK 0442.²²

J.V. Noble in his book on the techniques of painted Attic pottery notes that “the ancient potters stacked their vases by nesting kylikes in skyphoi or in other kylikes and smaller pots in larger ones”.²³ While referring to the marks caused on a vase by another vase during the firing process, he further mentions that “...this most frequently occurred when the temperature in the kiln did not exceed the sintering temperature of the black glaze. Accordingly, if a kylix was nested in a skyphos...and the temperature in the kiln only reached the

sintering point for the outside exposed areas of the vases, then the inside areas were prevented from reaching the sintering temperature, and did not turn a permanent black but reoxidized to red. Sometimes only the ring of contact remained red or discolored or a slight iridescence of the black glaze is the only sign of the contact with the other vase".²⁴



Fig. 2. Jena, SAK 0452. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3. Jena, SAK 0449. Photo: Museum.

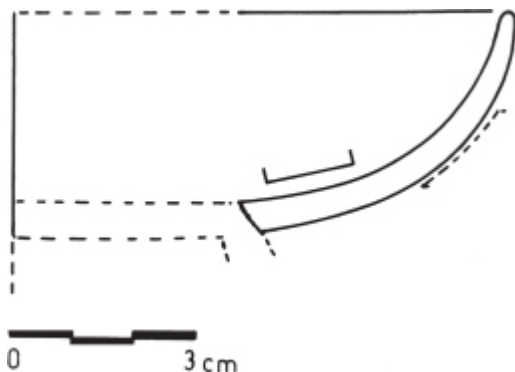


Fig. 4. Jena, SAK 0449. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

I. Scheibler, who also studied the techniques used to make ancient Greek pottery, mentions that only in the case of the large vases were small clay supports used for stacking them in the kiln; they were not needed for the smaller ones.²⁵ While agreeing in principal with Noble, she further notes that “Kleinere Gefäße schachtelte man wohl auch einfach ineinander, wie die Brennsuren an den Gefäßen selbst beweisen. Es sind kreisrunde Verfärbungen an den Stellen, wo sich der Fuß des nächsten Gefäßes befand. Da diese Flecken stets den Durchmesser des Gefäßfußes aufweisen, können sie nur von einem anderen Gefäß der gleichen Serie herrühren. Wo der Fuß den Gefäßboden abdeckte, war der Luftzustrom vermindert daher die Verfärbung...”²⁶



Fig. 5. Jena, SAK 0424. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 6. Jena, SAK 0423. Photo: Museum

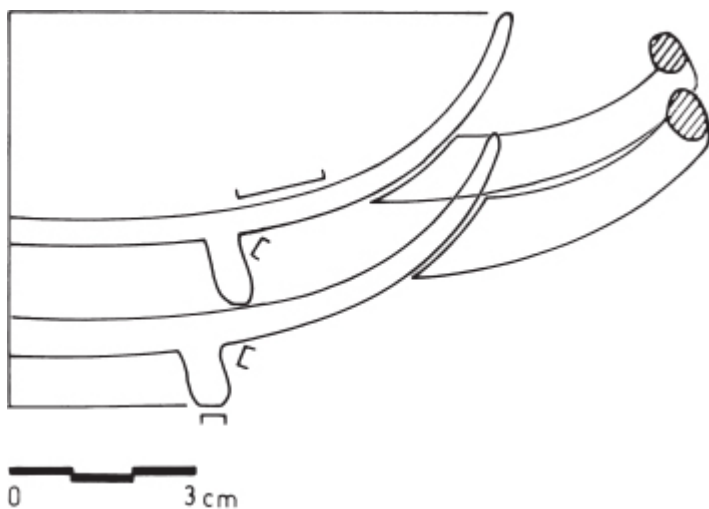


Fig. 7. Jena, SAK 0422 placed on Jena, SAK 0432. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

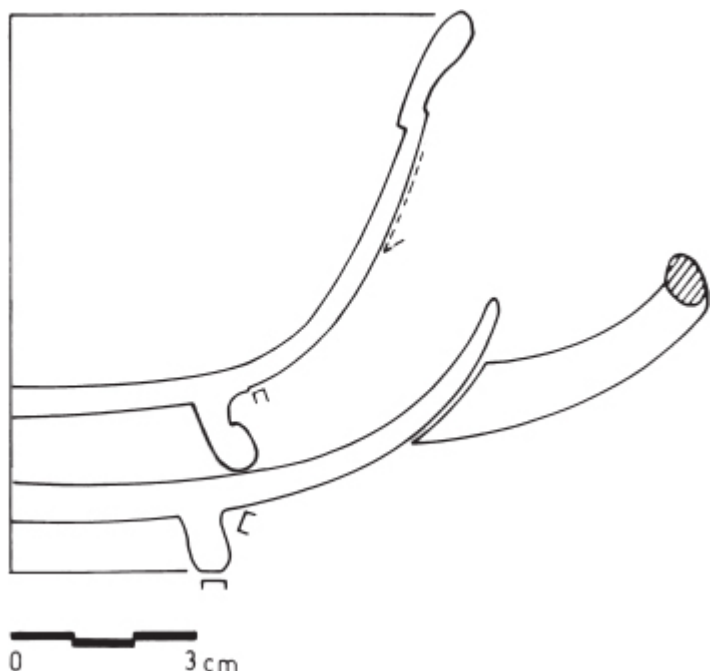


Fig. 8. Jena, SAK 0451 placed on Jena, SAK 0432. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

Let us now examine the marks on some of the stemless cups in Jena. By taking into consideration what Noble and Scheibler suggest, one would expect that the marks found on some of the stemlesses under discussion here might have also been the result of having placed vases of the same shape one on top of the other, that is, a stemless on top of another stemless. The diameter of the foot of the stemlesses of this type are about 8 cm, which is approximately also the diameter of these marks. If one tries to place two stemlesses which preserve only part of their bowl and foot on top of the other, as for example Jena, SAK 0440²⁷ and Jena, SAK 0445,²⁸ they match perfectly, but if we take two others which preserve also part of their handles, e.g., Jena, SAK 0422²⁹ and Jena, SAK 0432,³⁰ this becomes impossible (Fig. 7) because of the handles. Finding the appropriate shape of a vase that could cause such marks is not difficult, since the range of shapes produced in the Jena workshop is according to Beazley's lists mostly restricted to type B cups, shallow stemlesses and deep cup-skyphoi. Indeed, the diameter of the ring foot of the cup-skyphoi made in the Jena workshop, which ranges from 7 to 7.8 cm,³¹ corresponds well to the size of these marks, that is about 8 cm. To support such a hypothesis I have placed the profile of the cup-skyphos Jena, SAK 0451³² on top of the stemless Jena, SAK 0432 (Fig. 8).³³

Also interesting is the flaw detected on the inside of the fragmentary cup Jena, SAK 0473 (Fig. 9).³⁴ By taking again into

consideration that drinking vessels were put in the kiln one on top of another in rows and that the flaw on the vase under discussion is a homogeneous rounded one, it becomes plausible that this trace could have been made by the foot of another type B cup which was placed on top of it. Such a hypothesis is supported by the fact that the cups classified in the middle period of the workshop's activity, in which the cup Jena, SAK 0473 also belongs, have a foot diameter that ranges from about 7 to 8 cm and the trace on its tondo has a diameter of about 7.5 cm. To further support this hypothesis I have placed the profile of Jena, SAK 0473 on top of London, British Museum E 108 (Fig. 10).³⁵



Fig. 9. Jena, SAK 0473. Photo: Museum.

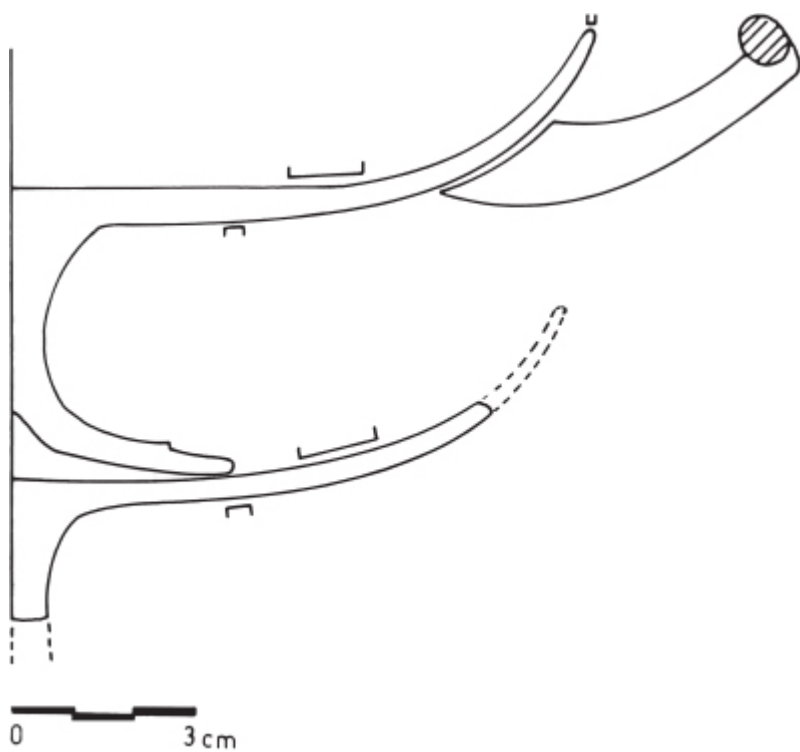


Fig. 10. London, British Museum E 108 placed on Jena, SAK 0473. Drawing: Author.
(1:2)



Fig. 11. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17934. Photo: after Paul-Zinserling pl. 40,1.

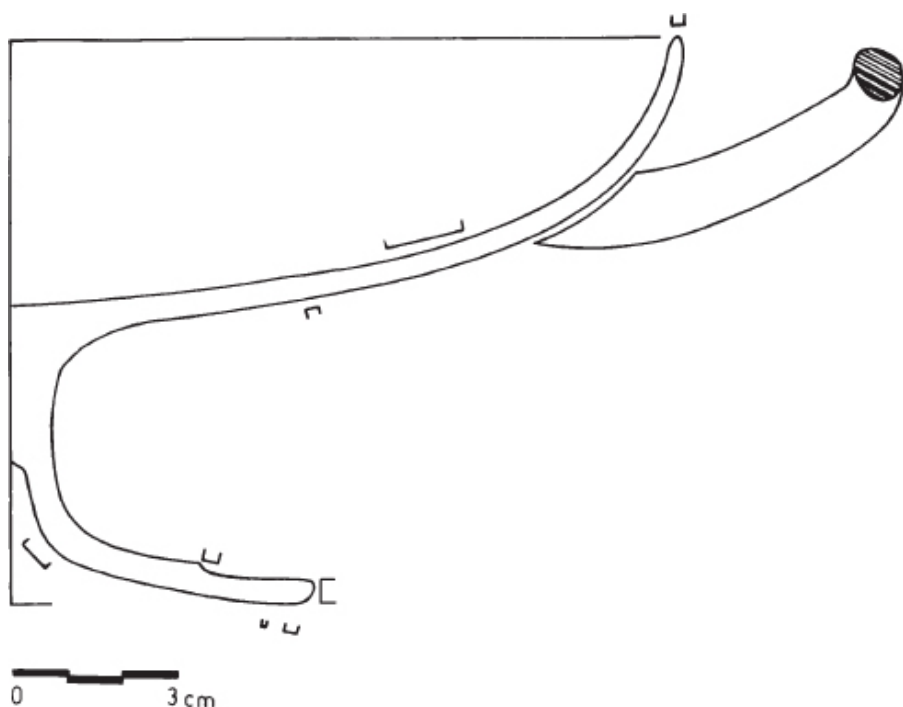


Fig. 12. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17934. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

One may ask at this point, if it is worth making all these technical observations about misfired fragments or other imperfections. I actually believe it is, since such technical observations strongly support the hypothesis that the find in Hermes Street is not the pottery workshop itself or its deposit, as it was initially suggested and is generally believed,³⁶ but a waste deposit of the Jena workshop.³⁷

Type B Cups

Having discussed briefly some of the characteristics of the finds from the deposit, I now proceed to an examination of the type B cups.³⁸ With the aid of the profile drawings that I have made, these cups can be assigned to the early and middle periods of the workshop's activity and assigned to two different potters. There are two distinct types of foot construction for the early cups, suggesting that the Jena Painter and his colleagues worked at this time with two potters on this shape, conventionally named here Potter A and Potter B. A comparison of a cup in the Vatican³⁹ by Potter A (Figs 11–12) and another in Würzburg⁴⁰ by Potter B (Figs 13–14) demonstrates perfectly the differences in their construction.⁴¹ Potter A hollowed a narrow channel through the stem, whereas Potter B hollowed out only the foot portion. The cups made by Potter A have a wider bowl compared

to those made by Potter B. The lip diameter of the early cups by Potter A is about 25 cm, whereas that of the early cups by Potter B is about 23–24 cm. As one might expect, the wider bowl of the cups by Potter A is supported by a wider foot, whereas that of the cups by Potter B is narrower. The diameter of the foot of the early cups by Potter A is about 12 cm and that of the contemporary cups by Potter B is about 10 cm. Moreover, the handles of the early cups by Potter A are not placed along the same axis; the right handle is set “deeper” than the left one, while the handles on cups by Potter B are placed more or less along the same axis.



Fig. 13. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität H 4633. Photo: Museum.

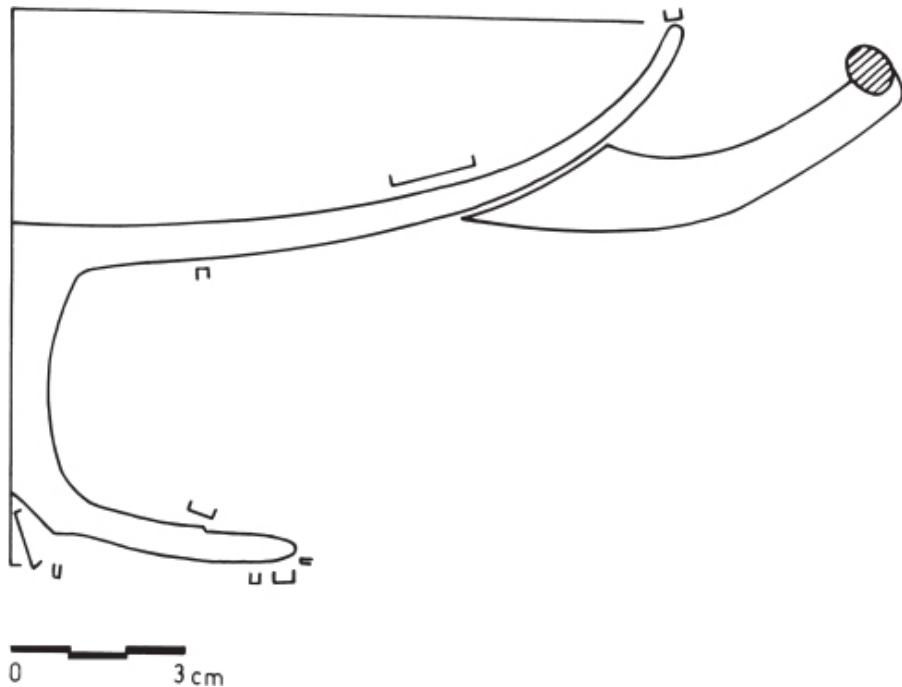


Fig. 14. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität H 4633. Drawing: Author. (1:2)



Fig. 15. Jena, SAK 0485. Photo: Museum.

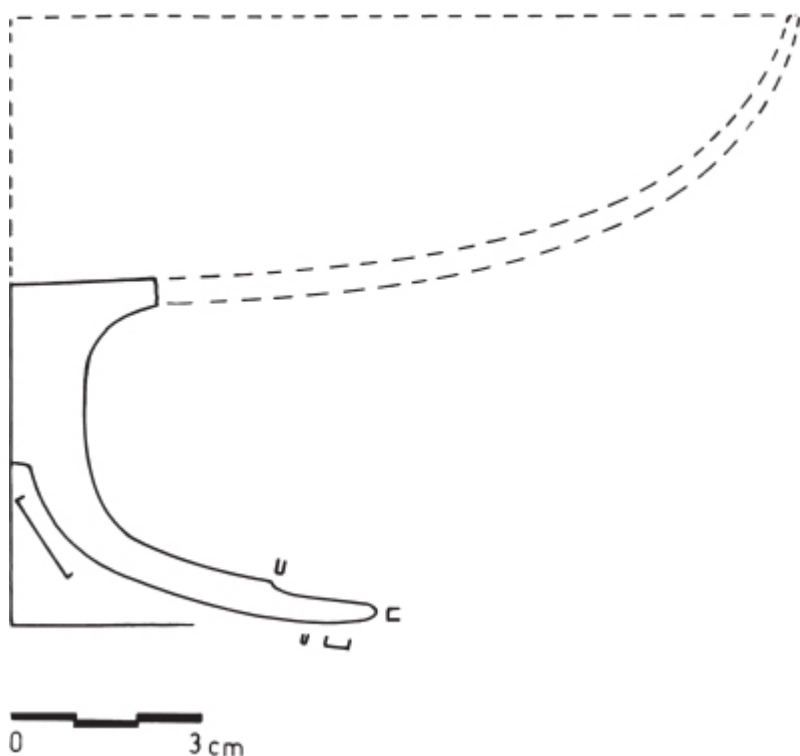


Fig. 16. Jena, SAK 0485. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

Jena, SAK 0485 (Figs 15–16) is clearly also by Potter A, as demonstrated by the narrow channel hollowed through its stem.⁴² Jena, SAK 0468 (Figs 17–18)⁴³ and Jena, SAK 0470⁴⁴ are two more early cups by him, as indicated by the diameter of their lip, the inclination of the bowl walls and the position of the handles.

The type B cups made by Potter B in the early period of the Jena workshop's activity are more numerous than those by Potter A. Würzburg H 4633 (Figs 13–14)⁴⁵ is intact as is also another one in the same museum, inv. no. H 5011.⁴⁶ The fragmentary Jena, SAK 0490⁴⁷ and Jena, SAK 0477 (Figs 19–20)⁴⁸ are also works of Potter B, as demonstrated by their hollowed out foot. Jena, SAK 0469 (Figs 21–22)⁴⁹ is also made by Potter B during the early period of the workshop's activity, as is suggested by the inclination of the walls of the bowl, the diameter at lip and the position of its handles.

With respect to the smaller cups produced in the middle period of the workshop's activity, all are by Potter B.⁵⁰ They continue to have only the foot portion hollowed out, a narrow bowl with a diameter restricted to 18–19 cm, and a narrow foot of a diameter measuring about 7–8 cm. The handles are placed either along the same axis, as in the early period, or with the left handle set “deeper” than the right handle. London, British Museum E 108 (Figs 23–24)⁵¹ and London,

British Museum E 111⁵² are the best preserved examples and demonstrate perfectly all the features of the potter in this period. The fragmentary Jena, SAK 0482 (Figs 25–26),⁵³ Jena, SAK 0489,⁵⁴ Jena, SAK 0483⁵⁵ and Jena, SAK 0472⁵⁶ are additional examples, as indicated by their characteristic foot. Even undecorated fragments, such as Jena, SAK 0486 (Fig. 27),⁵⁷ can be connected to the potter because the foot is the type characteristic for him in the workshop's middle period.⁵⁸



Fig. 17. Jena, SAK 0468. Photo: Museum.

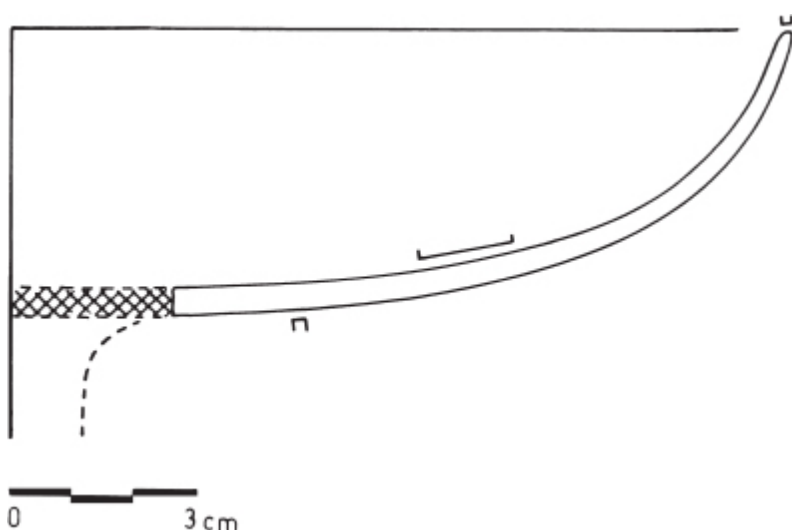


Fig. 18. Jena, SAK 0468. Drawing: Author. (1:2)



Fig. 19. Jena, SAK 0477. Photo: Museum.

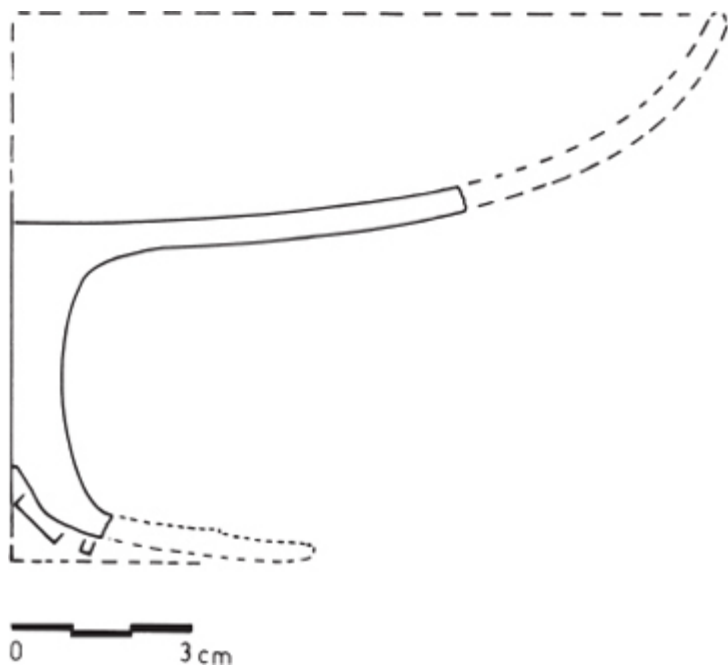


Fig. 20. Jena, SAK 0477. Drawing: Author. (1:2)



Fig. 21. Jena, SAK 0469. Photo: Museum.

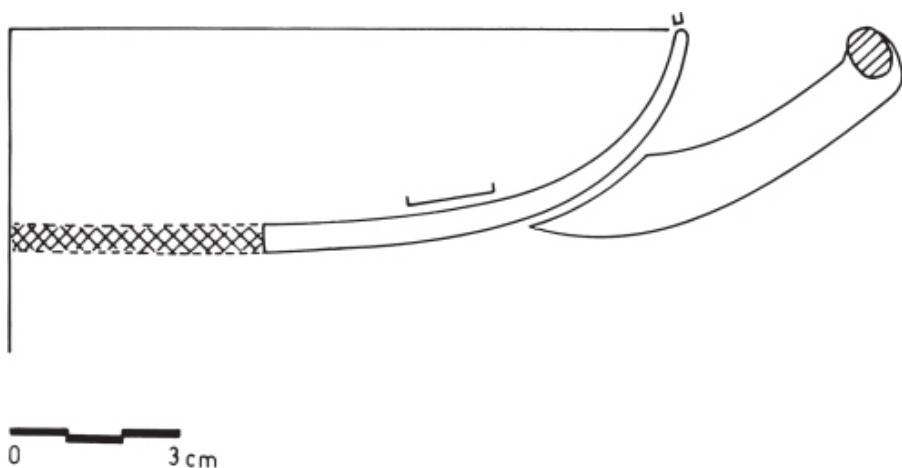


Fig. 22. Jena, SAK 0469. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

The classification of type B cups into an early and middle period is further substantiated by an analysis of their figural compositions, the subsidiary decoration and the style of drawing.⁵⁹ The cups of the early period are of better quality and needed more time to be potted and decorated. Their figures, two in the tondo and three on each side of the exterior, are rendered in more detail than later, as for example on Jena, SAK 0469,⁶⁰ and may occasionally be accompanied by inscriptions, as is the case with Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16551.⁶¹ The ornamental band around the tondo usually consists of

stopt meanders and checkerboard patterns – a diagnostic feature of the vases made in the Jena workshop is that the stopt meanders in this band usually alternate with checkerboard patterns which comprise four glazed and five reserved squares. With regard to the floral pattern outside, beneath each handle there is a palmette with tendrils originating from the volutes, giving rise to circumscribed palmettes on both sides. In the case of better executed ones, as for example on Jena, SAK 0468,⁶² another tendril ending in a bud or leaf originates from slightly below the circumscribed palmettes, while there are also many isolated reserved leaves and dots scattered in the space between them.



Fig. 23. London, British Museum E 108. Photo: Museum.

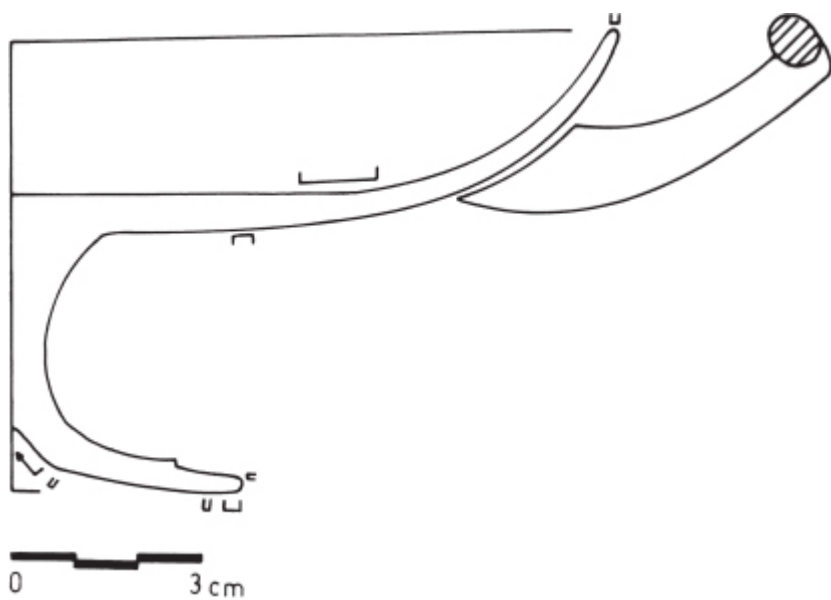


Fig. 24. London, British Museum E 108. Drawing: Author. (1:2)



Fig. 25. Jena, SAK 0482. Photo: Museum.

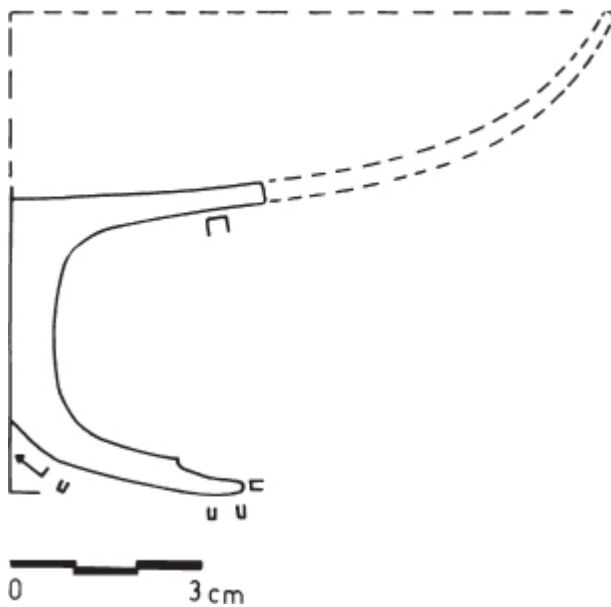


Fig. 26. Jena, SAK 0482. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

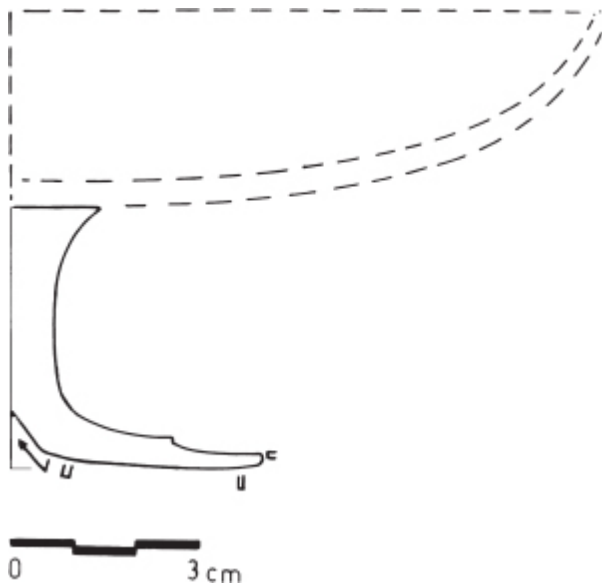


Fig. 27. Jena, SAK 0486. Drawing: Author. (1:2)

On the cups of the middle period the figurative decoration becomes more rudimentary, due to their smaller size,⁶³ and the number of the figures depicted is restricted to one in the tondo and two on each side of the exterior. A comparison of the early cup Jena, SAK 0469 (387)⁶⁴ with a cup from the middle period, London, British Museum E 111,⁶⁵ makes these differences clear.

The subsidiary decoration also changes in the middle period. The stopt meanders in the band around the tondo alternate less often with checkerboard patterns and more often with dotted saltire squares.⁶⁶ The floral pattern with the three palmettes on the outsides is also simplified, and another pattern makes its first appearance in his work: a central upwards facing palmette set between two semipalmettes.⁶⁷

The Jena workshop also produced during its early and middle periods of activity another elaborate type of drinking vessel, namely thin, shallow stemless cups with lip inside only.⁶⁸ The two examples of stemlesses of this type known by Beazley, Bonn, University 128⁶⁹ and London, British Museum F 134,⁷⁰ and a third, Jena, SAK 0514,⁷¹ have been discussed elsewhere.⁷²

The production of vases of these two shapes was eventually abandoned in the middle period of the Jena workshop's activity in favor of stemless cups without lip and cup-skyphoi whose production was carried on also in the late period of its activity. The latter two shapes were not as elegant and carefully made as the former two. Due to their smaller size and the different portions, however, they were less fragile and more practical, probably also less expensive, as not only their form but also their decoration became simpler.

As a closing remark, I would like to mention something that Sir John D. Beazley said in one of his lectures back in 1943 that I now understand better: "There is a view held by many members of the general public, and consciously or subconsciously by not a few scholars, that the museums have been worked through, and that for fresh light on ancient art and archaeological problems the world is dependent on new excavations. Our student will not be of this mind: he will have learned that, in a special sense, 'the treasures of time lie high': while he will be eager for excavation to yield new finds and new evidence, he will have realized that the enormous stores of objects already above ground have been only cursorily examined, and that secrets incalculable in number and importance can be won from them by keen and patient scrutiny".⁷³

Acknowledgements

This paper grew out of research for my postdoctoral study on the Jena Painter and the production of his workshop. This study was made possible thank to a oneyear fellowship awarded by the Research Committee of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and a subsequent travel grant kindly offered by the DAAD.

I am particularly indebted to A. Geyer of Jena University, who with the consent of U. Kron and V. Paul-Zinserling, not only allowed me to study the fragments from the find, but also granted me unlimited

access to the whole collection of Jena University. Due to their great generosity, the small storeroom that houses the University collection was transformed into a treasury and several small discoveries were made possible, some of which are presented here. I would also like to express my warm thanks to A. Lezzi-Hafter for her generous assistance and guidance in preparing this study and to all the curators who kindly granted me permission to study and draw vases by the Jena workshop held in their collections: W. Geominy (Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität), I. Wehgartner (Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität) and D. Williams (London, British Museum). For other forms of assistance, thanks are owed to T. Kleinschmidt of Jena University. Last but not least I wish to thank J.H. Oakley for kindly inviting me to present this paper at the conference in Athens.

Abbreviations

~~Der Jenaer Maler~~ Der Jena-Maler: eine Töpferwerkstatt im klassischen Athen; Fragmente attischer Trinkschalen aus dem Besitz der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena; eine Ausstellung des Lehrstuhls für Klassische Archäologie der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Stadtmuseum Jena; Stadtmuseum Jena vom 11.4. bis 26.5.1996, ed. Lehrstuhl für Klassische Archäologie und Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (1996).

~~Kathariou~~ Kathariou, Το εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Μελεάγρου και η εποχή του. Παρατηρήσεις στην αττική κεραμική του πρώτου τετάρτου του 4ου αι. π.Χ. (2002).

~~Paul-Zinserling~~ Paul-Zinserling, Der Jena-Maler und sein Kreis. Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Schalenwerkstatt um 400 v. Chr. (1994).

Notes

1C.W. Goettling, Das Archäologische Museum der Universität Jena³ (1854) 34.

2Once Weimar, Preller Collection: ARV² 1511,3; BAdd² 383; H. Metzger, Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle (1951) 197 no. 15 pl. 26,3; Paul-Zinserling 23 no. 1; 24ff. pl. 1,1; Kathariou 240 no. JEN 6.

3W. Hahland, Vasen um Meidias (1930) 16–17. 20–21; idem, Studien zur attischen Vasenmalerei um 400 v. Chr. (1931) 58–68.

4K. Schefold, Kertscher Vasen (1930) 7. 9; idem, Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen (1934) 82.

5ARV¹ 880–884. 966.

6ARV² 1510–1518.

7Paul-Zinserling.

8Der Jenaer Maler.

9V. Paul-Zinserling, in: M. Maischberger – W.-D. Heilmeyer (eds), Die Griechische

- Klassik – Idee oder Wirklichkeit. Berlin – Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz 1 März – 2 Juni 2002 (2002) 484–489.
- 10 These are the fragments: a) Jena, SAK 0411 (1000): Paul-Zinserling 61. 146 n. 791; Der Jenaer Maler 69 no. 14 (G. Schörner); Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 488. 489 no. 364. b) Jena, SAK 0424 (1021): ARV² 1515,69; Paul-Zinserling 61. 146 n. 791; Der Jenaer Maler 79 no. 64 (G. Schörner); Kathariou 25. 252 no. JEN 101; Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 488. 489 no. 366.
- 11 J.H. Oakley, in: F. Blondé – J.Y. Perreault (eds), *Les ateliers de potiers dans le monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique. Actes de la table ronde organisée à l'École Française d'Athènes*, 2 et 3 Octobre 1987 (1992) 197.
- 12 Paul-Zinserling 125.
- 13 Jena, SAK 0404: unpublished.
- 14 Jena, SAK 0456 (7): ARV² 1515,61; A.D. Ure, *JHS* 64, 1944, 70 no. 13 pls V 13. VII 13; Paul-Zinserling 59 ns. 738. 740 pl. 25,1; Der Jenaer Maler 75 no. 47 (U. Sonnensein); Kathariou 26. 255 no. JEN 125.
- 15 Jena, SAK 0452 (13): ARV² 1514,54; Ure (supra n. 14) 70 no. 12 pls V 12. VII 12; Paul-Zinserling 58 no. VII 2; 59 n. 747 pl. 27,1; Der Jenaer Maler 76 no. 50 (U. Lische); Kathariou 26. 254 no. JEN 118.
- 16 For the variations in the color of the fired clay and of the applied glaze which resulted from different firing temperatures and conditions, see J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*² (1988) 154f. 156. 157–161; T. Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction: A Potter's Analysis* (1999) 55–56.
- 17 For the fragmentary Jena, SAK 0424, see n. 10.
- 18 Jena, SAK 0423 (1019): ARV² 1515,72; Paul-Zinserling 146 n. 791; Der Jenaer Maler 75 no. 46 (G. Schörner); Kathariou 25. 253 no. JEN 104.
- 19 For the fragmentary stemless Jena, SAK 0411, see n. 10 above.
- 20 For the fragmentary Jena, SAK 0423, see n. 18.
- 21 For the fragmentary Jena, SAK 0424, see n. 10.
- 22 Jena, SAK 0442: Der Jenaer Maler 78 no. 61 (G. Schörner).
- 23 Noble (supra n. 16) 155.
- 24 Noble (supra n. 16) 158f. For a different opinion about when such marks were made, see Schreiber (supra n. 16) 64f.
- 25 As it is attested by the archaeological finds, clay supports of different forms (cylindrical, pyramidal, ring-like etc.) were used in ceramic workshops. See A. Kaloyeropoulou, *AAA* 3, 1970, 430ff. Figs 3–10; I. Scheibler, *Griechische Töpferkunst: Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße* (1983) 203 n. 54; E. Baziropoulou-Valavani, in: W.D.E. Coulson et al. (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (1994) 50. 52 fig. 6; M.C. Monaco, *Ergasteria: impianti artigianali ceramici ad Atene ed in Attica dal protogeometrico alle soglie dell'ellenismo* (2000) passim; J. Stroszeck, in: Maischberger – Heilmeyer (supra n. 9) 475f. 477 fig. 2; 478. 479f. nos. 336a–e; B. Fellmann, in: M. Bentz (ed.), *Vasenforschung und Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Standortbestimmung und Perspektiven* (Beihefte zum Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, 1) 59–63; B. Kaeser, in: Bentz (supra) 67f. Nevertheless, the discovery of such supports does not rule out the possibility of putting vases directly on top of each other. It is worth mentioning here that J. Stroszeck, while referring to clay supports found in 1937 in the Kerameikos, also notes that in the case of a small drinking vessel the mark of contact which is visible on its inside is caused by the ring foot of another one which was put on top of it: see Stroszeck (supra) 477. 479 no. 333b. For other examples of vases put directly on top of each other, see also Kaeser (supra) 67.
- 26 Scheibler (supra n. 25) 100.
- 27 Jena, SAK 0440 (1035): Der Jenaer Maler 80 no. 70 (G. Schörner).

- 28Jena, SAK 0445: Der Jenaer Maler 70 no. 23 (G. Schörner).
- 29Jena, SAK 0422: Der Jenaer Maler 69f. no. 17 (G. Schörner).
- 30Jena, SAK 0432 (1051): ARV² 1515,75; Paul-Zinserling 146 n. 791; Der Jenaer Maler 81 no. 75 (G. Schörner).
- 31The smallest diameter of foot known to me so far is that of Jena, SAK 0453 (1) (ARV² 1515,66; Ure [supra n. 14] 71 no. 17; Paul-Zinserling 57 no. 2; Der Jenaer Maler 75f. no. 49 [T. Netzbandt]; Kathariou 26. 256 no. JEN 130; Paul-Zinserling [supra n. 9] 489 no. 362) which is 7 cm and the largest one that of Jena, SAK 0451 (3) (ARV² 1515,65; Ure [supra n. 14] 71 no. 16 pls V 16. VII 16; Paul-Zinserling 59 n. 744 pl. 26,1; Der Jenaer Maler 76 no. 51 [U. Lische]; Kathariou 26. 256 no. JEN 129) which is 7.8 cm.
- 32For the fragmentary Jena, SAK 0451, see n. 31.
- 33For the fragmentary Jena, SAK 0432, see n. 30.
- 34Jena, SAK 0473 (817): ARV² 1513,42; Paul-Zinserling 120 no. 8. 123 n. 1651 pl. 70,2; Der Jenaer Maler 94 no. 118 pl. 16,1 (R. Stauche); Kathariou 246 no. JEN 49. A similar mark of contact is visible in the inside of a Little Master cup in Munich, and it has been suggested that it was caused by a cup of the same sort put on top of it: see Fellmann (supra n. 25) 60 figs 7. 61.
- 35London, British Museum E 108: ARV² 1513,43; BAdd² 384; Paul-Zinserling 48 no. 16 pls 19,2; 28,1–2; Kathariou 22. 246 no. JEN 50; M. Steinhart, *Die Kunst der Nachahmung: Darstellungen mimetischer Vorführungen in der griechischen Bildkunst archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (2004) 120 n. 1136 pl. 46,1.
- 36ARV² 1510; Oakley (supra n. 11) 197; Paul-Zinserling 11 n. 113; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period. A Handbook* (1995) 169.
- 37Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 484.
- 38For cups of Type B in general, see H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des strengen Stils* (1940) 41–109; Agora XII 92; I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik. Maltechniken, Werkstätten, Formen, Verwendung* (1983) passim; T. Seki, *Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Gefäßform und Malerei attischer Schalen* (1985) passim; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler: Werke und Weggefährten* (1988) passim; Agora XXX 68–71; G. Kavvadias, *Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff* (2000) 37–38. For those produced in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, see C. Campenon, *La céramique attique à figures rouges autour de 400 avant J.-C. Les principales formes, évolution et production* (1994) 65–67; Kathariou 21–23. 104–105 ns. 247–263. 194–195; A. Papanastasiou, *Relations between Red-figured and Black-glazed Vases in Athens of the 4th Century B.C.* (2004) 61. 62. 67.
- 39Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 17934: ARV² 1518; Add² 384; Paul-Zinserling 76–77. 121. 124 pls 40,1; 84,1–2; Kathariou 22. 248 no. JEN 66. Beazley (ARV² 1518) compares this cup with one in Ferrara and another one once on the Italian market. In his opinion they are related to the Jena Painter.
- 40Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität H 4633 (L 492): ARV² 1512,18; Para 499; BAdd² 384; LIMC III (1986) 274 n. 4 pl. 220, s.v. Chorillos (A. Kossatz-Deissmann; CVA Würzburg 2 17 Beilage D2 (profile-drawing); Paul-Zinserling 48. 53ff. 122. 123f. pls 22,2; 82,3; Der Jenaer Maler 83–84 no. 87 pl. 5 (H. Meschederu); Kathariou 22. 105 n. 258; 118 n. 168; 243 no. JEN 22 Figs 32f. 44A.
- 41In order to understand the construction of cups and the criteria for their attribution to different potters, besides Bloesch (supra n. 38), see also Lezzi-Hafter (supra n. 38) 65–73 and eadem, in: R. Olmos (ed.), *Coloquio sobre Teseo y la copa de Aison* (1992) 57–73, especially 57 n. 1.
- 42Jena, SAK 0485 (820): ARV² 1513,27; Paul-Zinserling 122 no. 36; 123f. pl. 82,1; Der Jenaer Maler 82 no. 82 pl. 2,2 (R. Stauche); Kathariou 22. 244 no. JEN 34;

- Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 487 no. 356.
- 43Jena, SAK 0468 (383): ARV² 1511,2; BAdd² 383; Paul-Zinserling 23 no. 10; 44ff. 65. 80 no. 2; 83. 98 n. 1321; 106 pls 8,2; 44,2; Der Jenaer Maler 92 no. 111 pls 13,2; 14,1 (H. Meschederu); Kathariou 22. 240 no. JEN 5; Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 487 no. 351.
- 44Jena, SAK 0470 (393a-b): ARV² 1512,12; BAdd² 383; Paul-Zinserling 70 no. 4; 73f. 120 n. 1639 pl. 32,2; Der Jenaer Maler 93f. no. 114 (H. Meschederu); Kathariou 242 no. JEN 15; Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 486. 487 no. 353.
- 45For the cup Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität H 4633, see n. 40.
- 46Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität H 5011: Para 500; BAdd² 384; CVA Würzburg 2 16–17 fig. 6 pls 6,3; 7,1–5; LIMC III (1986) 472 no. 584 pl. 333, s.v. Dionysos (C. Gasparri); Paul-Zinserling 23 no. 3. 31f. 64 no. 9; 66 pls 4,1; 33,1–2; Der Jenaer Maler 89 no. 103 pl. 10 (H. Meschederu); Kathariou 22. 244 no. JEN 29.
- 47Jena, SAK 0490 (819): ARV² 1513,28; Paul-Zinserling 121 no. 24. 122ff. pl. 77,3; Der Jenaer Maler 96f. no. 126 (A. Ludwig); Kathariou 244 no. JEN 35.
- 48Jena, SAK 0477 (390); ARV² 1511,1; Para 499; BAdd² 383; M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* (1992) 269 fig. 268; Paul-Zinserling 70 no. 1; 71ff. 78 n. 992; 120 pl. 11,2; Boardman (supra n. 36) 177 fig. 358; Der Jenaer Maler 93 no. 113 color pl. 3,2 (H. Meschederu); Kathariou 22. 112 n. 94; 240 no. JEN 4; Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 487. 488 no. 355.
- 49Jena, SAK 0469 (387); ARV² 1511,7; Paul-Zinserling 47 no. 2; 49f. 64 no. 8; 65 pls 11,1; 32,1; Der Jenaer Maler 90f. no. 108 pl. 12,2 (T. Netzbandt); Kathariou 22. 119 n. 179; 241 no. JEN 10; Paul-Zinserling (supra n. 9) 486. 487 no. 352.
- 50The only exception might be Jena, SAK 0484 (822): Paul-Zinserling 123 n. 1658 pl. 78,1; Der Jenaer Maler 95 no. 122 color pl. 4,2 (A. Ludwig). Due to the form of the stem of its foot, this one seems to have been made by Potter A, but it so fragmentary that it is not possible to say so with certainty.
- 51For the cup London, British Museum E 108, see n. 35.
- 52London, British Museum E 111: ARV² 1514,44; Paul-Zinserling 122 no. 37 pls 27,3; 82,2; Kathariou 22. 246 no. JEN 51.
- 53Jena, SAK 0482 (818): ARV² 1513,39; Paul-Zinserling 120 no. 9 pl. 70,3; Der Jenaer Maler 82 no. 81 (R. Stauche); Kathariou 246 no. JEN 46.
- 54Jena, SAK 0489 (821): ARV² 1513,40; Paul-Zinserling 168 n. 1652; Der Jenaer Maler 73 no. 37 color pl. 1,2 (R. Stauche); Kathariou 246 no. JEN 47.
- 55Jena, SAK 0483 (823): ARV² 1513,41; Paul-Zinserling 168 n. 1652; Der Jenaer Maler 68 no. 8 (R. Stauche); Kathariou 246 no. JEN 48.
- 56Jena, SAK 0472 (824): ARV² 1514,46; Der Jenaer Maler 94 no. 117 (G. Schörner); Kathariou 246f. no. JEN 53.
- 57Jena, SAK 0486: Der Jenaer Maler 69 no. 12 (E. Niebel).
- 58An example of a fragmentary type B cup with only the foot and the stem preserved and made by Potter B in the early period of the Jena workshop's activity is the unpublished Jena, SAK 0488.
- 59Due to the lack of space, I am unable to give here a full discussion of the style of drawing. For detailed comments on the style of the Jena Painter himself, as well as for Beazley's style B and style C, see Hahland (supra n. 3) 16–17; ARV² 1510–1511; Robertson (supra n. 48) 269–270; Der Jenaer Maler 48–54 (N. Fellmuth); CVA Moscow 5 49. 55–58 text to pls 28,1–2; 32,6–7; 33,1–2. 3. 4. 5; 34,1–3; 35,1.
- 60See e.g. Jena, SAK 0469 (387) (supra n. 49).
- 61For example, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16551: ARV² 1513,24. 1697; BAdd² 384; Paul-Zinserling 64 no. 4; 65. 86–88 pls 29,1; 47,1; 83,2; Kathariou

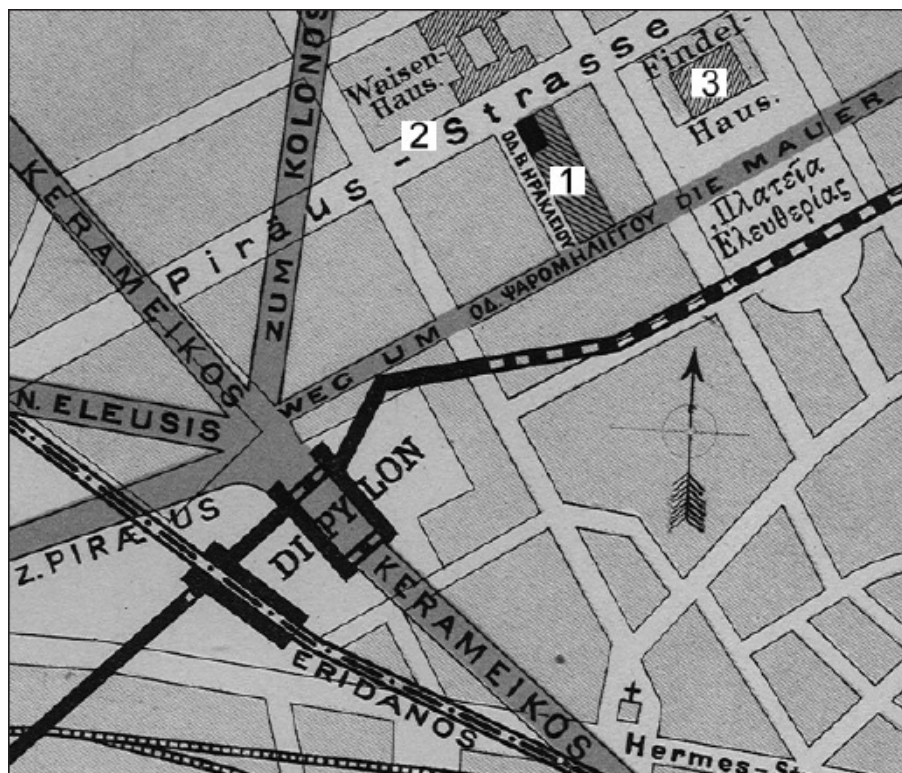
22. 243f. no. JEN 28.
- 62For Jena, SAK 0468 (383), see n. 43.
- 63See text above for the different dimensions of the cups in the early and middle periods of the workshop's activity.
- 64For Jena, SAK 0469 (387), see n. 49.
- 65For London, British Museum E 111, see n. 52.
- 66For examples of B cups with checkerboard patterns in the band around the tondo, see Jena, SAK 0472 (supra n. 56). For examples with dotted saltire squares, see Jena, SAK 0473 (supra n. 34) and London, British Museum E 108 (supra n. 35).
- 67For the first pattern, see London, British Museum E 111 (supra n. 52), and for the second London, British Museum E 108 (supra n. 35).
- 68Agora XII 102–105; Lezzi-Hafter (supra n. 38) 281–283; I. McPhee – E. Pemberton, in: J.P. Descœudres (ed.), *EYMOYΣΙΑ: Ceramic and Iconographic Studies in Honour of Alexander Cambitoglou* (1990) 125–126; Kathariou 23–24. 105 ns. 267–272; 195; E. Simon – K. Kathariou, *NAC* 34, 2005, 79 ff.; Papanastasiou (supra n. 38) 61. 63f. 68.
- 69Bonn, University – Akademisches Kunstmuseum 128: ARV² 1514,48; CVA Bonn 1 13 pl. 11,3–4; Paul-Zinserling 120 no. 3; 122 pl. 68,2; Campenon (supra n. 38) 73 pl. 11,1; Kathariou 24. 251 no. JEN 87; Simon – Kathariou (supra n. 68) 83 pl. IV, fig. 9.
- 70London, British Museum F 134: ARV² 1514,49; Paul-Zinserling 120 no. 4; 122 pl. 68,3; Kathariou 24. 251 no. JEN 88; Simon – Kathariou (supra n. 68) 83 pl. IV, fig. 8.
- 71Jena, SAK 0514: Simon – Kathariou (supra n. 68) 83 pl. IV, fig. 7.
- 72Simon – Kathariou (supra n. 68). By taking into consideration the size, ornament and style of drawing, we classified Jena, SAK 0514 as belonging to the early period of the Jena workshop's activity and the smaller ones in Bonn and London as belonging to the middle period.
- 73D.C. Kurtz (ed.), *Greek Vases. Lectures by J.D. Beazley* (1989) 100.

8 Νέο φως σε παλαιά ευρήματα. Δύο κλασικοί τάφοι από το οικόπεδο Σαπουντζάκη στην Οδό Πειραιώς

Γιώργος Γ. Καββαδίας – Άννα Λάγια

Στη μνήμη της Μαρίνας Σγούρου

Το οικόπεδο του ταγματάρχη Κωνσταντίνου Σαπουντζάκη στην οδό Πειραιώς 59, στην Αθήνα, είναι πολύ γνωστό για τα σπουδαία ευρήματα των γεωμετρικών χρόνων, που κοσμούν την πρώτη αίθουσα της μόνιμης έκθεσης της Συλλογής Αγγείων του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου.¹ Αφορμή, ωστόσο, για την συμμετοχή μας στο δεύτερο διεθνές συνέδριο «Athenian Potters and Painters» υπήρξε μία ομάδα τριών κλασικών τάφων, που βρέθηκαν εκεί το 1891 και 1892. Για λόγους οικονομίας χρόνου στο συνέδριο παρουσιάστηκαν – και δημοσιεύονται εδώ – οι δύο τάφοι που συμπεριελήφθησαν στη νέα έκθεση της Συλλογής Αγγείων του ΕΑΜ. Από το ευρετήριο του Μουσείου αντλούμε την πληροφορία ότι και οι τρεις τάφοι, για κάποιο απροσδιόριστο χρονικό διάστημα μεταξύ των αρχών του 20ου αι. και του Δευτέρου Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου είχαν εκτεθεί, αλλά στην μεταπολεμική έκθεση αποσύρθηκαν.²



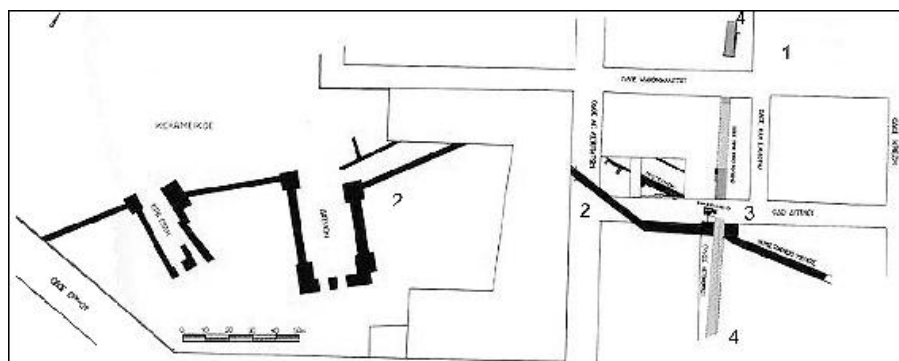
Εικ. 1. Η θέση του οικ. Σαπουντζάκη σε σχέση με τον πολεοδομικό ιστό κατά την εποχή της ανασκαφής. Οικ. Σαπουντζάκη (1), Ορφανοτροφείο Χατζηκώ(ν)στα (2) και Δημόσιο Βρεφοκομείο (3). Φωτογραφία: από A. Brückner – E. Pernice, AM 18, 1893, πίν. 6.

Τα τοπογραφικά στοιχεία, οι παλαιές ανασκαφές και το νεκροταφείο των «Ηρίων» Πυλών

Η θέση του οικοπέδου Σαπουντζάκη, σε σχέση με τον σύγχρονο πολεοδομικό ιστό, ορίζεται από τις οδούς Πειραιώς στα βόρεια, Καλογήρου Σαμουήλ (τότε Βασιλέως Ηρακλείου) στα δυτικά, Ψαρομηλίγκου στα νότια και Κριεζή στα ανατολικά, δηλ. ακριβώς δυτικά της Πλατείας Κουμουνδούρου (εικ. 1). Στο τέλος του 19ου αι. η περιοχή αυτή εθεωρείτο προνομιούχος και πολλοί εξέχοντες Αθηναίοι αστοί την επέλεξαν για να κατοικήσουν. Μεταξύ αυτών ήταν ο αξιωματικός του Ελληνικού Στρατού Κωνσταντίνος Σαπουντζάκης, γόνος επιφανούς στρατιωτικής οικογένειας από την Κρήτη. Το 1875, δεκαπέντε περίπου χρόνια πριν την ανασκαφή, είχε περατωθεί η ανέγερση του Δημόσιου Βρεφοκομείου στη βόρεια πλευρά της Πλατείας Ελευθερίας, γνωστή στους σύγχρονους Αθηναίους ως Πλατεία Κουμουνδούρου.³ Απέναντι ακριβώς από το οικόπεδο

Σαπουντζάκη κτίσθηκε το 1856 το Δημόσιο Ορφανοτροφείο, δωρεά του εύπορου ηπειρώτη εμπόρου Χατζηκώνστα. Το 1912 το Ορφανοτροφείο κατεδαφίστηκε και την θέση του κατέλαβε μία μεγάλη πολυκατοικία. Σε ανασκαφικές αναφορές του τέλους του 19ου και των αρχών του 20ου αι., τα δύο κτήρια χρησίμευαν συχνά ως σημεία εξάρτησης των παλαιών ανασκαφών στην ευρύτερη περιοχή μεταξύ του Κεραμεικού και της Πλατείας Ομονοίας.⁴

Κατά την κλασική εποχή η περιοχή αυτή ευρισκόταν λίγο έξω από την πέμπτη πύλη του θεμιστόκλειου τείχους, σε απόσταση περ. 300 μέτρων βορειοανατολικά του Διύλου. Αυτή η πύλη, που από τους περισσότερους μελετητές ταυτίζεται με τις λεγόμενες Ήριες πύλες, εντοπιζόταν κατά προσέγγιση στην συμβολή των οδών Διύλου και Λεωκορίου (εικ. 2). Χάρis σε μία σημαντική ανασκαφή της Γ' Εφορείας Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων (ΕΠΚΑ), το 2000 εξακριβώθηκε η θέση της πύλης, πάνω στην νοτιοδυτική γωνία των δύο οδών. Συγκεκριμένα, στο κτήριο του παραρτήματος Ισλαμικής Τέχνης του Μουσείου Μπενάκη, στη συμβολή των οδών Αγ. Ασωμάτων και Διύλου, αποκαλύφθηκε τμήμα του προτειχίσματος και της τάφρου του θεμιστόκλειου τείχους. Έτσι αποκαθίσταται με ακρίβεια η πορεία του τείχους στο μεταξύ του Διύλου και των Ηρίων πυλών διάστημα και η θέση της πύλης στη συμβολή των οδών Διύλου και Λεωκορίου. Σε γενικές γραμμές η πορεία της σημερινής οδού Λεωκορίου παρακολουθεί τμήμα της αρχαίας οδού προς τον Ίππιο Κολωνό, που είχε ως αφετηρία τον βωμό των Δώδεκα Θεών στην Αρχαία Αγορά και, διά μέσου των Ηρίων Πυλών, κατευθυνόταν προς τον Ίππιο Κολωνό και την βορειοδυτική περιοχή της Αττικής.⁵



Εικ. 2. Σχεδιαστική αποκατάσταση της πορείας του Θεμιστόκλειου Τείχους από τον Κεραμεικό έως τις «Ήριες Πύλες». 1. Οικ. Σαπουντζάκη. 2. Θεμιστόκλειο Τείχος 3. «Ήριες Πύλες». 4. Οδός προς Ίππιο Κολωνό. Φωτογραφία: από Ι. Τσιριγώτη-Δρακωτού, *ADelt* 55, 2000, [2004] Α΄ Μελέτες, 93 εικ. 5.

Ήδη από τα μέσα του 19ου αι., η έντονη ανοικοδόμηση στην οδό Πειραιώς και τους γύρω από αυτήν δρόμους προκάλεσε το ζωηρό αρχαιολογικό ενδιαφέρον, λόγω της γειτνίασης με τον Κεραμεικό. Αναφέρουμε ενδεικτικώς μερικά μόνο από τα σπουδαιότερα ευρήματα, που προέρχονται από την περιοχή αυτή, πριν από την έναρξη της ανασκαφής στο οικοπέδο Σαπουντζάκη το 1891, και ανήκουν στο νεκροταφείο των Ηρίων πυλών. Το 1871 ο αρχαιοκάπηλος και αρχαιοπώλης Ιωάννης Παλαιολόγος κατέσκαψε την πλατεία Κουμουνδούρου και την γύρω περιοχή. Από τις λαθρανασκαφές του Παλαιολόγου προέρχεται η φημισμένη οινοχόη του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου αρ. 192, με την αρχαιότερη σωζόμενη ελληνική επιγραφή. Η οινοχόη βρέθηκε ακριβώς απέναντι από το Ορφανοτροφείο, «καταντικρύ» αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά ο Στέφανος Κουμανούδης. Πρόκειται για την έκταση την οποία αργότερα κατέλαβε το οικοδομικό τετράγωνο του οικοπέδου Σαπουντζάκη.⁶ Η σειρά των ταφικών πινάκων του Εξηκία, που βρίσκονται σήμερα στο Βερολίνο, προέρχεται από άλλη λαθρανασκαφή, που έγινε το 1872 πίσω από το Ορφανοτροφείο, δηλ. στην σημερινή οδό Αγησιλάου.⁷ Τον Φεβρουάριο του 1890, ακριβώς απέναντι από το Ορφανοτροφείο, και πάλι στο οικοδομικό τετράγωνο του οικοπέδου Σαπουντζάκη, ήρθε στο φως κατά την εκσκαφή των θεμελίων της οικίας του Διομήδη Σαρακωμένου, ο αμφορέας του Νέσσου.⁸ Περισσότερο γνωστή έγινε η ανασκαφή αυτού του οικοδομικού τετραγώνου λόγω των πολύ σημαντικών ευρημάτων της Μέσης και Ύστερης Γεωμετρικής Εποχής, όπως είναι π.χ. οι αμφορείς αριθ. 803 και 804 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου.

Την ανασκαφή ανάλαβε, από την άνοιξη του 1891 έως την άνοιξη του 1892, κατόπιν εντολής του Παναγή Καββαδία, η Γενική Εφορεία Αρχαιοτήτων με υπεύθυνο τον Βαλέριο Στάη και αρχιτέκτονα τον Georg Kawerau. Είχε ενταχθεί, μετά το πέρας της μεγάλης ανασκαφής της Ακρόπολης, στο πρόγραμμα της συστηματικής έρευνας των αττικών νεκροταφείων.⁹ Στην ανασκαφή συμμετείχαν – και την κατέγραψαν – δύο νέοι γερμανοί επιστήμονες, οι αρχαιολόγοι Alfred Brückner και Erich Pernice, οι οποίοι την δημοσίευσαν αμέσως.¹⁰ Την εποχή εκείνη υπήρχε έντονο γερμανικό ενδιαφέρον για τον Κεραμεικό, ώστε τελικά η ανασκαφή του αρχαιολογικού χώρου του Κεραμεικού παραχωρήθηκε το 1913, με απόφαση του Υπουργείου Παιδείας, στο Γερμανικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο. Πρώτος διευθυντής των γερμανικών ανασκαφών υπήρξε ο ίδιος ο Α. Brückner.¹¹

Όπως απέδειξαν οι σωστικές ανασκαφές της Γ΄ ΕΠΚΑ, σε αυτήν την περιοχή της οδού Πειραιώς, τα δύο οργανωμένα νεκροταφεία, των Ηρίων Πυλών και του Κεραμεικού, αν και ήταν πολύ κοντά

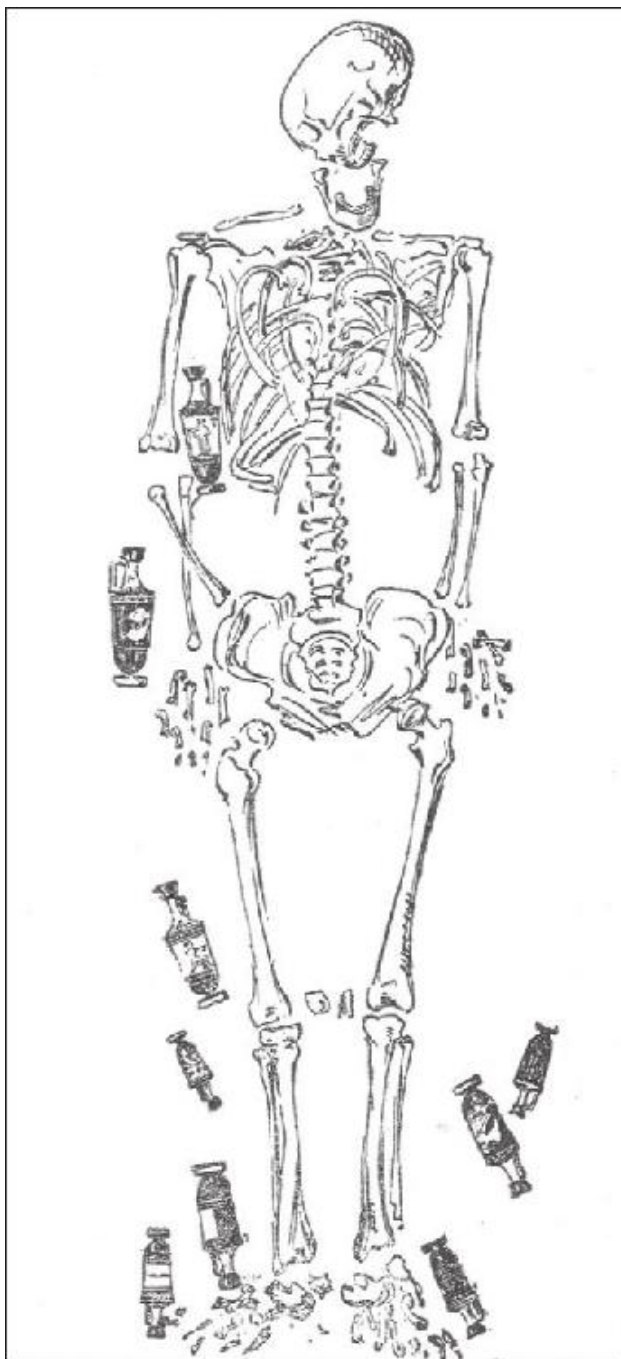
το ένα στο άλλο, στην πραγματικότητα δεν ενώθηκαν. Από τον 8^ο έως τον 4^ο αι. π.Χ. αποτέλεσαν δύο ανεξάρτητους τόπους ταφής, που χωρίζονταν στο ύψος περίπου της οδού Θερμοπυλών. Η ευρύτερη περιοχή της Πλατείας Κουμουνδούρου, όπως αντιστοιχώς και αυτή του Διπύλου, υπήρξε αδιάλειπτα τόπος ταφής ήδη από την Ύστερη εποχή του Χαλκού, την Υπομυκηναϊκή περίοδο και την πρώιμη εποχή του Σιδήρου. Την εποχή, ωστόσο, των πρώτων ανασκαφών στην περιοχή του Κεραμεικού, η διάκριση αυτή δεν ήταν γνωστή, με συνέπεια πολλές αρχαιότητες, που αναφέρεται ότι έχουν βρεθεί «παρά το Δίπυλον», να προέρχονται στην πραγματικότητα από το νεκροταφείο των «Ηρίων» πυλών και όχι του Κεραμεικού.¹²



Εικ. 3. Μαρμάρινη σαρκοφάγος. Φωτογραφία: Γερμανικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο – Αρχείο A. Brückner.

Σύμφωνα τους Brückner και Pernice, στο οικόπεδο Σαπουντζάκη ερευνηθήκαν πάνω από 230 τάφοι, χρονολογούμενοι από τον 8^ο έως τον 4^ο αι. π.Χ.¹³ Από αυτούς μόνο 19 ανήκουν στην αρχαιότερη, τη γεωμετρική φάση του νεκροταφείου. Στην ύστερη περίοδο, από τον 6^ο έως τον 4^ο αι. π.Χ., οι ανασκαφείς χρονολόγησαν 186 τάφους όλων των τύπων, δηλ. κεραμοσκεπείς, καλυβίτες, πυρές, εγχυτρισμούς, ενταφιασμούς σε λάκκους και σαρκοφάγους (πήλινες, πώρινες και μαρμάρινες). Οι Brückner και Pernice, ωστόσο, δεν δημοσίευσαν πλήρες σχέδιο του νεκροταφείου και επικέντρωσαν το ενδιαφέρον στους

εντυπωσιακούς γεωμετρικούς τάφους. Περιορίστηκαν στην γενική περιγραφή των τάφων της αρχαϊκής και κλασικής εποχής, συνοδευόμενη από πολύτιμες, όπως θα δούμε παρακάτω, παρατηρήσεις περί των ταφικών εθίμων. Αναφέρθηκαν επιλεκτικώς σε περίπου 50 τάφους, από τους οποίους έδωσαν λίγα μόνο σχέδια, ανάμεσα σε αυτά και των σαρκοφάγων, που παρουσιάζουμε εδώ. Οι νεκροί ήταν ενταφιασμένοι σε μαρμάρινες σαρκοφάγους κατασκευασμένες από καλοδοιλεμένες και ερμητικά κλεισμένες πλάκες, όπως χαρακτηριστικά τους περιγράφουν οι Brückner και Pernice. Σημειώνουμε ότι από τους περισσότερους από 180 αρχαϊκούς και κλασικούς τάφους, μόνο τρεις ήταν τέτοιας κατασκευής, u947 ãεγονός που υποδηλώνει ότι πρόκειται για τάφους πολυτελείς και εξέχοντες, σε σχέση με τους υπόλοιπους (εικ. 3). Δεν τους συσχέτισαν όμως με κάποιο τύμβο ή μνημείο, μολονότι κατάλοιπα τέτοιων κλασικών ταφικών κτισμάτων εντοπίσθηκαν κατά την ανασκαφή.¹⁴



Εικ. 4. Ο τάφος 35 με τα κτερίσματά του. Φωτογραφία: από Α. Brückner – Ε. Pernice, AM 18, 1893, 182 εικ. 35.

Περιγραφή των τάφων

Τάφος 35

Ο νεκρός του T35 είχε εναποτεθεί στην σαρκοφάγο ύπτιος και με τα άνω άκρα κατά μήκος των πλευρών. Τον συνόδευσαν 9 λήκυθοι, όλες «δευτερεύοντος» τύπου (εικ. 4). Τα αγγεία είναι συγκεντρωμένα γύρω από τα σκέλη, εκτός από δύο, μία λευκή και μία ερυθρόμορφη λήκυθο, που τοποθετήθηκαν κατά μήκος του δεξιού βραχίονα του νεκρού. Τέσσερις λήκυθοι φέρουν εικονιστικές παραστάσεις, άλλες τέσσερις είναι ληκύθια με μελανόγραφη φυτική και γραμμική διακόσμηση, ενώ υπάρχει και ένα μελαμβαφές ληκύθιο (έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α).¹⁵



Εικ. 5. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30052.



Εικ. 6. Ερυθρόμορφη λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30053.



Εικ. 7. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30054.



Εικ. 8. Ερυθρόμορφη λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30059.

Κατάλογος των ευρημάτων

1. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (ΕΑΜ 30052) (εικ. 5, έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α. 4Α)

Ύψος 0,189 μ. Ακέραιη. Συγκολλημένη από μεγάλα όστρακα. Το μελανό βερνίκι και το λευκό βάθος μαζί με τμήματα της παράστασης έχουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό απολεπιστεί. Μίλτος στο στόμιο, τον ώμο και την βάση. Η παράσταση αποδίδεται με στιλπνά περιγράμματα. Γυναίκα με χιτώνα, ιμάτιο και σάκκο στα μαλλιά, σπένδει σε τετράγωνο αναμμένο βωμό. Πίσω από την γυναίκα, κρεμασμένη μία ταινία. Κατηγορία ΑΤΛ. Ομάδα των Αθηνών 2025.¹⁶

2. Ερυθρόμορφη λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (ΕΑΜ 30053) (εικ. 6, έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α)

Ύψος 0,19 μ. Ακέραιη. Μικρές αποκρούσεις στο στόμιο, την λαβή, το κυρίως σώμα και την βάση. Μίλτος στον ώμο. Νίκη (φορεί χιτώνα με μακρύ απόπτυγμα και σάκκο στα μαλλιά) πετά προς τα δεξιά κρατώντας ταινία. Κατηγορία ΑΤΛ. Τεχνοτροπία του Ζωγράφου του Αισχίνη.¹⁷

3. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (ΕΑΜ 30054) (εικ. 7, έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α. 3Α)

Ύψος 0,182 μ. Ακέραιη. Εκτεταμένες απολεπίσεις του μελανού βερνικιού και του λευκού βάθους. Μίλτος στο στόμιο, την λαβή, τον ώμο και την βάση. Αποκρούσεις (στην κύρια παράσταση) στον δεξιό αγκώνα της γυναίκας. Σκηνή γυναικωνίτη. Στο κέντρο γυναίκα καθισμένη σε κλισμό (ταινία στα μαλλιά). Στο αριστερό

(πρωτεταμένο;) χέρι κρατούσε κάποιο αντικείμενο u945 από το οποίο διακρίνονται ελάχιστα ίχνη, ίσως είναι κάτοπτρο. Κατηγορία ATL. Ομάδα των Αθηνών 2025.¹⁸

4. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30055) (έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α)

Ύψος 0,123 μ. Ακέραιη. Το λευκό βάθος έχει χαθεί σχεδόν ολοκληρωτικά με αποτέλεσμα να σώζονται ελάχιστα ίχνη της διακόσμησης (οριζόντιος θαλλός κισσού από τον οποίο φυτρώνει διπλή σειρά φύλλων και καρπών εναλλάξ).¹⁹

5. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30056) (έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α)

Ύψος 0,153 μ. Ακέραιη. Συγκολλημένη. Το λευκό βάθος έχει χαθεί ολοκληρωτικά. Διακρίνονται ελάχιστα ίχνη του λοξού δικτυωτού κοσμήματος.²⁰

6. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30057) (έγχρωμος πίν. 2Α)

Ύψος 0,189 μ. Ακέραιη. Συγκολλημένη. Το λευκό βάθος έχει χαθεί ολοκληρωτικά. Διακρίνονται ελάχιστα ίχνη του κοσμήματος, ίσως λοξό δικτυωτό.²¹

7. Λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με γραμμική διακόσμηση (EAM 30058) (έγχρωμος πίν. 2Β)

Ύψος 0,15 μ. Ακέραιη. Απολεπίσεις στο στόμιο, το κυρίως σώμα και την βάση. Το λευκό βάθος έχει σε μεγάλο βαθμό χαθεί. Ζώνες με απλό μαϊάνδρο στο κυρίως σώμα.

8. Ερυθρόμορφη λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (EAM 30059) (εικ. 8, έγχρωμος πίν. 2Β)

Ύψος 0,182 μ. Ακέραιη. Απολεπίσεις και αποκρούσεις σε όλη την επιφάνεια, ιδίως στην παράσταση. Νίκη με σάκκο στα μαλλιά βαδίζει προς τα δεξιά. Στο χέρι της κρατεί κάποιο αντικείμενο, πιθανώς ταινία. Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Αισχίνη.²²

9. Μελαμβαφής λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (EAM 30060) (έγχρωμος πίν. 2Β)

Ύψος 0,138 μ. Ακέραιη. Μικρές αποκρούσεις σε όλη την επιφάνεια του αγγείου.²³

Με βάση τα κτερίσματα, ο T35 χρονολογείται στην δεκαετία 460–450 π.Χ.

Τάφος 37 (έγχρωμος πίν. 3Β. 4Β–D)

Η μαρμάρινη σαρκοφάγος βρέθηκε ερμητικά κλεισμένη και γεμάτη νερό μέχρι το 1/3 του ύψους της. Οι αναερόβιες συνθήκες, τα πολύ αυξημένα ποσοστά υγρασίας και η λάσπη επέτρεψαν την διατήρηση οργανικών καταλοίπων. Η σχετική μαρτυρία οφείλεται στην παρατηρητικότητα των ανασκαφών, οι οποίοι την ώρα του

ανοίγματος της σαρκοφάγου πρόσεξαν ότι είχαν σωθεί μικρά κλαδάκια από κληματαριά. Ανήκουν στο νεκρικό στεφάνι ή έπεσαν στην σαρκοφάγο, την στιγμή του ενταφιασμού, από την στρωμένη με κληματίδες νεκρική κλίνη. Τη χρήση κληματίδων κατά την τελετουργία της πρόθεσης του νεκρού, αναφέρει ο Αριστοφάνης στις Εκκλησιαζούσες (στιχ. 1030 κε.).²⁴

Όπως στον T35, ο νεκρός του T37 είχε εναποτεθεί στην σαρκοφάγο ύπτιος και με τα άνω άκρα κατά μήκος των πλευρών (εικ. 9). Οι Brückner και Pernice αναφέρουν ότι μέρος του σκελετού, μαζί με ορισμένα κτερίσματα, φαίνεται πως μετακινήθηκε από την αρχική του θέση. Η δράση του νερού προξένησε σοβαρές βλάβες στα περισσότερα αγγεία, ιδιαιτέρως στην διακόσμηση των λευκών λήκυθων, με συνέπεια η παράσταση σε μερικές από αυτές να είναι δυσδιάκριτη ή να έχει χαθεί. Τα 16 κτερίσματα που είχαν τοποθετηθεί στην αριστερή πλευρά και γύρω από τα σκέλη του νεκρού, είναι: 5 λευκές λήκυθοι κανονικού σχήματος με αμαυρά περιγράμματα και χωρίς εσωτερικό μυροδοχείο, 2 λευκές λήκυθοι δευτερεύοντος τύπου, 6 λήκυθοι με μελανόγραφα φυτικά και γραμμικά κοσμήματα και 3 μελαμβαφή λήκυθια.²⁵

Κατάλογος των ευρημάτων

1. Λευκή λήκυθος κανονικού σχήματος (EAM 30061) (εικ. 10, έγχρωμος πίν. 3B. 4B)

Ύψος 0,40 μ. Ακέραιη, σπασμένη στο μέσο του λαιμού, απολεπίσεις στον λαιμό και στο κάτω μέρος του αγγείου. Η παράσταση, ιδιαιτέρως στο αριστερό μισό, είναι σε μεγάλο βαθμό εξίτηλη. Αναχώρηση πολεμιστή. Στα δεξιά παριστάνεται ένας νέος οπλίτης αποδοσμένος κατ' ενώπιον και με το κεφάλι στραμμένο προς τα αριστερά. Φορεί ερυθρό χιτωνίσκο, ζωσμένο στην μέση, του οποίου η κάτω παρυφή κοσμεύεται με κίτρινη τεθλασμένη γραμμή. Στο αριστερό λυγισμένο και υψωμένο στον αγκώνα χέρι κρατεί μελανό δόρυ, εξίτηλο σήμερα, εκτός ένα μικρό ίχνος, ορατό κοντά στην αριστερή κνήμη. Στον αριστερό αγκώνα κρέμεται ένα λεπτό ιμάτιο από το οποίο έχει χαθεί το χρώμα. Δύο κυματοειδείς γραμμές πίσω από τον αριστερό ώμο αποδίδουν πιθανότατα τον πέτασο, που ήταν ριγμένος στην πλάτη του. Ο νέος εκτείνει το χαμηλωμένο δεξί χέρι του προς την αριστερή πλευρά της παράστασης, όπου, με πολλή δυσκολία διακρίνονται τα αμυδρά ίχνη μίας πεπλοφόρου σε κατατομή προς τα δεξιά. u913 Αυτή κρατεί στο δεξί ένα δυσδιάκριτο αντικείμενο, το οποίο ταυτίστηκε με κράνος, που πρόκειται να παραδώσει στον νέο.²⁶ Με το αριστερό χέρι η γυναίκα ανασύρει ελαφρώς την

παρυφή του πέπλου της. Αυτές οι χαρακτηριστικές λεπτομέρειες κατατάσσουν την παράσταση στις «αναχωρήσεις πολεμιστών», που πολύ συχνά απεικονίζονται στην αττική αγγειογραφία του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Η παράδοση του οπλισμού από τη σύζυγο ή τη μητέρα του νεαρού οπλίτη διαδραματίζεται σε οικιακό περιβάλλον, όπως υποβάλλουν το κάτοπτρο (ανηρτημένο στον μαϊάνδρο πάνω από την παράσταση) και ο δίφρος με ένα ύφασμα πάνω του (τοποθετημένος μπροστά στα πόδια της γυναίκας). Το αρχετυπικό και παραδειγματικό εικονογραφικό θέμα της «παράδοσης των όπλων» στον αθηναίο οπλίτη/πολίτη, που ετοιμάζεται να αφήσει την οικογένεια και την πατρική γή για να πολεμήσει, συμπυκνώνει την πολιτική ιδεολογία της αθηναϊκής δημοκρατίας του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Οι μορφές, που παραδίδουν οπλισμό, δηλ. η γυναίκα (μητέρα/σύζυγος) και ο άνδρας (πατέρας) μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ως αλληγορία ή προσωποποίηση της ίδιας της πόλης της Αθήνας και του αθηναϊκού Δήμου, δηλ. του σώματος των πολιτών.²⁷



Εικ. 9. Ο τάφος 37 (οι λήκυθοι αριθ. 11 και 13 δεν απεικονίζονται στο σχέδιο).
Φωτογραφία: από Α. Brückner – Ε. Pernice, AM 18, 1893, 180 33 εικ. 33.



Εικ. 10. Λευκή λήκυθος. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30061.

Τα φυτικά και γραμμικά κοσμήματα μας επιτρέπουν να προσγράψουμε την λήκυθο στο Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα. Τα ανθέμια του ώμου είναι απλοποιημένη παραλλαγή του τύπου ΙΙΑ των ληκύθων του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα, και ανήκουν περισσότερο στη Μέση και λιγότερο στην Ύστερη περιόδό του. Το βρίσκουμε επίσης σε πολλές λευκές ληκύθους της Ύστερης περιόδου του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff.²⁸ Το γραμμικό κόσμημα, η ταινία που περιέχει ομάδες στοιχείων σταματημένου μαιάνδρου εναλλασσόμενες με τετραγωνίδια με σικτό σταυρό του Αγ. Ανδρέα, απαντά συχνότερα στον Ζωγράφο του Αχιλλέα αλλά σπανίζει στον Ζωγράφο του Sabouroff.²⁹

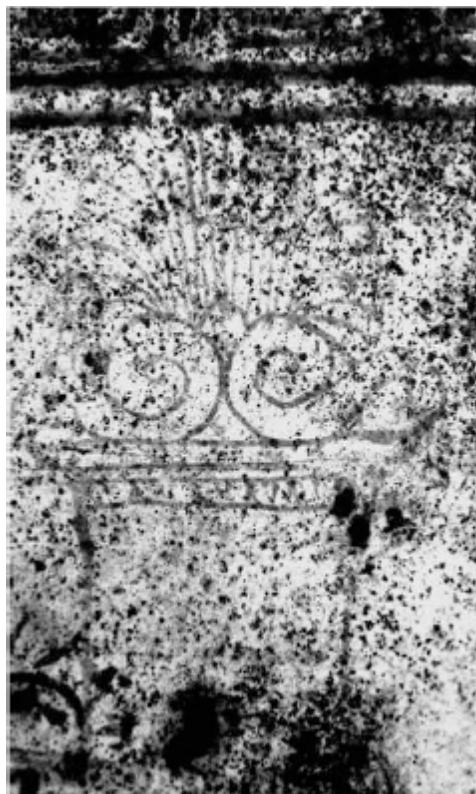
Την «αναχώρηση του πολεμιστή» συναντάμε σε πολλές παραλλαγές στον Ζωγράφο του Αχιλλέα.³⁰ Η αγαλματική μορφή, το ήθος του νέου και ο πλαστικός τρόπος απόδοσης των ανατομικών λεπτομερειών, θυμίζουν χωρίς αμφιβολία

αντίστοιχες μορφές σε αγγεία, που αποδίδονται στον Ζωγράφο του Αχιλλέα και το εργαστήριό του. Η κατατομή, ωστόσο, του προσώπου του νέου, αν και μαρτυρεί την ισχυρή επίδραση του ίδιου του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα, δεν μπορεί να αποδοθεί σε αυτόν, αλλά ούτε και σε άλλους ζωγράφους του Εργαστηρίου του, όπως π.χ. τον Ζωγράφο του Θανάτου, τον Ζωγράφο της Φιάλης και τον Ζωγράφο του Μονάχου 2335.³¹ Τα χαρακτηριστικά γωνιώδη αμαυρά περιγράμματα του κεφαλιού αυτού συγκρίνονται με άλλα παρόμοια σε αγγεία του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff, και μπορούν να υποστηρίξουν την πρότασή μας να αποδοθεί σε αυτόν η λήκυθος.³² Βεβαίως, η απόδοση του νέου στην λήκυθο του οικοπέδου Σαπουντζάκη υπερβαίνει ποιοτικώς τις συνήθειες από τον Ζωγράφο του Sabouroff απεικονίσεις νέων. Η ποιότητα, ωστόσο, και οι πλαστικές αξίες του σχεδίου της παράστασης, αν και ασυνήθιστες, δεν λείπουν στον Ζωγράφο του Sabouroff. Τις συναντούμε σε πρωιμότερες ληκύθους του, π.χ. στην μεγάλη λήκυθο του Μουσείου Getty, που χρονολογείται περί το 455–450 π.Χ.³³ Τα εικονογραφικά θέματα της «παράδοσης των όπλων» και της «αναχώρησης του πολεμιστή», αν και όχι συνηθισμένα όσο στον Ζωγράφο του Αχιλλέα, δεν είναι άγνωστα στον Ζωγράφο του Sabouroff.³⁴ Ήδη από την δεκαετία του 450–440 π.Χ., ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff εργαζόταν στο εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα και μοιράστηκε το κοινό εικονογραφικό απόθεμα των ζωγράφων του εργαστηρίου. Η λήκυθος, από τα καλύτερα ποιοτικώς έργα του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff, μπορεί με ασφάλεια να χρονολογηθεί, λόγω της χρήσης ερυθρών αμαυρών περιγραμμάτων, στην ύστερη περίοδό του, δηλ. στην δεκαετία 440–430 π.Χ., και μάλιστα προς το τέλος της.³⁵

2. Λευκή λήκυθος κανονικού σχήματος (EAM 30062) (εικ. 11. 12, έγχρωμος πίν. 3B)

Ύψος 0,283 μ. Ακέραιη. Μικρές αποκρούσεις στο στόμιο, τον λαιμό, τη βάση και το κάτω μέρος του αγγείου. Αν και τα χρώματα στο μεγαλύτερο τμήμα της παράστασης έχουν χαθεί μπορούμε να αναγνωρίσουμε το εικονογραφικό θέμα, την «επίσκεψη στον τάφο».³⁶ Το κέντρο καταλαμβάνει η επιτύμβια στήλη με ιωνικό γείσο και ανθεμωτή επίστεψη, που υπερβαίνει τον μαίανδρο, το άνω όριο της παράστασης. Αριστερά, μόλις διακρίνεται μία κανηφόρος σε κατατομή προς τα δεξιά. Κρατεί στα δύο της χέρια κάνιστρο γεμάτο στεφάνια, για να διακοσμήσει τη στήλη. Η μορφή στα δεξιά έχει σχεδόν χαθεί. Απεικονίζεται κατ' ενώπιον με το δεξί χέρι στην οσφύ και το κεφάλι στραμμένο προς την στήλη. Τα υπολείμματα ερυθρού χρώματος στην περιοχή του κορμού, τα κοντά μαλλιά και κάποια ίχνη της αρχικής διακόσμησης στο δεξιό πέρασ της παράστασης, που πιθανώς

ανήκουν σε δόρυ, μας επιτρέπουν να υποθέσουμε ότι πρόκειται για ιματιοφόρο ή χλαμυδοφόρο νέο, ίσως πολεμιστή.



Εικ. 11. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30062.



Εικ. 12. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30062.



Εικ. 13. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30063.

Η αναγνώριση του ζωγράφου είναι δύσκολη. Η

παραπληρωματική διακόσμηση και ο τύπος της ανθεμωτής επίστεψης την κατατάσσουν στον ευρύτερο κύκλο του Εργαστηρίου των Ζωγράφων του Αχιλλέα και Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff.³⁷ Ορισμένες ανατομικές λεπτομέρειες στην απόδοση της κατατομής των δύο προσώπων, όπως π.χ. το γωνιώδες πηγούνι, καθώς και το κάνιστρο την φέρουν κοντά στον Ζωγράφο του Sabouroff.³⁸

3. Λευκή λήκυθος κανονικού σχήματος (EAM 30063) (εικ. 13, έγχρωμος πίν. 3B)

Ύψος 0,275 μ. Απολεπίσεις και αποκρούσεις στο στόμιο, τον λαιμό και το σώμα του αγγείου, κυρίως κάτω από τη λαβή. Σε μεγάλο μέρος του κυρίως σώματος το λευκό βάθος έχει απολεπισθεί. Εκτεταμένες επικαθίσεις γαιωδών ιζημάτων. «Επίσκεψη στον τάφο». Στο κέντρο, ιδρυμένη σε τρίβαθμη κρηπίδα, μία επιτύμβια στήλη που απολήγει σε ιωνικό γείσο και επιστέφεται με ανθέμιο, όπως στην προηγούμενη λήκυθο, αλλά διαφορετικού τύπου.³⁹ Στο μέσο της στήλης, κάτω από τις παχιές επικαθίσεις ιζημάτων, στα οποία οφείλεται η καλή διατήρηση του χρώματος, διακρίνεται μία βαθυγάλαζη ταινία. Στα αριστερά απεικονίζεται μία γυναίκα με χιτώνα και μάτιο που σκύβει για να αποθέσει στα σκαλιά του τάφου το εξάλειπτρο, που κρατεί και με τα δύο της χέρια. Μία πλατιά λευκή ταινία στολίζει τα μαλλιά της, που αποδίδονται με κόκκινο χρώμα. Στην δεξιά πλευρά στέκεται μία άλλη γυναίκα με χιτώνα και κόκκινο μάτιο. Κρατεί, και αυτή, με τα δύο της χέρια ένα εξάλειπτρο. Ευτυχώς, η σχετικά καλή διατήρηση του προσώπου της γυναίκας στα αριστερά, μας επιτρέπει να αποδώσουμε την λήκυθο αυτή στον Ζωγράφο του Μονάχου 2335.⁴⁰



Εικ. 14. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30066.



Εικ. 15. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30067.

4. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (ΕΑΜ 30064)

Ύψος 0,23 μ. Ακέραιη. Μεγάλες απολεπίσεις μεταξύ της ρίζας του

λαιμού και της λαβής στο ώμο, καθώς και στο κυρίως σώμα του αγγείου, κάτω από τη λαβή. Το λευκό βάθος σε πολλά σημεία είναι εξίτηλο, μαζί έχει χαθεί και το καστανομέλανο βερνίκι. Σώζονται ελάχιστα ίχνη της διακόσμησης (οριζόντιος u952 έαλλός κισσού μεταξύ δύο ταινιών με δικτυωτό. Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου της Μεγαίρας.⁴¹

5. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30065)

Ύψος 0,152 μ. Ακέραιη. Ραγισμένη στο εμπρόσθιο μέρος, απολεπίσεις στο στόμιο. Το λευκό βάθος σε πολλά σημεία είναι εξίτηλο. Στο κυρίως σώμα διακόσμηση από οριζόντιο θαλλό κισσού, που ορίζεται άνω από δικτυωτό.⁴²

6. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (EAM 30066) (εικ. 14, έγχρωμος πίν. 4C)

Ύψος 0,235 μ. Ακέραιη. Εξίτηλο μαύρο βερνίκι στο στόμιο και τα κοσμήματα του ώμου. Μικρές αποκρούσεις στο κάτω μελανό τμήμα του αγγείου. Το λευκό βάθος έχει απολεπισθεί σε αρκετά μέρη της παράστασης. Μίλτος στον ώμο, τον λαιμό, το στόμιο και τη βάση. Τα περιγράμματα στην παράσταση είναι στυλπνά και ο μαϊάνδρος, που επιστέφει την παράσταση, αμαυρός. «Επίσκεψη στον τάφο». Κανηφόρος, σε κατατομή προς τα δεξιά, κρατεί μεγάλο κάνιστρο μπροστά σε επιτύμβια στήλη, ιδρυμένη σε τρίβαθμη κρηπίδα. Η στήλη κοσμεύεται άνω με ιωνικό κυμάτιο και απολήγει σε ανθεμωτό κόσμημα πάνω σε μεγάλους έλικες. Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Τύμβου.⁴³

7. Λευκή λήκυθος κανονικού σχήματος (EAM 30067) (εικ. 15, έγχρωμος πίν. 3B. 4D)

Ύψος 0,272 μ. Ακέραιη. Μικρές αποκρούσεις στο χείλος και μία μεγάλη στο κάτω μέρος της παράστασης. Ρωγμές και απολεπίσεις κατά τόπους, κυρίως στο κάτω μελανό τμήμα του αγγείου, ιδίως στο δεξιό τμήμα της παράστασης με αποτέλεσμα την απώλεια μεγάλου τμήματος της δεξιάς μορφής. «Επίσκεψη στον τάφο».⁴⁴ Το κέντρο της παράστασης καταλαμβάνει η επιτύμβια στήλη, από την οποία διακρίνεται αμυδρά μόνο το ανώτερο τμήμα μαζί με το γείσο και την ανθεμωτή απόληξη.⁴⁵ Στο ανώτερο τμήμα του κορμού της στήλης διακρίνονται κατάλοιπα δύο έως τριών ταινιών δεμένων επάνω της. Στα αριστερά στέκεται ένας νέος πετασοφόρος οπλίτης, με μακριά βοστρυχωτά μαλλιά. Φέρει το δεξί χέρι στην οσφύ και σύρει το δεξί σκέλος προς τα πίσω. Στο αριστερό χέρι κρατεί ασπίδα και δόρυ. Στην άλλη πλευρά στέκεται μία μορφή με ερυθρό ένδυμα, όμως η κακή διατήρησή της δεν επιτρέπει την ταύτισή της. Ζωγράφος της Φιάλης ή στην Τεχνοτροπία του.⁴⁶



Εικ. 16. Λευκή λήκυθος, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 30068.

8. Λευκή λήκυθος κανονικού σχήματος (ΕΑΜ 30068) (εικ. 16, έγχρωμος πίν. 3B)

Ύψος 0,264 μ. Ακέραιη. Εκτεταμένες απολεπίσεις στην λαβή και τον λαιμό. Αποκρούσεις στην βάση. Οι εκτεταμένες απολεπίσεις στον ώμο και τα εξίτηλα χρώματα δεν επιτρέπουν να διαγνώσουμε τον τύπο των ανθεμίων. Φαίνεται όμως ότι είχε εναλλάξ μελανά/ερυθρά φύλλα. «Επίσκεψη στον τάφο»; Διακρίνονται μόνο οι βαθμίδες και η επίστεψη της στήλης (άκανθα, που σώζει ίχνη γαλάζιου χρώματος). Στα δεξιά της στήλης, τα ελάχιστα κατάλοιπα ερυθρού χρώματος υποδηλώνουν την ύπαρξη μορφής, που φορεί ερυθρό ένδυμα, πιθανώς πρόκειται για ιματιοφόρο νέο. Λόγω της κακής διατήρησής της, η λήκυθος δεν μπορεί να αποδοθεί σε συγκεκριμένο ζωγράφο.⁴⁷

9. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου (ΕΑΜ 30069)

Ύψος 0,188 μ. Ακέραιη. Μικρές αποκρούσεις στο στόμιο και την βάση. Μεγάλης έκτασης απολεπίσεις έχουν σχεδόν εξαφανίσει την παράσταση και τον μαϊάνδρο στο κυρίως σώμα. Ερυθρά αμαυρά περιγράμματα. «Επίσκεψη στον τάφο». Στο μέσο της παράστασης σώζονται κατάλοιπα ταφικού μνημείου (συνδυασμός υψηλής επιτύμβιας στήλης και χαμηλότερου, στολισμένου με ταινία, τύμβου). Εκατέρωθεν του μνημείου σώζονται τα ίχνη δύο

μορφών. Όψιμο έργο του εργαστηρίου του Ζωγράφου του Τύμβου.⁴⁸

10. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30070)

Ύψος 0,18 μ. Λείπει το μεγαλύτερο μέρος του λαιμού, με το στόμιο και την λαβή. Μίλτος στον ώμο και την βάση. Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου της Μεγαίρας.⁴⁹

11. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30071)

Ύψος 0,16 μ. Συγκολλημένη. Λείπει ο λαιμός, το στόμιο και μέρος του ώμου. Μεγάλες αποκρούσεις στην βάση. Η διακόσμηση στο κυρίως σώμα έχει σε μεγάλο βαθμό χαθεί.⁵⁰

12. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30072)

Ύψος 0,222 μ. Ακέραιη. Συγκολλημένη. Μίλτος στον ώμο και τον λαιμό. Η διακόσμηση στο κυρίως σώμα και τον ώμο έχει σε μεγάλο βαθμό χαθεί. Διατηρούνται λίγα ίχνη επάλληλων ζωνών με αντικόρυφα φυλλοειδή στοιχεία, δικτυωτό και μαϊάνδρο.⁵¹

13. Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου με μελανόγραφη διακόσμηση (EAM 30073)

Ύψος 0,188 μ. Ακέραιη. Ελαφρές αποκρούσεις στο στόμιο, το κυρίως σώμα και την βάση. Η διακόσμηση έχει χαθεί σε πολλά σημεία του κυρίως σώματος. Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου της Μεγαίρας.⁵²

14. Μελαμβαφές αρυβαλλοειδές ληκύθιο (EAM 30074)

Ύψος 0,10 μ. Ακέραιο. Το βερνίκι έχει σε u956 ίεγάλο βαθμό αποπέσει. Μίλτος στην εσωτερική επιφάνεια της βάσης. Είναι ολόβαφο εκτός από μία εδαφόχρωμη ζώνη στο άνω μέρος του κυρίως σώματος με εξίτηλα ζητοειδή κοσμήματα.⁵³

15. Μελαμβαφές αρυβαλλοειδές ληκύθιο (EAM 30075)

Ύψος 0,087 μ. Ακέραιο. Μικρές αποκρούσεις και απολεπίσεις κατά τόπους. Μίλτος στην εσωτερική επιφάνεια της βάσης. Στο κυρίως σώμα έντυπη διακόσμηση από σειρά κατακόρυφων οξυκόρυφων τριγώνων.⁵⁴

16. Μελαμβαφές αρυβαλλοειδές ληκύθιο (EAM 30076)

Ύψος 0,078 μ. Ακέραιο. Κατάσταση διατήρησης και διακόσμηση όπως στο προηγούμενο.

Με βάση τα κτερίσματα, ο T37 μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί στην δεκαετία 440–430 π.Χ.

Οστεοβιογραφία – Οι σκελετοί

Κατάσταση διατήρησης. Οι σκελετοί βρίσκονται σε άριστη κατάσταση διατήρησης και πληρότητας. Η καλή διατήρηση

οφείλεται πιθανότατα στη στατική παρουσία νερού και λάσπης, που σκέπαζε τις σαρκοφάγους μέχρι $1/3$ του ύψους τους,⁵⁵ ύψος ικανό να σκεπάσει ολόκληρο τον σκελετό. Έχει παρατηρηθεί ότι τα λιμνάζοντα ύδατα υποστηρίζουν την σκελετική διατήρηση,⁵⁶ ενώ, η παρουσία τρεχούμενων νερών, όπως τα όμβρια ύδατα, προκαλεί σημαντική φθορά των οστών. Οι σκελετοί έχουν συντηρηθεί στο παρελθόν, όπως αποκαλύπτουν τα υπολείμματα κόλλας στα δόντια, πιθανώς κατά τη διάρκεια της μελέτης των σκελετών από τον L. Angel στις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1940.⁵⁷

Φύλο και ηλικία θανάτου. Η άριστη διατήρηση των σκελετών, συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της ηβικής περιοχής,⁵⁸ η οποία θεωρείται η πιο ακριβής για τον προσδιορισμό των δημογραφικών παραμέτρων,⁵⁹ επέτρεψε την εκτίμηση του φύλου και τον προσδιορισμό της ηλικίας θανάτου με ακρίβεια. Σύμφωνα με την ηβική περιοχή οι σκελετοί ανήκουν σε δυο ενήλικους άνδρες. Ο πρώτος σκελετός (T35) ανήκει σε άτομο ώριμης ηλικίας (άνω των 50 ετών), ενώ ο δεύτερος (T37) ανήκει σε άτομο νεαρής ηλικίας (25–34 ετών) με βάση μια σειρά μορφολογικών μεταβολών του σκελετού.⁶⁰



Εικ. 17. Τάφου 37: Γραμμική υποπλασία της αδαμαντίνης.



Εικ. 18. Τάφου 35: Ίχνη τρυγίας και γραμμική υποπλασία της αδαμαντίνης.



Εικ. 19. Τάφου 35: Απόστημα (περιακρορριζική κύστη) στην άνω γνάθο.

Κατάσταση υγείας κατά την ανάπτυξη

Ανάστημα. Με βάση το μέγιστο μήκος του μηριαίου,⁶¹ ο άνδρας του T35 είχε ύψος $170 \pm 3,27$ εκ., ενώ του T37 είχε $172 \pm 3,27$ εκ. Το ανάστημα των δυο ανδρών ταυτίζεται με τον μέσο όρο του αναστήματος των ανδρών από το νεκροταφείο του Κεραμεικού.⁶² Γνωρίζουμε ότι το ανάστημα, εκτός από τη γονιδιακή u964 δου βάση, αποτελεί δείκτη της συσσωρευτικής ανάπτυξης ενός ατόμου αντανakλώντας το κοινωνικό και οικονομικό περιβάλλον στο οποίο έζησε.⁶³ Σε περιπτώσεις όμως που υπάρχει

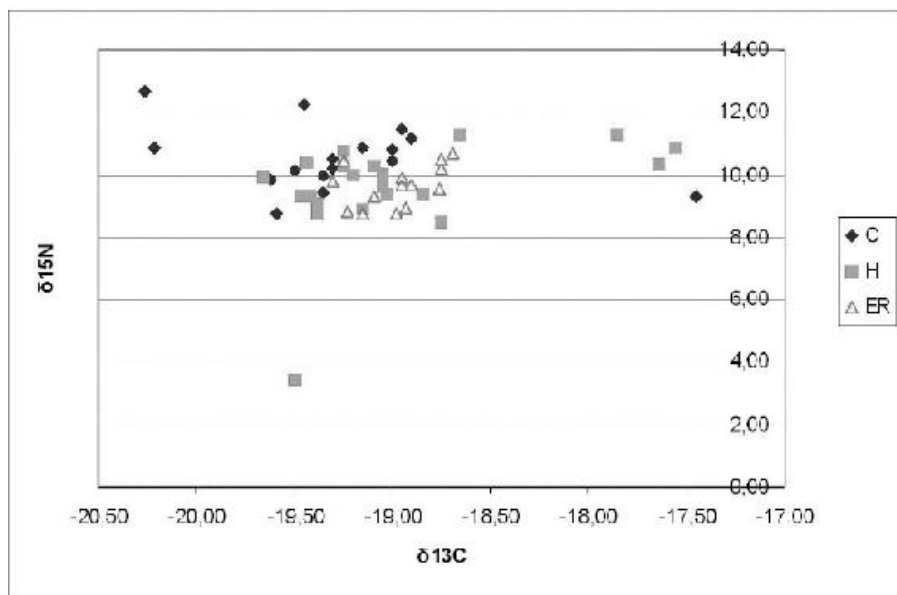
μακρόχρονη στέρηση στη διατροφή και υγεία είναι δυνατόν η περίοδος ανάπτυξης να παραταθεί, η ανάπτυξη να ανακτηθεί, και το τελικό ανάστημα να μην διαφέρει από το «αναμενόμενο».⁶⁴

Διατάραξη του μεταβολισμού κατά την παιδική ηλικία. Πράγματι, η παρουσία Γραμμικής Υποπλασίας της Αδαμαντίνης (ΓΥΑ) στους κυνόδοντες των δυο ανδρών (εικ. 17–18) υποστηρίζει τη θέση ότι, αν και υπήρξαν παράγοντες, που προσέβαλαν τον μεταβολισμό κατά την παιδική ηλικία, την περίοδο στάσης ακολούθησε ανάκαμψη. Η γραμμική υποπλασία της αδαμαντίνης αποτελεί δείκτη της παρουσίας επεισοδίων καταπόνησης (stress), τα οποία υπήρξαν απειλητικά για την επιβίωση του αναπτυσσόμενου οργανισμού.⁶⁵ Οι πιο συχνά αναφερόμενες αιτίες περιλαμβάνουν τον πρώιμο τοκετό, γενετικές ασθένειες, ελλιπή διατροφή, τραυματισμούς και μολυσματικές ασθένειες.⁶⁶

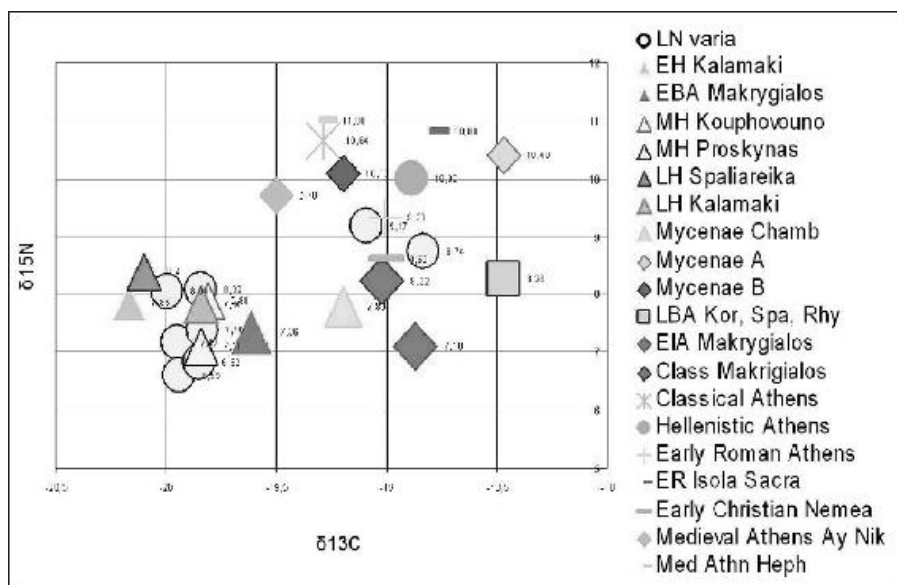
Είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι η συχνότητα των υποπλασιών κατά την Κλασική περίοδο στην Αθήνα εμφανίζεται μειωμένη σε σχέση με την ελληνιστική και την πρώιμη ρωμαϊκή εποχή,⁶⁷ υποστηρίζοντας έτσι την παρουσία καλύτερων συνθηκών υγείας και διατροφής την περίοδο αυτή. Τέλος, η θέση των υποπλασιών στους κοπτήρες της κάτω γνάθου δείχνει ότι τα επεισόδια καταπόνησης συνέβησαν στην ηλικία των 4,5 περίπου ετών,⁶⁸ όπως έχει παρατηρηθεί και στους πληθυσμούς των νεκροταφείων του Κεραμεικού και της Πλατείας Κοτζιά.⁶⁹ Η ηλικία αυτή φαίνεται πως σχετίζεται περισσότερο με την παρουσία περιβαλλοντικών παραγόντων, όπως μολυσματικές ασθένειες, παρά με διατροφικές ελλείψεις.

Διατροφή. Η οδοντική υγεία σε συνδυασμό με την χημική ανάλυση των οστών προσφέρει σημαντικές πληροφορίες που αφορούν την διατροφή. Δεν υπάρχουν άμεσες ενδείξεις για την παρουσία τερηδόνας στην οδοντοστοιχία των δυο ανδρών. Στον ηλικιωμένο άνδρα, ωστόσο, υπάρχει μεγάλο απόστημα στην άνω γνάθο, στη ρίζα του δεξιού άνω γομφίου (εικ. 19). Το απόστημα (περιακορριζική υ954 έυση) μπορεί να είναι το αποτέλεσμα της παρουσίας τερηδόνας, έντονης οδοντικής αποτριβής ή ρωγμής.⁷⁰ Αντίθετα με την τερηδόνα, ίχνη τρυγίας παρατηρούνται και στους δυο σκελετούς. Η τρυγία ήταν ιδιαίτερα συχνή στην κλασική αρχαιότητα, πιθανότατα ως αποτέλεσμα του υψηλού επιπέδου πρωτεϊνών στη διατροφή. Όπως έδειξε η ανάλυση σταθερών ισotόπων άνθρακα και αζώτου από τα νεκροταφεία του Κεραμεικού και της Πλατείας Κοτζιά,⁷¹ το επίπεδο διατροφής, όσον αφορά τη συμμετοχή κρέατος ή/και γαλακτοκομικών προϊόντων στην Κλασική Αθήνα, ήταν το υψηλότερο σε σχέση με τις περισσότερες μέχρι τώρα γνωστές θέσεις και περιόδους στην Ελλάδα, από την Νεολιθική εποχή μέχρι την ύστερη αρχαιότητα.

Αντίστοιχο επίπεδο πρωτεϊνών έχει παρατηρηθεί μόνον στους ταφικούς κύκλους των Μυκηνών,⁷² σε νεκροταφείο ανώτερης κοινωνικής τάξης των 1ου-3ου μ.Χ. αι. από την Isola Sacra στη Ρώμη⁷³ και σε νεκροταφείο του 11ου-18ου αι. μ.Χ. από το Ηφαιστείο της Αρχαίας Αγοράς (εικ. 20–21).⁷⁴



Εικ. 20. Σταθερά ισότοπα μ940 ΰνθρακα και αζώτου στην Κλασική, ελληνιστική και ρωμαϊκή Αθήνα.



Εικ. 21. Μέσες τιμές σταθερών ισωτόπων άνθρακα και αζώτου από διάφορες

Τραυματισμοί

Οι μέσοι κοπτήρες της άνω γνάθου του ηλικιωμένου άνδρα του T35 είχαν **χαθεί** εν **ζωή**, όπως φανερώνουν τα συνοστεωμένα φατνία (εικ. 22). Η θέση των δοντιών στο πρόσθιο τμήμα της οδοντοστοιχίας υποστηρίζει ότι η απώλειά τους πιθανώς να οφείλεται σε κάποιον τραυματισμό εξαιτίας διαπροσωπικής βίας ή ατυχήματος,⁷⁵ παρά σε φθορά λόγω διατροφικών συνηθειών ή στοματικής υγιεινής.

Παθολογίες – Κατάσταση Υγείας

Αλλοιώσεις που σχετίζονται με την έλλειψη σιδήρου στη διατροφή καθώς και μολυσματικές ασθένειες απουσιάζουν από τους σκελετούς και συμφωνούν με τα μέχρι τώρα αποτελέσματα από τον Κεραμικό και την Πλατεία Κοτζιά, όπου η παρουσία αυτών των αλλοιώσεων είναι περιορισμένη. Έκδηλες είναι όμως οι εκφυλιστικές **αλλοιώσεις**, που σχετίζονται με το επίπεδο δραστηριότητας και την πάροδο της ηλικίας.

Α) Ο νεαρός άνδρας του T37 εμφανίζει **αρθρίτιδα** στα άνω άκρα (βραχιόνια, κλείδες) και τους αυχενικούς και οσφυϊκούς σπονδύλους. Στη σπονδυλική στήλη η αρθρίτιδα έχει την μορφή χειλωμάτων και πόρωσης, ενώ στους κάτω θωρακικούς σπονδύλους εμφανίζονται επιπλέον οζίδια του Schmorl. Στον ηλικιωμένο άνδρα του T35 η αρθρίτιδα εμφανίζεται εντονότερη τόσο στα άνω όσο και στα κάτω άκρα, αλλά και την σπονδυλική στήλη.⁷⁶ Η αρθρίτιδα των άνω άκρων και της αυχενικής μοίρας σχετίζεται με καταπόνηση της άνω περιοχής του σώματος, πιθανώς εξαιτίας κάποιας βαριάς χειρονακτικής εργασίας ή/και τη μεταφορά φορτίων.⁷⁷



Εικ. 22. Τάφου 35: απώλεια δοντιών εν ζωή.

Β) Τέλος, ο μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας άνδρας (Τ35) εμφανίζει σημαντικές αλλοιώσεις στην σπονδυλική στήλη και σε εξω-σπονδύλιες περιοχές χαρακτηριστικές της Διάχυτης Ιδιοπαθούς Σκελετικής Υπερόστωσης (ΔΙΣΥ).⁷⁸ Οι αλλοιώσεις της σπονδυλικής στήλης είναι παθογνωμονικές και χαρακτηρίζονται από την οστεοποίηση των πρόσθιων επιμήκων και του δεξιού εγκάρσιοπλευρικού επιμήκους συνδέσμου με ταυτόχρονη διατήρηση των μεσοσπονδύλιων διαστημάτων (εικ. 23). Η οστεοποίηση των συνδέσμων δείνει την εικόνα «λειωμένου κεριού».⁷⁹ Η συνοστέωση πλευρών στους κάτω θωρακικούς σπονδύλους, η οστεοποίηση συνδέσμων στα λαγόνια και άλλες εξω σπονδύλιες περιοχές είναι άμεσα συνδεδεμένες με την πάθηση αυτή.

Η αιτιολογία της ΔΙΣΥ (όπως προτείνει ο όρος «ιδιοπαθής») παραμένει άγνωστη.⁸⁰ Εμφανίζεται πιο συχνά σε άνδρες άνω των 50 ετών και σε άτομα που πάσχουν από παχυσαρκία ή επίκτητη μορφή διαβήτη τύπου II.⁸¹ Ανθρωπολογικά έχει παρατηρηθεί αυξημένη παρουσία ΔΙΣΥ σε πληθυσμούς, που διάγουν έναν καθιστικό τρόπο ζωής, παρουσιάζουν μακροβιότητα και συνδυάζουν μια πιο πλούσια πρωτεϊνικά διατροφή.⁸² Αρχαιολογικά εμφανίζεται πιο συχνά σε ταφές ατόμων υψηλής κοινωνικής θέσης.⁸³ Είναι εντυπωσιακό ότι στην Αθήνα τέτοιες αλλοιώσεις παρατηρήθηκαν σε λίγες μόνο ταφές, που χρονολογούνται από την Κλασική μέχρι την ρωμαϊκή εποχή και προέρχονται όλες από το νεκροταφείο του Κεραμεικού.⁸⁴

Σύνοψη

Γνωρίζουμε, πλέον, ότι στον T35 ετάφη άνδρας άνω των 50 ετών κτερισμένος με εννέα ληκύθους, εκ των οποίων οι τέσσερις φέρουν εικονιστική παράσταση. Δύο είναι ερυθρόμορφες με παραστάσεις Νίκης.⁸⁵ Άλλες δύο είναι λευκές, στην μία απεικονίζεται γυναίκα σπένδουσα σε βωμό και στην άλλη σκηνή γυναικωνίτη (γυναίκα καθισμένη σε κλισμό), ένα θέμα που, εκ πρώτης όψεως, δεν φαίνεται να ταιριάζει σε μία ανδρική ταφή.⁸⁶



Εικ. 23. Τάφου 35: Διάχυτη Ιδιοπαθής Σκελετική Υπερόσωση (ΔΙΣΥ).

Στον T37 ετάφη άνδρας νεαρής ηλικίας, 25–34 ετών. Από τις 16 ληκύθους, που τον συνοδεύουν, 7 φέρουν εικονιστικές παραστάσεις. Σε όλες, πλην μίας, εικονίζεται η «επίσκεψη στον τάφο». Στην πρώτη λήκυθο, αυτή του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff, έχουμε «αναχώρηση πολεμιστή».⁸⁷ Στην δεύτερη, αυτή που αποδίδεται στο εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα, μία

κανηφόρος επισκέπτεται τον τάφο ενός νέου άνδρα.⁸⁸ Στην τρίτη, αυτή του Ζωγράφου του Μονάχου 2335, δύο γυναίκες επισκέπτονται τον τάφο κρατώντας εξάλειπτρα.⁸⁹ Στην τέταρτη, αυτή του Ζωγράφου της Φιάλης, εικονίζεται και πάλι επίσκεψη στον τάφο με το νεαρό πετασοφόρο οπλίτη στα αριστερά.⁹⁰ Στην πέμπτη, την οποία είναι δύσκολο να αποδώσουμε και να διαγνώσουμε με ακρίβεια το θέμα της, φαίνεται ότι έχουμε επίσης «επίσκεψη στον τάφο»,⁹¹ όπως και στις δύο ληκύθους του εργαστηρίου του Ζωγράφου του Τύμβου.⁹²

Σε αντίθεση με τον T35, όπου η ύπαρξη σε έναν ανδρικό τάφο ληκύθων με θέματα, όπως ο «γυναικωνίτης» θα μπορούσε να μας ξενίσει, στον T37 η εικονογραφία των ληκύθων («αναχώρηση πολεμιστή» και «επίσκεψη στον τάφο»), φαίνεται πως συμβαδίζει όχι μόνο με το φύλο του νεκρού αλλά και με την νεαρή ηλικία του.⁹³

Αυτές οι παρατηρήσεις σχετικά με το φύλο του νεκρού και την εικονογραφία των λευκών ληκύθων γεννούν, αναπόφευκτα, ορισμένα ερωτήματα. Υπάρχει, λ.χ. σχέση της εικονογραφίας των λευκών ληκύθων με το φύλο του νεκρού; Με ποια κριτήρια ο Αθηναίος επέλεγε τα αγγεία που θα εναπόθετε στον τάφο του προσφιλούς του προσώπου; Διάλεγε τα αγγεία με βάση τις παραστάσεις τους, δηλαδή αντικείμενα ή αγγεία με παραστάσεις, που εμείς νομίζουμε ότι ταφιάζουν σε γυναίκες, τοποθετούνταν αποκλειστικά σε τάφους γυναικών; Αγγεία με παραστάσεις σχετικές με τον κόσμο του άνδρα βρίσκονται μόνο σε τάφους ανδρών; Ή, για να το θέσουμε διαφορετικά, αρκεί η απόπειρα ερμηνείας μεμονωμένων εικονογραφικών θεμάτων, όπως π.χ. η «επίσκεψη μόνο γυναικών στον τάφο», ή μία σκηνή «γυναικωνίτη», να καθορίσει το φύλο του νεκρού, χωρίς να υπάρχει ο απαραίτητος συσχετισμός με το οστεολογικό υλικό;

Τα τελευταία χρόνια, η μελέτη της εικονογραφίας των λευκών ληκύθων, με αφορμή τις σχετικές μονογραφίες των J. Oakley και S. Schmidt – και τον u956 ίεταξύ τους διάλογο – έχει επανέλθει ζωηρά στο προσκήνιο.⁹⁴ Ας μας επιτραπεί να προσθέσουμε εδώ την άποψή μας, βασιζόμενοι σε όσα προκύπτουν από την συνδυαστική μελέτη αρχαιολογικού και οστεολογικού υλικού.

Η συναγωγή αφαλών συμπερασμάτων σχετικά με την «εσωτερική σχέση» των κτερισμάτων με την εικονογραφία και το φύλο του νεκρού, πρέπει να βασίζεται στην πλήρη και αναλυτική δημοσίευση ολόκληρου του ταφικού συνόλου (κτερίσματα και σκελετός μαζί). Επιπλέον, για να φθάσουμε σε ασφαλή συμπεράσματα και, συνεπώς, στην κατανόηση συγκεκριμένων προτύπων στα ταφικά έθιμα και του «μηχανισμού» επιλογής των κτερισμάτων, πρέπει να λαμβάνουμε υπόψη μας, όχι μόνο

ολιγάριθμες ομάδες τάφων, αλλά πλήθος δεδομένων από μία ευρύτερη γεωγραφική περιοχή (π.χ. την Αττική) που να καλύπτουν, μάλιστα, μεγάλη χρονολογική περίοδο. Τότε μόνο θα μπορούσαμε να κατανοήσουμε ασφαλώς τα «πρότυπα» («patterns») των νεκρώσιμων εθίμων σε σχέση με την εικονογραφία των κτερισμάτων και το φύλο του νεκρού, εφόσον, βεβαίως αυτή η σχέση τεκμηριώνεται.⁹⁵ Έτσι θα μπορούσαμε να εντοπίσουμε τυχόν μεταβολές ή διαφοροποιήσεις των ταφικών εθίμων, τόσο σε τοπικό επίπεδο όσο και σε διαφορετικές χρονολογικές περιόδους σε μία ευρύτερη γεωγραφική περιοχή. Αναμένεται, λοιπόν, με ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον η πλήρης δημοσίευση των νεκροταφείων που ανεσκάφησαν τα τελευταία χρόνια, λόγω των μεγάλων τεχνικών έργων, τόσο στην Αθήνα όσο και στην αττική ύπαιθρο.

Με βάση τα παραπάνω είναι αυταπόδεικτη η ανάγκη ότι θα πρέπει, κατά κύριο λόγο, να στραφούμε σε αυτό που μας διηγούνται τα ίδια τα οστά σχετικά με το φύλο, την ηλικία, τις συνήθειες και τις ασθένειες των ανθρώπων, και κατόπιν να εμβαθύνουμε την σύνδεση εικονογραφίας και φύλου. Βεβαίως, αυτό δεν πρέπει να ισχύει στην περίπτωση που έχουμε αγγεία χωρίς πλήρη ανασκαφικά δεδομένα.

Η άποψη που διατυπώσαμε παραπάνω,⁹⁶ ότι, δηλ. οι τρεις μαρμάρινες σαρκοφάγοι (λόγω του υλικού κατασκευής τους) πιθανώς ανήκουν σε εύπορα ή διακεκριμένα άτομα, συμβαδίζει με τα πορίσματα της μελέτης του οστεολογικού υλικού, που συνδέει τις ταφές αυτές με άτομα υψηλότερης κοινωνικής θέσης.⁹⁷ Οι τρεις σαρκοφάγοι – οι μόνες μαρμάρινες του νεκροταφείου – ενός άνδρα ώριμης ηλικίας (άνω των 50 ετών) στον T35, μίας γυναίκας μέσης ηλικίας (30–40 ετών) στον T34, που ετάφησαν περί το 460–450 π.Χ., καθώς και ενός νέου άνδρα (25–34 ετών) στον T37, που ετάφη περί το 440–430 π.Χ., έχουν την ίδια ποιότητα κατασκευής και βρέθηκαν πολύ κοντά η μία στην άλλη. Θα μπορούσαμε να διατυπώσουμε την υπόθεση ότι αυτά τα τρία πρόσωπα ίσως να είχαν και κάποιον άλλον σύνδεσμο. Η μελλοντική εξέταση του DNA, την οποία ελπίζουμε να συμπεριλάβουμε στην προσεχή δημοσίευση του τρίτου τάφου, ίσως αποδείξει εάν αυτοί οι τρεις άνθρωποι είχαν κάποιου είδους συγγενική σχέση, όπως είχε, πρώτος, υποθέσει ο L. Angel με βάση τη μορφολογία των σκελετών.⁹⁸

Notes

Ιευχαριστούμε πολύ τους καθηγητές κ. John Oakley και κ. Όλγα Παλαγγιά για την ευγενή πρόσκληση να παρουσιάσουμε τους τάφους αυτούς. Ο τρίτος τάφος θα δημοσιευθεί σε προσεχή εργασία μας. Εκφράζουμε επίσης θερμές

ευχαριστίες προς την επίτιμη Έφορο των Αρχαιοτήτων και πρώην Διευθύντρια του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Δρ. Ηρώ Ζερβουδάκη (†), την Προϊσταμένη της Συλλογής Αγγείων κ. Ελισάβετ Στασινοπούλου καθώς και τους συναδέλφους Δρ. Χριστίνα Αβρονιδάκη, Δρ. Ευάγγελο Βιβλιοδέτη, Δρ. Αναστασία Γκαδόλου και κ. Ελένη Ζώση, που διάβασαν το κείμενο και συνεισέφεραν με τις παρατηρήσεις τους στην αρτιότερη παρουσίασή του, καθώς και προς όλους τους συντηρητές της Συλλογής Αγγείων για την βοήθειά τους. Αισθανόμαστε βαθύτατα υπόχρεοι προς το Γερμανικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο και την διευθύντρια των ανασκαφών του Κεραμεικού Δρ. Jutta Stroszeck για την πρόσβαση στο αρχείο του Α. Brückner και την χορήγηση του σχετικού φωτογραφικού υλικού.

Στο ευρετήριο του ΕΑΜ οι τρεις τάφοι έχουν αριθ. 2597–2599 και σημειώνεται: «Τρείς σκελετοί μετά κοινών ληκύθων εκτεθειμένοι ως ευρέθησαν εν τοις τάφοις». Ο J.D. Beazley δεν συμπεριέλαβε τα κτερίσματα στους καταλόγους του.

Σήμερα, στο διατηρητέο κτήριο του Βρεφοκομείου στεγάζεται η Πινακοθήκη του Δήμου Αθηναίων. Μέχρι το 1875 η Πλατεία Ελευθερίας-Κουμουνδούρου ονομαζόταν Πλατεία Λουδοβίκου, προς τιμήν του βασιλιά της Βαυαρίας Λουδοβίκου. Το Βρεφοκομείο είναι έργο του αρχιτέκτονα Παναγιώτη Κάλκου, βλ. Κ. Μπίρης, Αι Αθήναι από του 19ου εις τον 20^{ον} αι.² (1995) 205–206.

Σύμφωνα με τον Κ. Μπίρη, το Ορφανοτροφείο Χατζηκώ(ν)στα, ιδρύθηκε το 1890, βλ. Μπίρης (ό.π. σημ. 3) 204. Αντιθέτως, η Χρ. Αγριαντώνη υποστηρίζει ότι το Ορφανοτροφείο είχε εγκατασταθεί στην περιοχή πολύ ενωρίτερα, περί το 1856, βλ. Χρ. Αγριαντώνη, σε: Αρχαιολογία της πόλης των Αθηνών. Επιστημονικές – Επιμορφωτικές διαλέξεις του Πνευματικού Κέντρου του Δήμου Αθηναίων. Ειδικές μορφωτικές εκδηλώσεις IV. Έκδοση του Εθνικού Ιδρύματος Ερευνών (1996) 197–209, ιδίως σημ. 9. Η άποψη αυτή ενισχύεται από αναφορά του Σ. Α. Κουμανούδη ότι το Ορφανοτροφείο εξωραίστηκε και επεκτάθηκε το 1862, βλ. Σ. Ματθαίου, Στέφανος Α. Κουμανούδης. Σχεδιάγραμμα βιογραφίας (1999) 248.

Εχει γίνει ευρύτερα αποδεκτό ότι η πύλη V του Θεμιστόκλειου Τείχους ταυτίζεται με τις Ήριες Πύλες, J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971) 318 εικ. 417 και I. Τραυλός, *Πολιοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών*² (1993) 51–52 εικ. 20. Διαφορετική άποψη, με ισχυρά αντεπιχειρήματα, ότι, δηλ., όλες ανεξαίρετως οι πύλες του θεμιστόκλειου τείχους, εκαλούντο Ήριες, έχει υποστηρίξει ο Α. Ματθαίου, *Horos* 1, 1983, 1–7. Για το νεοανακαλυφθέν τμήμα του προτειχίσματος και της τάφρου, μεταξύ του Διτύλου και των Ηρίων Πυλών, βλ. I. Τσιριγώτη-Δρακωτού, *ADelt* 55, 2000, [2004] Α΄ Μελέτες, 87–111, ιδίως 92–93. Το 2003, σε άλλη ανασκαφή της Γ΄ ΕΠΚΑ σε γειτονικό οικόπεδο, βρέθηκε τμήμα της οδού προς τον Ίππιο Κολωνό με οδοστρώματα των υστεροαρχαϊκών-ελληνιστικών χρόνων, σύμφωνα με την ανασκαφέα Τόνια Κοκολιού, την οποία ευχαριστώ πολύ για την σχετική πληροφορία. Για την ιστορία των ανασκαφών στην περιοχή μέχρι το 1968, βλ. Δ. Σκιλάρντι, *AEphem* 1968, Αρχαιολ. Χρον. 8–52, ιδίως 39–44, και για το χρονικό διάστημα από το 1968 έως το 2000, βλ. I. Τσιριγώτη-Δρακωτού ό.π.

6ΕΑΜ αριθ. 192. Prakt Ιούνιος 1873 – Ιούνιος 1874, 25. Βλ. Β.Χ. Πετράκος, Η εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία. Η Ιστορία των 150 χρόνων της (1987) 54. Την ονοχολή του Διτύλου αγόρασε η Αρχαιολογική Εταιρεία, κατόπιν πρωτοβουλίας του Στέφανου Κουμανούδη, από τον Παλαιολόγο, αργότερα, τον Απρίλιο του 1880, όταν ο αρχαιοπώλης παρατήρησε ότι σε μερικά όστρακα, που είχαν απομείνει απούλητα στο σπίτι του, διακρινόταν τα ίχνη

- της πασίγνωστης εγχάρακτης επιγραφής, βλ. Σ.Α. Κουμανούδης, Αθήναιον 9, 1880, 1–4 (προσθήκη μετά την σελίδα 50, με ιδιαίτερη σελίδωση). Για τις έρευνες της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας στην περιοχή της οδού Πειραιώς, πριν την ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο Σαπουντζάκη, βλ. Prakt 1884, 19–22. Επίσης, E. Kistler, GFA 4, 2001, 159–185.
- 7Βερολίνo, Antikensammlung αριθ. 1811–1816. Οι πίνακες αγοράστηκαν το 1875 από την Συλλογή Αρχαιοτήτων της γερμανικής πρωτεύουσας, u946 ἀλ. H. Mommsen, Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln (1997) 3–5 σημ. 7. Σύμφωνα με τον J. Boardman, BSA, 50, 1955, 53, βρέθηκαν πίσω από το Ορφανοτροφείο, 300 μ. ΒΑ του Διπύλου. Από το ίδιο σημείο προέρχεται το θραύσμα του ΕΑΜ αριθ. 20061, το οποίο συγκολλάται με το θραύσμα αριθ. 1821 του Βερολίνου, βλ. M. Robertson, AEphem 1978, 91–94.
- 8ΕΑΜ αριθ. 1002. ADelt 1890, 4. Σκιλάρντι (ο.π. σημ. 5) 41.
- 9Για τον βίο του Βαλέριου Στάη (1857–1923), Ι.Ε. Πετρόχειλος, Βαλέριος Ν. Στάης (1992) 19–20 (για το ανασκαφικό πρόγραμμα της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας).
- 10Α. Brückner – E. Pernice, AM 18, 1893, 6–191. Το 1891 ο Α. Brückner (1861–1936) ήταν 30 και ο Ε. Pernice (1864–1945) 27 ετών. Ο Ε. Pernice συμμετείχε και στην εκπόνηση των σχεδίων.
- 11Για το χρονικό των ανασκαφών της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας στον Κεραμεικό και τις συνθήκες παραχώρησης ανασκαφής στο Γερμανικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο, βλ. Β.Χ. Πετράκος, Ο Μέντωρ 48, Δεκέμβριος 1998, ιδίως 145–149.
- 12Σκιλάρντι (ό.π. σημ. 5) 35. Βλ. επίσης Ο. Αλεξανδρή, AAA 2, 1969, 257–266, ιδίως 258–259 και W. Gauß – F. Ruppenstein, AA 2001, 159–168 (με παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία). Σύμφωνα με τον J.N. Coldstream, τα νεκροταφεία αυτά συνδέονται με τόπους ταφής αριστοκρατικών γενών, βλ. J.N. Coldstream, Geometric Greece² (2003) 137. Για την ανασκαφή σε όμορο του οικ. Σαπουντζάκη οικόπεδο (οδός Πειραιώς 57), βλ. Ο. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, σε: J.H. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (επιμ.), Athenian Potters and Painters (1997) 473–490 εικ. 4.
- 13Brückner – Pernice (ο.π. σημ. 10) 78.
- 14Σχετικά με την κοινωνική επίδειξη, την περιστολή της πολυτέλειας και την εγκράτεια στα αττικά ταφικά έθιμα, βλ. I. Morris, Ταφικά τελετουργικά έθιμα και κοινωνική δομή στην κλασική αρχαιότητα (1997) 163–196 (ιδίως 169). Βλ. επίσης την σφοδρή κριτική, στον I. Morris από C. Patterson, ClQ 56.1, 2006, 46–56.
- 15Brückner – Pernice (ο.π. σημ. 10) 181–182.
- 16Για τις λευκές ληκύθους της Κατηγορίας ATL και την Ομάδα των Αθηνών 2025, βλ. ARV² 722 και D.C. Kurtz, Athenian White Lekythoi (1975) 82 πίν. 21,3–4. Για πλησιέστερο τυπολογικό παράλληλο ως προς το σχήμα και την παράσταση, πρβλ. την λευκή λήκυθο του ΕΑΜ, Συλλογή Βλαστού-Σερπιέρη αριθ. 20 (ARV² 723,6. BAdd² 282. Oxford, Beazley Archive 208885). Για το εικονογραφικό θέμα της σπένδουσας, βλ. J.B. Connolly, Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece (2007) 176–179.
- 17Για τυπολογικά και εικονογραφικά παράλληλα, πρβλ. τις ερυθρόμορφες ληκύθους από τον Κεραμεικό: E. Kunze-Götte et al., Die Nekropole von der Mitte des 6. bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts. Die Beigaben, Kerameikos VII,2 (1999) 108 πίν. 72 (Τάφος 424, αριθ. 6), και Kerameikos VII,2 152 πίν. 98 (Τάφος 630 αριθ. 2, με βιβλιογραφία).
- 18Βλ. παρ. ΕΑΜ 30052. Πλησιέστερο τυπολογικό και εικονογραφικό παράλληλο στο Μουσείο Κεραμεικού αριθ. 3830, βλ. K. Athusaki, AM 85, 1970, 45–53 (ιδίως 45–47) πίν. 18,1–2. Oxford, Beazley Archive 1099.

- 19 Τύπος ATL. Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 136 πίν. 91 (Τάφος 523, αριθ. 2-3). Η διακόσμηση αυτή επινοήθηκε στο Εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου της Μεγαίρας περί το 480-470 π.Χ. (λήκυθοι τύπου BEL). Διαδόθηκε στο Εργαστήριο των Ζωγράφων του Αισχίνη και του Τύμβου (λήκυθοι τύπου ATL) και υπάρχει μέχρι το γ' τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Οι λήκυθοι τύπου BEL έχουν υψηλή βάση, που ευρύνεται στο κάτω μέρος της, ενώ οι τύπου ATL έχουν χαμηλή δισκοειδή ή διμερή βάση, βλ. Kurtz (ο.π. σημ. 16) 82-86 πίν. 70,7-8. 71,1. Για την διακόσμηση, βλ. Ε. Σερμπέτη, σε: Α. Αλεξανδρή - Ι. Δεβέντη (επιμ.), Καλλιστευμα. Μελέτες προς τιμήν της Όλγας Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή (2001) 161-198 (ιδίως 194-198). Κ. Ρωμιπούλου - Ι. Τουράτσουλου, Μίεζα. Νεκροταφείο υστεροαρχαϊκών - πρώιμων ελληνιστικών χρόνων (2002) 45-46 (αριθ. Π 1550).
- 20 Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 34 πίν. 21 (Τάφος 83, αριθ. 1-2). Kerameikos VII,2 80 πίν. 51 (Τάφος 276, αριθ. 6-7). Kerameikos VII,2 99 πίν. 66 (Τάφος 386, αριθ. 8).
- 21 Βλ. παρ. EAM 30056.
- 22 Τύπος ATL, βλ. Kurtz (ο.π. σημ. 16) 82-83. Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 152 πίν. 98 (Τάφος 630, αριθ. 5), 91 πίν. 60 (Τάφος 324, αριθ. 1). Πρβλ. μία λήκυθο στην Τεχνοτροπία του Ζωγράφου του Αισχίνη στο Stavanger αριθ. 4308 (ARV² 721. Oxford, Beazley Archive 208867. CVA Norway 1 πίν. 39,1. 40,5).
- 23 Τύπος CL, βλ. Kurtz (ο.π. σημ. 16) 84. Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 12 πίν. 5 (Τάφος 8). Για ανάλογα παραδείγματα, βλ. Γ. Μυλωνάς, Το Δυτικόν Νεκροταφείον της Ελευσίνας (1975) αριθ. κατ. 117. 118. 400. 435.
- 24 Brückner - Pernice (ο.π. σημ. 10) 179-180. Για τις μαγικές ιδιότητες και την αποτροπαική χρήση των φυτών και κλαδιών στην τελετουργία της πρόθεσης, βλ. Ε. Rohde, Ψυχή. Η λατρεία των ψυχών και οι αντιλήψεις περί αθανασίας στους Έλληνες, τομ. Α', (1883, ελλ. μτφ. 1998) 157. 311-313. Π. Λεκατσάς, Η Ψυχή. Η ιδέα της ψυχής και της αθανασίας της και τα έθιμα του θανάτου² (2000) 104-105. Για τα νεκρικά στεφάνια και το στρώσιμο της νεκρικής κλίνης με φυτά, όπως ματζουράνα, κληματίδες, φύλλα μυρτιάς, δάφνη και σέλινο, βλ., Μ. Alexiou, Ο τελετουργικός θρήνος στην ελληνική παράδοση (2002) 33. R. Garland, The Greek Way of Death (1985) 139-140. M. Blech, Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen (1982) 81-108, ιδίως 95.
- 25 Στον κατάλογο των κτερισμάτων και το σχέδιο του τάφου, οι Brückner - Pernice (ο.π. σημ. 10) 179-180, αναφέρουν 15 ληκύθους και 1 στλεγγίδα. Τα αγγεία, ωστόσο, είναι 16, ενώ η στλεγγίδα δεν έχει ταυτισθεί. Υπάρχουν αρκετές ασάφειες σχετικά με την θέση και τις διαστάσεις ορισμένων αγγείων, όπως αυτά αναφέρονται στον κατάλογο και σημειώνονται στο σχέδιο των Brückner and Pernice. Επίσης, οι αριθμοί που έχουν αναγραφεί με μολύβι πάνω στα αγγεία, πιθανώς όταν αυτά εισήχθησαν στο Μουσείο, u948 äen αντιστοιχούν, ακριβώς, στους αριθμούς περιγραφής των Brückner - Pernice. Γι' αυτό, δόθηκαν νέοι αριθμοί στις ληκύθους, παρακολουθώντας, κατά το δυνατόν, την ανασκαφική περιγραφή και το σχέδιο. Το σύνολο εκτέθηκε στην νέα προθήκη με βάση, όπου ήταν εφικτό, την διάταξη των αγγείων μέσα στην παλαιά προθήκη. Σε γενικές γραμμές, πάντως, η εικόνα του τάφου με τα κτερίσματα δεν αλλάζει σημαντικά.
- 26 Την ταύτιση του αντικειμένου με κράνος, από το οποίο είναι αμέσως ορατή μόνο η τονισμένη με ερυθρό χρώμα βάση του λοφίου, οφείλω στην οξυδερκή παρατήρηση του συντηρητή της Συλλογής Αγγείων του EAM κ. Δαυίδ Δέλλιου (τον ευχαριστώ ιδιαιτέρως για την βοήθειά του). Το κράνος έγινε ορατό μετά από ηλεκτρονική επεξεργασία της φωτογραφίας.
- 27 Για την «παράδοση των όπλων», βλ. J.H. Oakley, Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi (2004) 57-69. S. Matheson, σε: J.M.

- Barringer – J.M. Hurwit (Επιμ.), *Periklean Athens and Its Legacy. Problems and Perspectives* (2005) 23–35, με παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.
- 28Βλ. J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (1997) 182 και Γ. Καββαδίας, Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff (2000) 82–84, 88 (φυτικά κοσμήματα A29 και A30).
- 29Είναι απλοποιημένη παραλλαγή των ταινιών με μαιάνδρους και τετραγωνίδια με σταυρό του Αγ. Ανδρέα σε διάταξη ULFA, βλ. Oakley 1997 (ο.π. σημ. 28) 178–179 και Καββαδίας (ο.π. σημ. 28) 58, 68.
- 30Δύο λευκές λήκυθοι του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα με πεπλοφόρους που παραδίδουν κράνη δίνουν μια γενική ιδέα για τη σύνθεση της ληκύθου μας: α) Αθήνα EAM αριθ. 12441 (ARV² 996,141. Oxford, Beazley Archive 213963. Oakley 1997 [ο.π. σημ. 28] 140 αριθ. 192 πίν. 103a-b. Ο. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή, Λευκές λήκυθοι του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέως στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο [1998] 108–111 πίν. 11) και β) Λονδίνο, Βρετανικό Μουσείο αριθ D 51 (ARV² 1000,201. Oxford, Beazley Archive 214023. Oakley 1997 [ο.π. σημ. 28] 151 αριθ. 276 πίν. 143a-b).
- 31Πρβλ. Αθήνα EAM αριθ. 12745 (ARV² 999,185. Oxford, Beazley Archive 214006. Oakley 1997 [ο.π. σημ. 28] 148 αριθ. 251 πίν. 131c-d. Αλεξανδρή 1998 [ό.π. σημ. 30] 139–141 πίν. 51–54).
- 32Πρβλ. ενδεικτικώς τα κεφάλια των νέων στις εξής λευκές ληκύθους: Οξφόρδη, Ashmolean Museum αριθ. 1929.501 (ARV² 845,173. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212321. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] 196–197 αριθ. 180 πίν. 122.). Γλασκώβη, Hunterian Museum D 1970.28 (ARV² 846,182. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212330. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] σελ. 197 αριθ. 189 πίν. 126.). Νέα Υόρκη, Metropolitan Museum of Art 51.11.4 (ARV² 847,203. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212352. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] 199 αριθ. 210 πίν. 142). Houston, Museum of Fine Arts 37.9 (ARV² 847,205. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212354. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] 200 αριθ. 214 πίν. 143).
- 33Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 73.AE.41. (Oxford, Beazley Archive 3889. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] 207 αριθ. 291 πίν. 181–182).
- 34Πρβλ. την λευκή λήκυθο της Αθήνας, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Συλλογή Βλαστού-Σερπιέρη αριθ. 3, όπου η «παράδοση των όπλων» και η «αναχώρηση του πολεμιστή» συμψύρονται με την «επίσκεψη στον τάφο», βλ. ARV² 847,200. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212349. Καββαδίας (ο.π. σημ. 28) 199 αριθ. 207.
- 35Για την χρονολόγηση της ύστερης περιόδου του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff, βλ. Καββαδίας (ο.π. σημ. 28) 167–171.
- 36Για την «επίσκεψη στον τάφο», βλ. Oakley 2004 (ό.π. σημ 27) 145–214, με παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία.
- 37Η ανθεμωτή απόληξη της στήλης ανήκει στον τύπο DII του Nakayama (N. Nakayama, *Untersuchung der auf weissgrundigen Lekythen dargestellten Grabmäler* [1982] 94. 104 πίν. 16–17, 230–232, ιδίως D-II-7. Για το ανθέμιο του ώμου, βλ. Καββαδίας (ο.π. σημ. 28) 82–83 (φυτικό κόσμημα A29) και για τον μαιάνδρο, Καββαδίας (ο.π. σημ. 28) 69. 88–89 (γραμμικό κόσμημα Γ33 – με παρεμβολή ενός τετραγωνιδίου με σταυρό).
- 38Αμβούργο, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe 1896.21 (ARV² 847,206. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212355. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] 200 αριθ. 215 πίν. 144–145). Laon, Musée Archéologique Municipale 37.939 (ARV² 847,209. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212358. Καββαδίας [ο.π. σημ. 28] 200 αριθ. 218 πίν. 149).
- 39Ανήκει στον τύπο D-III του Nakayama (ο.π. σημ. 27) 102. 232 πίν. 19, ιδίως D-III-3. Έχει τα ίδια φυτικά και γραμμικά κοσμήματα με την προηγούμενη λήκυθο, βλ. σημ. 37.
- 40Πρβλ. τις δύο νέες λευκές ληκύθους του Ζωγράφου του Μονάχου 2335 από την Αθήνα, ανασκαφή του σταθμού «Ακαδημία» του Μητροπολιτικού

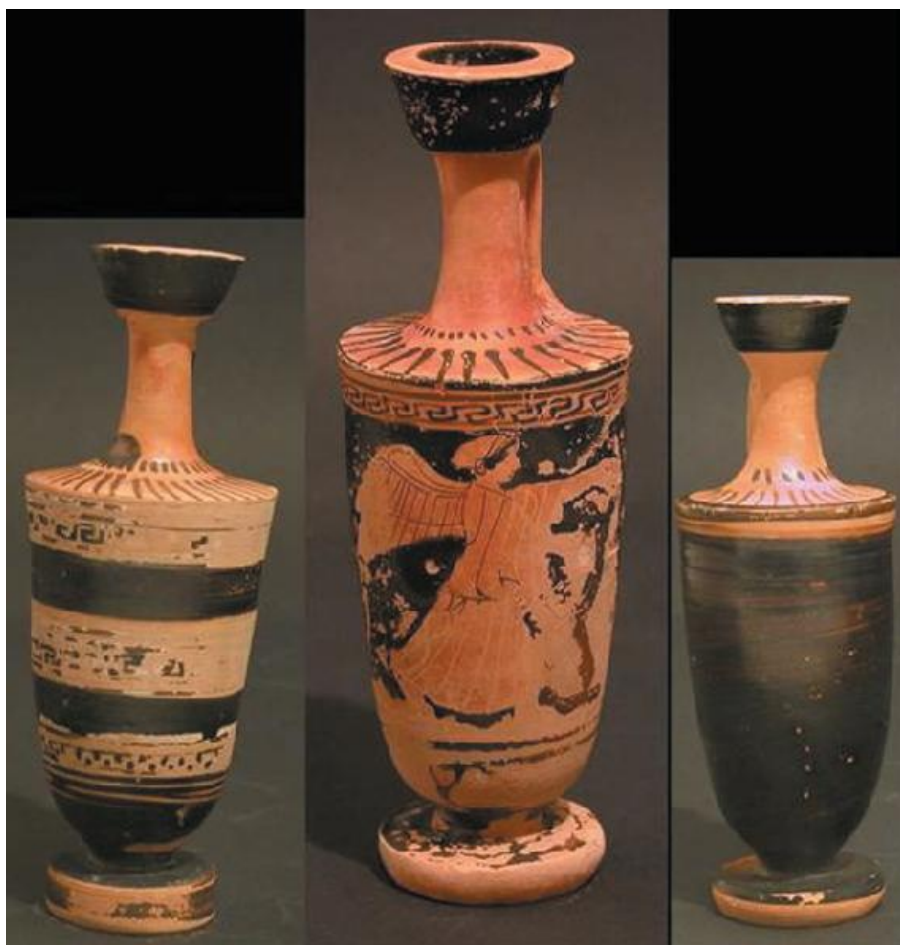
- Σιδηροδρόμου (ταφική πυρά 2): Γ' ΕΠΚΑ αριθ. Α 15041 και Α 15041 (Oxford, Beazley Archive 24599, 24598 αντιστοιχώς). Μαζί βρέθηκαν μία λευκή λήκυθος στην Τεχνοτροπία του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff και άλλη στην Τεχνοτροπία του Ζωγράφου του Πουλιού, βλ. Α. Παρλαμά – Ν. Σταμπολίδης (επιμ.), Η Πόλη κάτω από την πόλη: ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηροδρόμου των Αθηνών: Κατάλογος της έκθεσης. Μουσείο Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης, Φεβρουάριος 2000–Δεκέμβριος 2001 (2000) 251–255 αριθ. κατ. 232–235 [Καββαδίας], με πρόσφατη βιβλιογραφία για τον Ζωγράφο του Μονάχου 2335.
- 41Τύπος. BEL, πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 137 πίν. 93 (Τάφος 528, αριθ. 1) Για τον τύπο της διακόσμησης βλ. παρ. EAM 30055.
- 42Κατηγορία ATL, πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 πίν. 43 (Τάφος 254 αριθ. 1). Για την διακόσμηση τύπου BEL, πρβλ. Kerameikos IX, 153 πίν. 41 (Τάφος 295 αριθ. 3–4) και Μυλωνάς (ό.π. σημ. 23) 258 πίν. 312 (αριθ. 404).
- 43Κατηγορία ATL. Για το θέμα, βλ. παρ. σημ. 36. Για την επιτύμβια στήλη, πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 147 πίν. 96 (Τάφος 600). Η στήλη ανήκει στον τύπο D-III του Nakayama (ο.π. σημ. 37) 94. 109. Για κανηφόρους στο εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Τύμβου, πρβλ. τις εξής ληκύθους: Tübingen Arch. Institut. αριθ. 5607 (BA 16827). Βερολίνο, Antikensammlung αριθ. 3324 (ARV² 754,11. Oxford, Beazley Archive 109296). Providence, Rhode Island School of Design αριθ. 06.050 (ARV² 759,9. Oxford, Beazley Archive 209388).
- 44Βλ. παρ. σημ. 36.
- 45Για τις στήλες με ανθεμωτή απόληξη, βλ. παρ. τον τύπο D-III του Nakayama (ο.π. σημ. 37) 94. 109.
- 46Πρβλ. τον λευκό καλυκωτό κρατήρα του Βατικανού, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco αριθ. 16586 (ARV² 1017,54. 1678. Oxford, Beazley Archive 212355. J.H. Oakley, The Phiale Painter [1990] 75 αριθ. 54 πίν. 38), την λευκή λήκυθο του Βερολίνου, Antikensammlung αριθ. F 2450 (ARV² 1023,141. Oxford, Beazley Archive 214323. Oakley [ο.π.] 89 αριθ. 141 πίν. 113, 141) και την λευκή λήκυθο της Νέας Υόρκης, Metropolitan Museum αριθ. 22.53 (ARV² 1026,2. Oxford, Beazley Archive 214354. Oakley [ο.π.] 95 πίν. 145 B-C αριθ. B2). Το ανθέμιο του ώμου, με τα μελανά και ιώδη εναλλάξ φύλλα, ανήκει στον τύπο A29 και ο μαϊάνδρος, που επιστέφει την παράσταση, στον τύπο Γ39 του Ζωγράφου του Sabouroff (Καββαδίας 2000 [ο.π. σημ. 28] 82–83, 69 αντιστοιχώς).
- 47Και αυτή, ωστόσο, μπορεί να ενταχθεί στο εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέα, βάσει των καταλοίπων της παραπληρωματικής διακόσμησης και της ακανθωτής επίστεψης της στήλης, η οποία δεν είναι χωρίς προηγούμενο στο Εργαστήριο αυτό, πρβλ. τύπος E-I και E-II του Nakayama (ο.π. σημ. 37) 119–125. 239. 273.
- 48Τύπος ATL. Πρβλ. M.B. Moore, Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery, Agora XXX (1997) 262 αριθ. 893 πίν. 89 και Nakayama (ο.π. σημ. 37) 19. 32–33. 186. 253 «τύπος GH-I-14» και «GH-I-15». Βλ. επίσης Παρλαμά–Σταμπολίδης (ό.π. σημ. 40) αριθ. κατ. 377 [Καββαδίας].
- 49Διακόσμηση, όπως στην EAM 30064. Τύπος BEL. Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 97 πίν. 63 (Τάφος 382).
- 50Διακόσμηση, όπως στην EAM 30064. Τύπος ATL. Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 84 πίν. 58 (Τάφος 284 αριθ. 4).
- 51Τύπος ATL με διμερή βάση. Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 131 πίν. 87 (Τάφος 497 αριθ.1) και Μυλωνάς (ό.π. σημ. 23) 170 αριθ. 241 πίν. 272.
- 52Τύπος BEL. Διακόσμηση όπως στην αριθ. EAM 30070.
- 53Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 102 πίν. 68 (Τάφος 400 αριθ.11–12).
- 54Πρβλ. Kerameikos VII,2 40 πίν. 24 (Τάφος 108). Παρλαμά–Σταμπολίδης (ό.π.

- σημ. 40) 362–363 αριθ. κατ. 398 [Στούπα].
- 55Brückner – Pernice (ο.π. σημ. 10) 179.
- 56D. Brothwell – H. Gill-Robinson, σε: W.D. Haglund – M.H. Sorg (επιμ.), *Advances in Forensic Taphonomy: Method, Theory, and Archaeological Perspectives* (2001) 119–132 (ιδίως 122).
- 57J.L. Angel, *Hesperia* 14, 1945, 279–363 (ιδίως 308–309).
- 58Βλ. Angel (ό.π. σημ. 57) εικ. 9.
- 59J.E. Buikstra – D.H. Ubelaker, *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains. Arkansas Archaeological Survey Research Series No. 44* (1994) (ιδίως 16. 21).
- 60Οι μεταβολές αφορούν την μορφολογία της ηβικής σύμφυσης, της ωτοειδούς επιφάνειας της λεκάνης, τον βαθμό οστέωσης των ραφών του κρανίου (Buikstra – Ubelaker [ό.π. σημ. 59] 21–38), το στερνικό άκρο της 4ης πλευράς (S. R. Loth – M. Y. Iscan, σε: M.Y. Iscan [επιμ.], *Age Markers in the Human Skeleton* [1989] 105–118), τον βαθμό οστεοποίησης του θυρεοειδούς αδένα (αυτόθι 120–123), καθώς και εκφυλιστικές αλλοιώσεις, που σχετίζονται με την πάροδο της ηλικίας (βλ. DISH παρακάτω).
- 61W.M. Krogman – M.Y. Iscan, *The Human Skeleton in Forensic Medicine* (1986) πίν. 8,5.
- 62A. Lagia, *A Bioarchaeological Survey of Social Structure in the Polis of Athens during the Classical, Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods* (diss. University of Chicago).
- 63B. Bogin – R. Keep, σε: J. Komlos – J. Baten (επιμ.), *The Biological Standard of Living in Comparative Perspective* (1998) 268–293.
- 64P.B. Eveleth – J.M. Tanner, *Worldwide Variation in Human Growth* (1990).
- 65A.H. Goodman – J.C. Rose, *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology* 33, 1990, 59–110. T. King (et al.), *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 128, 2005, 547–559.
- 66A.H. Goodman – R.-J. Song, σε: R. Hoppa – C. Fitzgerald (επιμ.), *Human Growth in the Past: Studies from Bones and Teeth* (1999) 210–240 (ιδίως 210).
- 67Lagia (ο.π. σημ. 62).
- 68Η ηλικία υπολογίζεται με βάση την απόσταση των αυλάκων από τον αυχένα του δοντιού και την εφαρμογή μαθηματικών τύπων. Goodman – Song (ό.π. σημ. 66) 11.
- 69Lagia (ό.π. σημ. 62).
- 70S. Hillson, *Dental Anthropology* (1996) 284.
- 71A. Lagia – M. Richards, σε: A. Papathanasiou – M. Richards (επιμ.), *Stable Isotopic Studies in Greece. Occasional Wiener Laboratory Series* (forthcoming).
- 72R.E.M. Hedges – M.P. Richards, σε: Y. Tzedakis – H. Martlew, *Minoans and Mycenaeans. Flavours of their Time* (1999) 213. 223. 227. 231.
- 73T.L. Prowse (et al.) *JASc* 31, 2004, 259–272. T.L. Prowse (et al.), *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 128.1, 2005, 2–13.
- 74S. Garvie-Lok, *Loaves and Fishes: A Stable Isotope Reconstruction of Diet in Medieval Greece* (diss. Univ. of Calgary, 2001). A. Lagia – E. Petrousa – S. Manolis, *Health and Diet During the Middle Bronze Age in the Peloponnese: The site of Kouphovouno*, σε: C. Mee – J. Renard (επιμ.), *Antour de la Cuisine* (2007) 313–328.
- 75J.R. Lukacs, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 17, 2007, 157–173 (ιδίως 160–165).
- 76Βλ. Angel (ο.π. σημ. 57) εικ. 11.
- 77K.A.R. Kennedy, σε: M.Y. Iscan – K.A.R. Kennedy (επιμ.), *Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton* (1989) 129–160.
- 78Ο όρος DISH (Diffuse Idiopathic Skeletal Hyperostosis) επικρατεί στην αγγλόφωνη βιβλιογραφία από το 1975 (D. Resnick et al., *Radiology* 115, 1975,

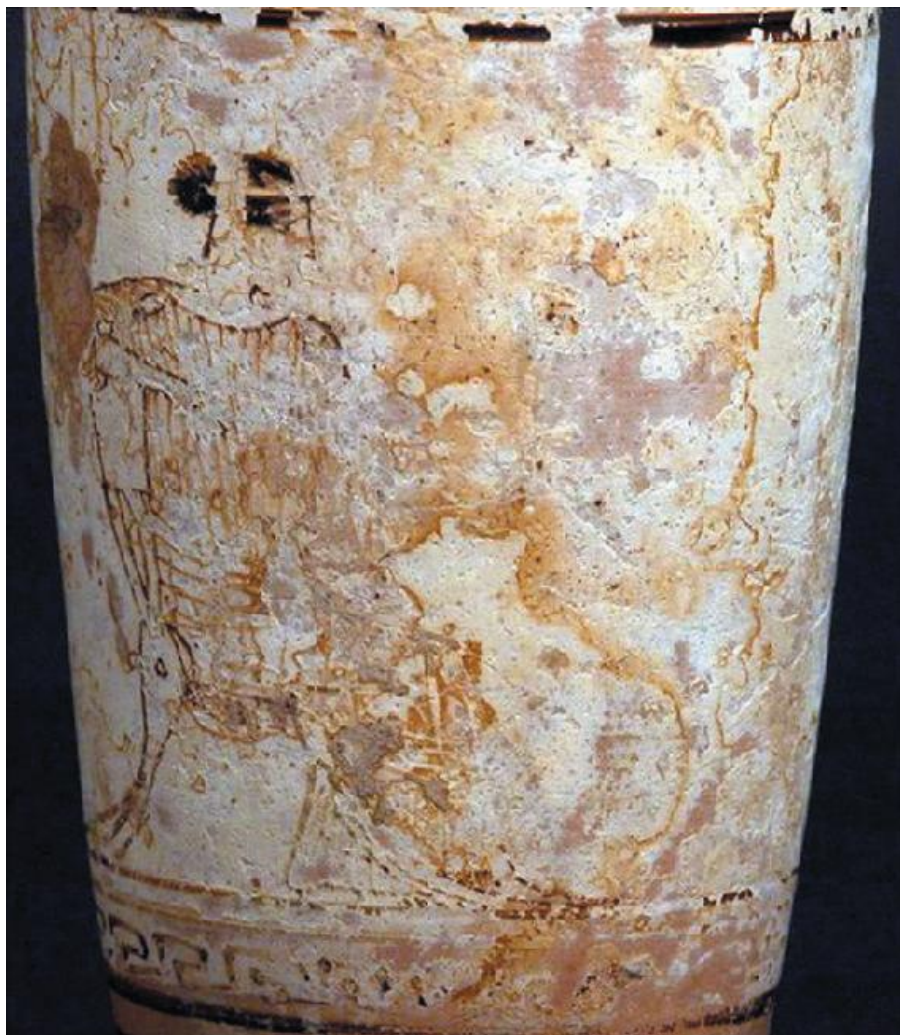
- 513–524) αντिकाθιστώντας τον όρο «ασθένεια του Forestier» (J. Forestier – J. Rotes-Querol, *Ann. Rheum. Dis.* 9, 1950, 321–330). Ο Angel [ό.π. σημ. 57] 308), χρησιμοποιεί τον όρο «arthritic hyperostosis» για να περιγράψει τις αλλοιώσεις στην σπονδυλική στήλη του νεκρού του T35.
- 79Βλ. Angel (ό.π. σημ. 57) εικ. 10.
- 80D. Resnick, *Diagnosis of Bone and Joint Disorders* (1995) 1465.
- 81C. Kiss (et al.), *Rheumatology* 41, 2002, 27–30.
- 82B. Arriaza, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 91, 1993, 263–278. B.T. Arriaza – C.F. Merbs – B.M. Rothschild, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 92, 1993, 243–248. J. Rogers – T. Waldron, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 2001, 357–365. G. Müldner – M. Richards, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 134, 2007, 162–174 (ιδίως 169–170).
- 83R. Jankauskas, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 13, 2003, 289–293 (ιδίως 291).
- 84A. Lagia, *AM* 114, 1999, 291–303. Lagia (ό.π. σημ. 62).
- 85EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30053 και 30059 (Τεχνολογία και εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου του Αισχίνη).
- 86EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30052 και 30054 (Ομάδα των Αθηνών 2025). Οι Brückner – Pernice (ό.π. σημ. 10) 181–182, εσφαλμένα είχαν θεωρήσει ότι ο τάφος ανήκει σε γυναίκα.
- 87EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30061.
- 88EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30062.
- 89EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30063.
- 90EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30067.
- 91EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30068.
- 92EAM αριθ. ευρ. 30066 και 30069.
- 93Αυτό δεν σημαίνει απαραίτητα ότι ο νέος – και σε ηλικία στράτευσης – άνδρας θα μπορούσε να έχει χάσει την ζωή του σε πολεμικό γεγονός.
- 94Oakley 2004 (ό.π. σημ 27). S. Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen. Visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (2005). S. Schmidt, Βιβλιοκρισία στον Oakley 2004 (ό.π. σημ 27), *GFA* 9, 2006, 1001–1011 και απάντηση του J. Oakley, *GFA* 9, 2006, 1013–1018.
- 95O.S. Schmidt (ό.π. σημ. 94), 40–79, βασίζει την εικονογραφική ανάλυση των παραστάσεων των λευκών ληκύθων και την σχέση τους με το φύλο του νεκρού, χωρίς να στηρίζεται σε σκελετικά κατάλοιπα (αν και ο ίδιος αποδέχεται την έλλειψη αυτή, βλ. σημ. 94, σελ. 44 σημ. 50). Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι ο T35, τον οποίο ο Schmidt θεωρεί γυναικείο, είναι στην πραγματικότητα ανδρικός (βλ. παρ. σημ. 86). Επίσης, η λευκή λήκυθος του Ζωγράφου του Μονάχου 2335 με τις γυναίκες που κρατούν εξάλειπτρα, βρέθηκε στον ανδρικό T37 (βλ. Schmidt [ό.π. σημ. 94] 42–44 εικ. 8), και όχι σε γυναικείο, όπως θα ανέμενε κανείς, εάν ακολουθήσει την άποψη του Schmidt [ό.π. σημ. 94] 44).
- 96Βλ. σημ. 14.
- 97Βλ. σημ. 82–83.
- 98Angel (ό.π. σημ. 57) 309.



Pl. 2A. Λήκυθοι από τον τάφο 35: ΕΑΜ 30052. 30053. 30054. 30055. 30056. 30057.



Pl. 2B. Λήκυθοι από τον τάφο 35: ΕΑΜ 30058. 30059. 30060.



Pl. 3A. Λήκυθος από τον τάφο 35: EAM 30054.



Pl. 3B. Τάφος 37. Λευκές λήκυθοι κανονικού σχήματος. EAM 30061. 30062. 30063. 30067. 30068.



Pl. 4A. Λήκυθος από τον τάφο 35: EAM 30052.



Pl. 4B. Τάφος 37,1. Λευκή λήκυθος του Ζ. του Sabouroff: EAM 30061.



Pl. 4C. Τάφος 37.6 Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου. ΕΑΜ 30066.



Pl. 4D. Τάφος 37,7. Λευκή λήκυθος του Ζ. της Φιάλης: EAM 30067.

9 The Iconography of Madness in Attic Vase-Painting

Eurydice Kefalidou

To Michalis Tiverios

*The teacher is one who makes two ideas grow
where only one grew before*

E. Hubbard

Salmones

The starting point of this paper is a red-figure columnkrater in the Art Institute of Chicago, painted by an Early Mannerist around 470–460 BC (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 6A).¹ The central figure is a man who throws back his body violently. His head is also tossed back, and the circle with dot for pupil and iris make his eye look ‘wild’. His pale brownish hair is rough and disheveled. He is naked but for a greave on his right foot and another on his left arm. With his extended left arm he brandishes high a sword, apparently threatening someone. In his lowered right hand he holds a winged thunderbolt, yet he is evidently not Zeus; therefore, he must be impersonating Zeus and the greave on his arm may be an imitation of the aegis. He also has a baldric with sheath slung over his shoulder. On his left ankle there is a broken fetter, showing that he has escaped from captivity; also, the object around his upper left arm could be a broken chain. Round his head there is a wreath and a purple fillet with long streamers behind. Several other fillets are tied round his body and limbs, and several twigs are scattered in the picture field. All these are normally attributes of a victorious athlete who has received the *phyllobolia*, that is the showering of the victor with flowers, wreaths, ribbons, gifts, etc. (Fig. 2).² On the left a winged female figure runs away from him looking back (perhaps Iris, rushing to inform the gods). On the right,

another woman moves either towards or away from him in terror (perhaps his wife or daughter).

It is obvious that the painter depicts a rather disturbed man, who displays inappropriate and outrageous behavior, and who has the delusion that he is Zeus, thereby creating a strong negative reaction among those in his environment. This man is apparently insane, according to the definition of madness provided by Lillian Feder:³ Madness is “a state in which unconscious processes predominate over conscious ones to the extent that they control them and determine perceptions of and responses to experience that, judged by prevailing standards of logical thought and relevant emotions, are confused and inappropriate”.

The Chicago madman has been identified with one of two brothers, the kings Salmoneus⁴ and Athamas,⁵ who both became mad, although under different circumstances. I am inclined to identify the man as Salmoneus, who was so arrogant that he began to ape Zeus, imitating the god's lightning and thunder by hurling torches and driving a chariot over brazen plates, until Zeus threw a thunderbolt and killed him. The honor of receiving the phyllobolia also could be connected with Salmoneus, since it may suggest that he forced his people to pay him great honors. On the other hand, the broken fetter and the fillets remind us of the story of Athamas, who was driven mad by Hera, killed his son Learchos, and, bound with wreaths and fillets was finally driven as a sacrificial victim to Zeus. In either case, whether the figure is Salmoneus or Athamas, or somebody else, he is obviously a madman, and we know this because the painter uses a number of visual tools that inform us about his mental disorder.

Madness in Ancient Literature

We know that the Greeks were aware of different types of mental disorders, thanks to a mass of scholarly work on ancient literature, ranging in date from early epic to Roman.⁶ Many philologists and historians have scrutinized the texts in order to identify the causes and the varieties of madness and its possible cures. They have discussed Dionysiac frenzy, mantic frenzy, the obsessive guilt inflicted by the Furies, and the madness resulting from a personal alienation from accepted social and political conduct. They consider the typology of divinely-inspired madness in Plato's *Phaidrus* and the approach to madness in the *Hippocratic Corpus* and many other literary sources, which refer both to the visible and to the invisible symptoms of insanity, that is, what is in the maniac's mind and how does he or she behave.



Fig. 1. *Salomaneus*. Column-krater by an Early Mannerist. Chicago, Art Institute, 1889.16.
Photo: after I. Kakrides, *Ελληνική μυθολογία*, vol. 3 (1986) pl. 125.

Thus, we learn about several varieties of delirium, delusion, irrational fears, bizarre ideas and desires, temporary amnesia and other memory disorders, and various personality disorders. Maniacs may also be aggressive and perform violent acts, usually killing people or animals. They may also leave the city and retreat to the savage environment (de-socialization). The maniac's body also displays a disturbance of the autonomous nervous system and of the cardiovascular system: abnormal heartbeat, rolling eyes, trembling and convulsions, a feeling of heat, roaring of the ears, extreme pallor, fever and sweat, fainting, dry or foaming mouth, and so on. Also, their body may suddenly collapse or take bizarre postures. Finally, they may forget to eat, and pay no attention to their external appearance; for example, they do not wash and may wear dirty and torn clothes. At some point most of the maniacs regain consciousness and move from madness to sanity. In certain cases the exaltation diminishes slowly, and they recover from frenzy both unscathed and without assistance. Others fall asleep and then wake and realize what has happened. Finally, some need help in order to recover. When help is not available, or the feelings of guilt and grief are too overwhelming, the maniacs may show suicidal depression. An interesting result of philological and historical research is that the primary modern models that define madness find their equivalents in antiquity.⁷

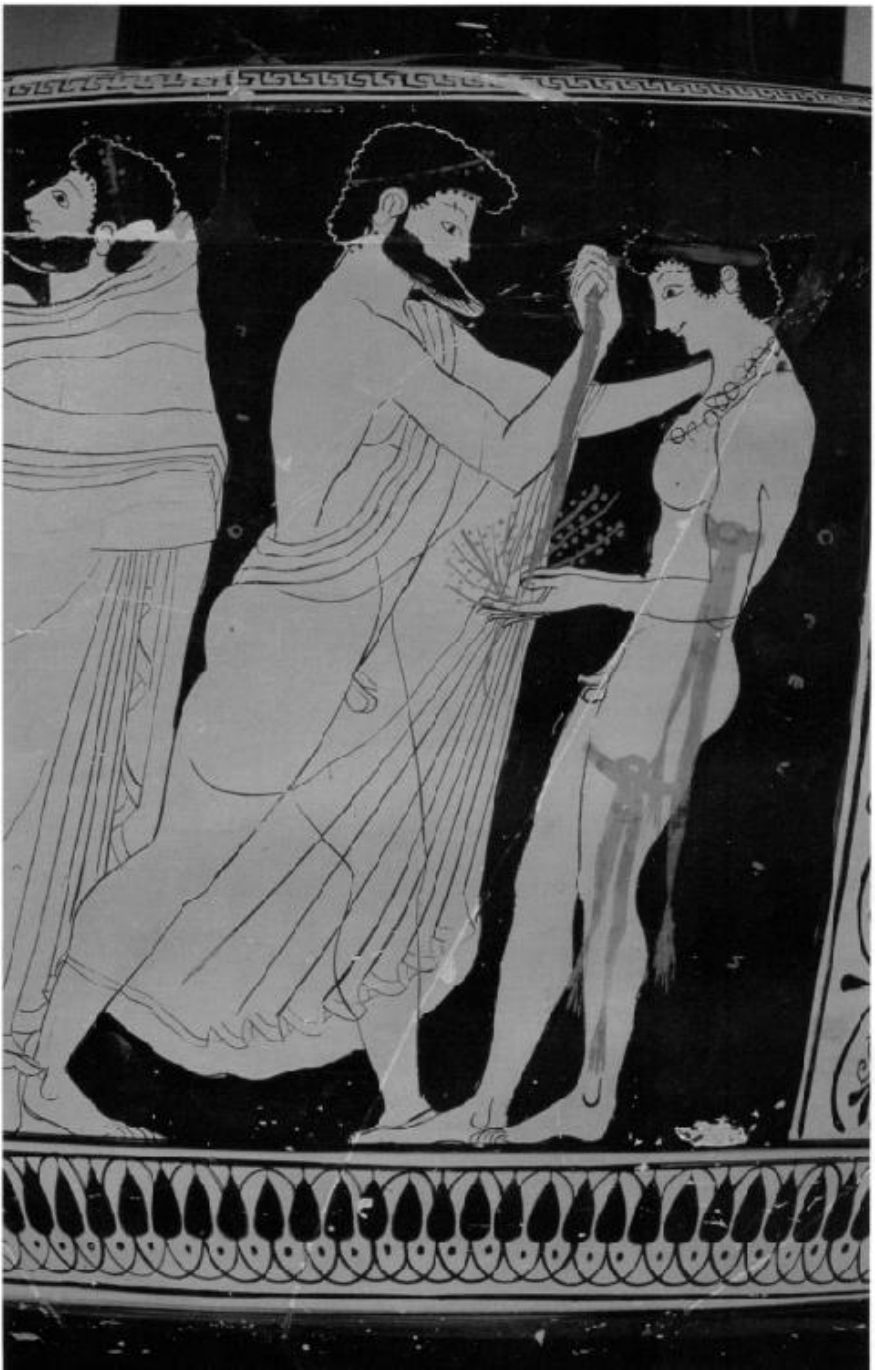


Fig. 2. Victorious athlete. Hydria attributed to the Pezzino Group. Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2420. Photo: after E. Kefalidou, Νικητής; Εικονογραφική μελέτη του αρχαίου ελληνικού αθλητισμού (1996) pl. 5.

The Greeks usually used the word *mania* (but also the words *menos*,

oistros, *lyssa* and others)⁸ in order to describe a wide range of mental disorders, whether a strong anxiety attack, a temporary insanity, a recurring extreme form of psychic experience or a serious mental illness, such as schizophrenia. I will follow the majority of scholars who, for the sake of convenience, use the words “madness” and “mania” in order to describe all the above.

The Visual Language of Madness

While a lot of work has been done on the texts, there is, to my knowledge, no comprehensive study on the iconography of madness, although some aspects have been noted.⁹ My intention is to investigate the visual language of madness myths depicted on Attic vases of the sixth and fifth centuries BC, in order to show that these images are linked by a number of common denominators and show a rather coherent and consistent visual vocabulary. Depictions of maddened individuals continue on fourth-century South-Italian vases; these vases, however, have their own special iconographical language which can differ from the earlier Greek tradition. They should, therefore, be examined separately, in their own context.¹⁰

The scholarship on madness in ancient literature is a valuable tool in my investigation, although I am always aware that the vase-painters do not depict texts but myths, in this case madness myths. In order to represent these myths, the painters may draw on their knowledge of tales and on their everyday experience (e.g. the looks and behavior of people, religious or social ceremonies, wallpaintings, theater productions, etc.).¹¹ The vase-painters usually rely on their workshop tradition but, at least the most capable ones, also use their creative imagination. However, most of the things that the painters knew or saw are lost today, therefore we must rely on the extant texts in order to identify and interpret the vase-paintings. I have used as a basis for my study the work of Josef Mattes,¹² who collected about forty madness-myths that were known as late as the end of the fifth century BC. Only a few of these myths are depicted on contemporary Attic vases, namely: a) the madness connected with Dionysos (the maddened god and his followers; the death of Pentheus; Lykourgos killing his son; and perhaps the Minyades killing Hippasos); b) Orestes and the Furies; and c) Salmoneus, already discussed above.

Madness in a Dionysiac Context: Dionysos, Maenads, Pentheus, Lykourgos, and Minyades (?)

According to the literary sources, Dionysos inflicted madness on many people who had insulted him, but he himself had also been a victim of

madness inflicted by Hera. His madness is known to Homer (*Iliad* 6.132; here not connected with Hera),¹³ who says that the frenzied god, together with his ‘nurses’ arrived at Nyssa, where King Lykourgos chased them into the sea, after which Thetis calmed down the trembling god. Homer does not mention if his female followers were mad too, but their madness is attested already in texts of the seventh century BC.¹⁴ Ancient literature also provides information about the beliefs and the behavior of the mythical and historical followers and worshippers of Dionysos.¹⁵ They had special ceremonies which included orgiastic dances, the participants of which experienced extreme forms of physical and mental tension and reached a state of ecstasy in accordance with the ancient meaning of the term *ekstasis* – that is, they experienced displacement, deviation from normal behavior, sudden and intense change of psychological mood and mental state, and dissociation. The aim of the Dionysiac dances was to relieve people of whatever distress and fear previously afflicted them; they aimed at purification (Dionysiac *katharsis*) and had a beneficial effect on the participants’ soul (*psyche*). Therefore, in the Dionysiac cultic dance the displacement, the deviation and the mental distortion, in other words madness, becomes an end in itself.

Attic vase-painting shows several hundred scenes with Dionysos and his dancing followers. I will not go into the long scholarly discussion about the identification of the female Dionysiac dancers on each vase (if they are mythical maenads or contemporary women performing Dionysiac rituals) since, as we know from the texts, the worshippers of Dionysos were thought to behave just like his mythical followers and performed their ritual dances in a state of mental derangement. I will, therefore, use the common term “maenads” for all these women.¹⁶

570/560–500 BC

The female followers of Dionysos appear on Attic vases around 570–560 BC, and they are shown as walking or dancing in a rather calm way.¹⁷ Around 550 BC they begin to dance vigorously, jumping and raising their hands, just like their contemporary komasts. Moreover, some painters show that something peculiar is going on with the Dionysiac dancers. First, on a Tyrrhenian amphora by the Castellani Painter, we see maenads holding snakes and other animals.¹⁸ Then, Lydos exposes the legs of his maenads and draws animal skins over their clothes;¹⁹ this special garment was also used by the Amasis Painter for his maenads.²⁰ Finally, in the last decades of the sixth century, Epiktetos shows maenads with loose, flying hair and, more importantly, maenads who have lost the brooches that keep their clothes in place, so that the long full sleeves of their chitons are unfolded and hide their hands, causing the outstretched arms to

resemble wings. The wing-sleeves motif was later used also by Douris, the Berlin Painter and the Brygos Painter in the early fifth century.²¹ In short, by the end of the sixth century the dancing maenads are shown with bizarre attributes (like snakes) and with peculiar dress accessories, and are rendered in rapid movement with a freedom from the ordinary restraints of decent appearance (i.e. loose clothes and hair).²² Moreover, dancing maenads never hold hands, thus indicating that they do not (or should not) follow in each other's steps in a synchronized line.

At this point of time Euphronios on a psykter in Boston (ca. 520–510 BC) shows a different aspect of Dionysiac madness by depicting the maenads holding the bleeding torso, limbs and intestines of Pentheus whose name is inscribed.²³ This is one of the earliest surviving sources for the myth of Pentheus,²⁴ and it apparently draws on a version different from the one presented by Euripides in the *Bacchae*, staged more than a hundred years later (405 BC).²⁵ A few years after Euphronios's vase the same subject appears on a hydria (Fig. 3; Color Pl. 6B)²⁶ and on a cup, where a small hare is shown next to a maenad.²⁷ The hare may mean that a country setting is suggested or that the women were also hunting animals. It could also, however, mean that these women “thought” that they were killing animals, thus reminding us of the much later verses by Aischylos about Pentheus “who had the fate like that of a hare” (*Eumenides* 25–26). In any case, the feature that interests us in all the early depictions of Pentheus's death is that the maenads carry no weapons, indicating that they have killed him and torn him apart with their bare hands. This suggests that they have some kind of supernatural or bestial power, but it can also convey the message that they did not prepare themselves for this murder. I will come back to this point later.



Fig. 3. Maenads holding parts of Pentheus's body. Hydria in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1966.18. Photo: after I. Kakrides, *Ελληνική μυθολογία*, vol. 3 (1986) pl. 40.

500–480 BC

Around 500 BC the Kleophrades Painter, on his wellknown pointed amphora in Munich, makes the crucial step in the visual language of madness by introducing the pose of the tossed-back head as a motif that effectively suggests Dionysiac frenzy (Fig. 4).²⁸ The importance of this pose was first acknowledged by E. Dodds who showed that sufficiently strong parallels exist between the presentation of maenads on vases (and, later, in the *Bacchae* and other texts) on the one hand, and historical and clinical descriptions of hysterical excitement on the other, to suggest that the maenads had at some time been something more than imaginary creatures and that the behavior or the cult practices of Dionysiac worshippers would have been familiar to Athenians.²⁹ The clinical accuracy of the head thrown back in ecstasy indicates that the Kleophrades Painter had the opportunity either to witness scenes of religious hysteria or see (or hear about) depictions of it in other media, for example on wall-paintings. Moreover, the Kleophrades Painter combines the ecstatic pose with a visual narrative of dissociation, since each maenad is busy with a private activity, reminiscent of the dancing maenads who never hold hands.



Fig. 4. Maenad with tossed-back head. Pointed amphora by the Kleophrades Painter.
Munich, Antikensammlungen, NI 8732. Photo: after CVA Munich 4 pl. 203,2.



Fig. 5. Dionysos mainomenos. Stamnos in London, British Museum, E 439. Photo: after T.H. Carpenter, in: T.H. Carpenter – C.A. Faraone (eds.), *Masks of Dionysos* (1993) 191 fig. 9.

The tossed-back head, as well as the other visual motifs and poses which were developed and discussed so far (distortions of the body, loose hair, loose clothes, etc.), belong to a group of gestures that art historians call 'pathos formulae'. This term was first coined by Aby Warburg in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century (*Pathosformel*) and was further studied by Moshe Barasch.³⁰ The pathos formulae are concrete and definite iconographic motifs which

impress themselves forcefully on our visual memory. The regular narrative context defines the emotions or actions represented, while the gesture or pose that constitutes the pathos formula indicates the intensity of the emotion and the drama of the event. The pathos formulae may be ambiguous, but they are not vague; they have a precision of their own, since they are intended to convey exceptional and heightened intensity, the “pitch” of emotions or events. For example, the visual formulae of messy hair and semi-naked body appear in numerous depictions of women who experience an extreme physical and/or emotional distress, but the general narrative of each scene clarifies if the woman is a maenad, Cassandra at the sack of Troy, or some other one.³¹

Similarly, the thrown-back head has appeared in the visual arts since the Bronze Age as a particular sign for singers, such as on the well-known “Harvesters’ Rhyton” from Aghia Triada, Crete. The same pose is used for singers on Attic vases.³² I suggest that in each case this particular backward movement of the head is essential in order to free the air passage to receive more oxygen, either because someone wants to sing loudly or because the heart is speeding up due to extreme physical and/or emotional stress. When the Kleophrades Painter used this pose for his dancing maenads, its strong expressive potential as a sign of ecstasy and dissociation was recognized and the motif was soon used by others together with the other pathos formulae such as the loose hair and the flowing clothes. For the next eight centuries, this powerful and expressive pose was adopted by artists working on different media;³³ then, it reappeared in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sculpture and painting.³⁴

Among the vase painters who first took up the motif of the tossed-back head as a sign for ecstasy were the Berlin Painter³⁵ and Douris,³⁶ who used it in depictions of Pentheus’s death in order to denote that the Theban women killed while in a state of dissociation and that they did not realize what they were doing. I believe that this is the main difference between these women and the Thracian women who killed Orpheus.³⁷ Although both groups move rapidly and may have disheveled hair and loose clothes, the Thracians are never shown with a tossedback head, apparently because the painters knew what we also know from the texts, namely that the Thracians were not insane when they killed Orpheus; they were furious and seeking revenge and fully conscious of their actions. That is probably why the Thracian women carry different “weapons” (stones, swords, spears, spits, axes, sickles, etc.), while the Theban women carry nothing but their thyrsos. In other words, killing with no weapons suggests madness, since not only the Thracian women but all the female cold-blooded murderers on Attic vases carry some kind of weapon.³⁸

There is one more thing to be said about the Pentheus scene of the Berlin Painter: there is a lion next to a maenad, which reminds us of the (much later) scene in Euripides's *Bacchae* 1277–1278, in which Agave carries the head of her son thinking that she is carrying a dead lion. We already noted the hare shown next to a maenad in another scene of Pentheus which is attributed to the Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter.³⁹ Since these women are also shown in a state of ecstasy, one may wonder if these animals are not simply suggestions of a country setting but function as visual signs of what is going on in the women's mind; that is they believe that they are hunting animals. If this is correct, then these two vases use a very simple way to depict, for the first time to my knowledge, delusion.

480/70–450 BC

The iconography of Dionysiac maddened dancers is now enriched by scenes of Dionysos or maenads dancing wildly and holding half of an animal in either hand (Fig. 5).⁴⁰ All depictions appear ca. 480–470 BC and are apparently connected with the Dionysiac ritual of *sparagmos*, the tearing apart of an animal.⁴¹ Other vases show the god without the torn animals but still dancing wildly or ecstatically.⁴² In all the above cases Dionysos behaves just like his female followers, so he is, therefore, a *Dionysos mainomenos*.



Fig. 6. *Dionysos mainomenos*. Calyx-krater by the Painter of Munich 2335. Athens, National Museum, 12908. Photo: Museum.

450–425 BC

During this period the ecstatic maenadic dances continue,⁴³ while the last *Dionysos mainomenos* dancing with his head thrown back is on a calyx-krater by the Painter of Munich 2335 (Fig. 6).⁴⁴ More important, another madman appears on Attic vases, the Thracian king Lykourgos. In the Homeric version of the myth (*Iliad* 6.130–140) he drove

Dionysos and his “nurses” away from his country, so that the terrified Dionysos fled into the sea; for punishment Lykourgos was blinded by Zeus. The punishment changes in later versions of the myth: he was driven mad by Dionysos and killed his own son, Dryas, with an axe, imagining that he was chopping down a vine, Dionysos’s sacred plant.⁴⁵

The scene on a mid-fifth-century hydria in the British Museum is sometimes interpreted as the earliest depiction of Lykourgos’s madness.⁴⁶ It shows a frontally-facing Thracian who is holding a dead, naked boy near his face. Dionysos watches him calmly, while another Thracian runs away from the scene. The drawing is very bad, but it conveys the message that the man does a horrible thing and that Dionysos is totally agreeable to what is taking place.



Fig. 7. *Lykourgos killing his son. Hydria by the Nausicaa Painter. Cracow, University Museum, XI 1225. Photo: after LIMC VI (1992) pl. 160, Lykourgos I no. 26.*

The next vase that depicts the madness of Lykourgos dates to approximately the same time (ca. 450 BC), and is decorated by a Later Mannerist, maybe the Nausicaa Painter (Fig. 7).⁴⁷ Lykourgos (with a diadem on his flying hair) attacks his son Dryas with a double ax. The boy sits on an altar and raises his hands in a gesture of pleading for mercy; a woman, probably Lykourgos's wife, has fallen down beneath the father and the son and tears her hair in grief and despair.⁴⁸ Dionysos stands calmly next to Dryas and curiously, holds a vine

above the youth's head. The most plausible explanation is that the painter used this pose in order to visualize the delusion of Lykourgos in attacking a vine. In this manner the painter probably indicates that Lykourgos was not a cold-blooded murderer but a victim of madness inflicted by Dionysos.



Fig. 8. Lykourgos killing his son. Hydria near the Painter of Louvre G 433. Rome, Villa Giulia. Photo: after LIMC VI (1992) pl. 158, Lykourgos I no. 12.



Fig. 9. Orestes, Apollo and the Furies. Column-krater by the Naples Painter. San Antonio, Texas, Museum of Art. Photo: after D. Knoepfler, *Les imagiers de l'Orestie* (1993) 82 fig. 65.

The last Attic vase showing the madness of Lykourgos is a hydria near the Painter of Louvre G 433 (425–400 BC; Fig. 8).⁴⁹ Lykourgos attacks with an axe but also carries a sword. The headless body of his son is between some plants (but not vines). Above him two *xoana* indicate the sanctuary of Dionysos, who is shown on the shoulder of the vase, lying with Ariadne on a decorated kline. One maenad holds the decapitated youth's head and a sword. More maenads carrying swords, a small hare, or a small boy are dancing, sitting or reclining. Their physical-mental status is conveyed through their flying hair (similar to Lykourgos's), their tossed-back heads, their semi-naked bodies and their peculiar attributes. We certainly see a picture of Dionysiac madness, but what exactly do we see? Lykourgos is the main figure, but the head of Dryas is held by a maenad, in the same manner that earlier maenads held the limbs of Pentheus. Moreover, she and some of her companions carry swords, while the earlier maenads killed without weapons. Finally, the small child is not connected with either Pentheus's or Lykourgos's story. It better fits the myth about the two daughters of Minyas, who were maddened by Dionysos and killed the son of one of them, the young Hippasos.⁵⁰

This fusion of figures, motifs and myths connected with Dionysiac madness becomes the rule in depictions of maenads during the last quarter of the fifth century BC.⁵¹ On a cup of 430–425 BC we see two satyrs and two maenads, one of whom throws her head back in ecstasy;⁵² each maenad holds a sword and a youthful, male head. To my knowledge, this is the last Attic depiction of Dionysiac women carrying male heads, Pentheus's or another's. Already from the 440s BC a new iconographic tradition has been established in the depiction of Dionysiac madness, one that does not involve any tearing and bleeding. When the bloodshed of Euripides's *Bacchae* appeared on stage in 405 BC, the vase-paintings had already calmed down and show the capture, not the dismemberment of Pentheus.⁵³ The pathos formulae which we saw before, such as the messy hair, the loose and slipping clothes, and the tossedback head, are still being used.

The Madness of Orestes

Around the middle of the fifth century BC another insane figure appeared on Attic vases, Orestes hunted by the Furies.⁵⁴ His case is in many aspects different from Dionysiac madness, because he committed a serious crime while he was sane and became mad afterwards, because of his excessive guilt. His madness is shown on six Attic vases that form a closely connected iconographical group; in fact four of them are decorated by closely related painters who belong to the Later Mannerists (Fig. 9).⁵⁵ They depict a basic group of Orestes,

the god Apollo who protects him and one or more Furies who serve both as a visualization of his delusions and as an indication of the cause of his madness. Details of poses and costumes may vary, but Orestes is always naked except for his chlamys and his petasos. He brandishes his sword against the Furies, while he crouches with one foot on a mass of rocks, which has been identified with the court of the *Areopagos* in Athens, where Orestes's trial took place. Also, all the Furies have wings, snakes in their hair and/or in their hands and usually wear short chitons.

Scholars have tried to explain the consistency of the iconographic motifs on these vases. The search for a common prototype has suggested that the painters were influenced either by Aischylos's trilogy, the *Oresteia*, which had been staged about a decade before the earliest of these vases, or by a wall-painting in Athens.⁵⁶

Orestes's pose is a good example of another pathos formula, which had already been firmly established in vasepainting: the pose of the fallen and vulnerable hero, who sinks to one knee, raises his hand in defense and exposes his nude torso to the viewer.⁵⁷ We have already met this pose in some depictions of Orpheus falling under the attack of the Thracian women, and we will see it again on the sixth (and last) Attic vase showing the madness of Orestes, a Kerch pelike dating to ca. 380–360 BC (Fig. 10).⁵⁸ Here Orestes assumes again the pose of the falling hero, his wind-blown drapery indicates his rapid movement, and the Furies who chase him have again snakes on their heads; now, however, they wear long peploi and hold torches. Most important, though, is the change of location, from the Athenian Areopagos of the earlier depictions to Delphi, as the omphalos/altar indicates.

Interestingly enough, the pose of the fallen defenseless hero is assumed by another youth who falls under the eyes of Lyssa on the well-known krater by the Lykaon Painter⁵⁹. This is the only personification of mania known in vase-painting before the fourth century BC, and she fits very well into the visual vocabulary of madness discussed so far: rapid movement, loose hair (and, moreover, unfeminine short hair), and the dress of a huntress (boots, animal skin) but no weapons for hunting. To make things even more peculiar, she wears an oriental overgarment with sleeves (like an Amazon, for example), and she has a small dog's or wolf's head cap over her head.

Conclusions

Of the more than forty madness tales known until the end of the fifth century BC we discussed the few that appear on Attic vases of the same period. The generic maenads and their frenzied dances are by far the commonest subject, and their depictions cover almost two

centuries. The killing or capturing of Pentheus is shown from the late sixth until the late fifth century BC. The few depictions of Dionysos *mainomenos* date to the second and third quarters of the fifth century. Around the middle of the fifth century there is the greatest variety of scenes of madness since besides the older subjects, we also see a man probably to be identified with Salmoneus, Lykourgos and Orestes; a little later Lyssa herself also appears as a personification of madness.

The study of the literary sources shows that madness is a situation too complex and too manifold to be depicted in pictorial art without some selective principles. The cause of madness, the behavior of the insane, their delusions, and the outcome of the episode are all elements of the myths to be shown on vases. The cause of madness is easier to show, if this is the painter's intention, by depicting the god who inflicted it. The intermediate stage, that is the madness episode itself, is a more complex issue and the painters used multiple methods: they show peculiar, extraordinary, uncommon or even horrible actions, usually murder; they use visual signs to indicate violent body movements, muscular effort and a dishelved appearance; and they may also depict the reaction of the maniacs' environment. The most important thing, however, is that at least the most capable painters tried to differentiate the madness scenes from other scenes of violence. They tried to show that these extraordinary and aggressive figures did not have minds of their own, and that they did not realize what they were doing. To accomplish this, they employed a number of visual signs such as the pathos formulae of the tossed-back head and/or the depiction of delusions and, finally, they used other signs, such as the absence of weapons in Pentheus's death, in order to indicate that the killers had not prepared themselves for murder and their actions were not premeditated. The establishment and development of these visual formulae within the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods is probably connected with the contemporary awareness of and interest in the psychology of people.⁶⁰



Fig. 10. *Orestes and the Furies*. Pelike in Perugia, Museo Nazionale Etrusco. Photo: after D. Knoepfler, *Les imagiers de l'Orestie* (1993) 73 fig. 55.

The last stage, that is the outcome of the madness, can also be shown, as in the case of the Orestes's scenes with the Areopagos rocks and the presence of the protecting god Apollo. In fact, many Attic vase-painters choose to depict only the before or after of someone's madness and not the madness episode itself. The most indicative case is that of the scenes depicting the story of Ajax which show the cause of his madness (the votes for the arms of Achilles) and the outcome (his suicide), but never his actual seizure, during which he killed the rams, believing them to be the Greek leaders. The absence of Ajax's madness may be incidental, but it may also indicate a kind of respect towards this great hero, who gave his name to one of the Attic tribes.

The iconography of madness in ancient art is complex, some aspects of which I examine in this paper. There are many issues to be addressed in future research. For example, why do both texts and vases show male insanity as a personal problem while females usually go mad in groups?⁶¹ Or why do the myths present only a few insane Athenians, while all the rest come from Boeotia, Thessaly, the Peloponnese, Thrace, etc.? Is madness considered to be a case of "Otherness",⁶² for it takes two to make a madman, the madman

himself/herself and the observer, the one who sets the limits of madness.⁶³

Notes

- 1E. Gardner, *AJA* 3, 1899, 331–344; L. Berge, in: W. Moon (ed.), *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections: The Art Institute of Chicago* (1981) 172–174; M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (1992) 149–150; LIMC VII (1994) 654–655 no. 6, s.v. Salmoneus (E. Simon); E. Kefalidou, Νικητής: Εικονογραφική μελέτη του αρχαίου ελληνικού αθλητισμού (1996) 79–80.
- 2Kefalidou (supra n. 1) 52–80; eadem, *Nikephoros* 12, 1999, 95–117.
- 3L. Feder, *Madness in Literature* (1980) 5.
- 4Sources: J. Mattes, *Der Wahnsinn im griechischen Mythos und in der Dichtung bis zum Drama des fünften Jahrhunderts* (1970) 23; LIMC VII (1994) 653–654, s.v. Salmoneus (E. Simon).
- 5Sources: Mattes (supra n. 4) 17; LIMC II (1984) 950–951, s.v. Athamas (C. Schwanzar).
- 6E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (1951) 64–101. 270–282; G. Deveraux, *JHS* 90, 1970, 35–48 and idem, *ClQ* 20, 1970, 17–31; Mattes (supra n. 4); Feder (supra n. 3); B. Simon, *Mind and Madness in Ancient Greece* (1980); C. Gill, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46, 1985, 307–325; J. Pigeaud, *Folie et cures de la folie chez les médecins de l' antiquité gréco-romaine: la manie* (1987); eadem, *La maladie de l'âme* (1989); R. Padel, *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self* (1992); eadem, *Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness* (1995); D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius* (1998); B. Effe and F.G. Reinhold (eds), *Genie und Wahnsinn: Konzepte psychischer 'Normalität' und 'Abnormalität' im Altertum* (2000); J. Hubert (ed.), *Madness, Disability and Social Exclusion* (2000).
- 7Devereux (supra n. 6); Gill (supra n. 6); Hershkowitz (supra n. 6) 1–16.
- 8Padel (supra n. 6) 13–22; Hershkowitz (supra n. 6) 125–160.
- 9Dodds (supra n. 6) 270–282; D.F. Sutton, *RStCl* 23, 1975, 356–360; J.R. March, *BICS* 36, 1989, 33–65; T.H. Carpenter, in: T.H. Carpenter – C.A. Faraone (eds), *Masks of Dionysos* (1993) 185–206; L.B. Joyce, *Maenads and Bacchantes: Images of Female Ecstasy in Greek and Roman Art* (diss. University of California, 1997); S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (1998).
- 10See e.g. the personifications of madness on Apulian vases: LIMC VI (1992) 325–328, s.v. Lyssa (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); LIMC VI (1992) 353, s.v. Mania (J. Boardman); LIMC VII (1994) 28–29, s.v. Oistros (B. Müller-Huber); also, the depictions of myths rarely or never found elsewhere, such as the madness of Herakles by Asteas (LIMC IV [1988] 835–836 no. 1684, s.v. Herakles [J. Boardman]).
- 11Cf. E. Langridge-Noti in this volume.
- 12Mattes (supra n. 4).
- 13Sources: Mattes (n. 4) 18; Carpenter (supra n. 9) 197–198.
- 14Alkman (fr. 63 Page); Pratinas (fr. 708 Page); Anakreon (fr. 357 Page); Moraw (supra n. 9) 16–18.
- 15Ecstatic dances for Dionysos and other deities: Dodds (supra n. 6) 270–282; A. Henrichs, *HarvStClPhil* 82, 1978, 121–160; Simon (supra n. 6) 251–257; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (1987) 19. 112–113; S. Scullion, *ClAnt* 17, 1998, 96–122; S. Blakely, in: Hubert (supra n. 6) 119–127.
- 16The discussion about the distinction between nymphs, maenads and mortal

- women takes also into account the presence and role of satyrs, who are not mentioned here: M.W. Edwards, *JHS* 80, 1960, 78–87; Henrichs (supra n. 15); S. McNally, in: J. Peradotto – J.P. Sullivan (eds), *Women in the Ancient World* (1984) 107–141; T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (1986) 76–97; Joyce (supra n. 9) 18–26. 32–40; Moraw (supra n. 9) 18–22.
- 17Moraw (supra n. 9) 35–37.
- 18ABV 103,108; for the snakes, see Dodds (supra n. 6) 275–276; Moraw (supra n. 9) 170–172.
- 19Moraw (supra n. 9) 39–41. 175. For the various animal skins: Edwards (supra n. 16) 83.
- 20Moraw (supra n. 9) 42–43.
- 21Ibid. 55.
- 22Ibid. 31–56. 253–254.
- 23ARV² 16,14. 1619; LIMC VII (1994) 312 no. 39, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 24Mattes (supra n. 4) 23; LIMC VII (1994) 306–307, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 25Euphronios shows him as a bearded (mature) man, probably killed by a maenad who is ironically named ΓΑΛΗΝΗ (i.e. Peace); cf. March (supra n. 9) 35–37. 50–52.
- 26Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1966.18; LIMC VII (1994) 312 no. 40, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 27Circle of the Nikosthenes Painter: ARV² 133,21; LIMC VII (1994) 312 no. 41, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 28ARV² 182,6; McNally (supra n. 16) 127; cf. also T.J. McNiven, *Gestures in Attic Vase Painting: Use and Meaning, 550–450 B.C.* (diss. University of Michigan, 1982) 168, who argues that the first red-figured painters introduced a new vocabulary in the language of gestures.
- 29Dodds (supra n. 6) 270–282; Edwards (supra n. 16) 86–87; Moraw (supra n. 9) 18–22.
- 30M. Barash, *Imago Hominis: Studies in the Language of Art* (1991) 119–127. 152–160.
- 31LIMC I (1981) 339–342 nos. 16–51, s.v. Aias II (O. Toucheffeu).
- 32McNiven (supra n. 28) 64.
- 33Cf. e.g. the famous maenad of Skopas and the maenad on the bronze crater from Derveni in Thessaloniki; for these and other examples: L.A. Touchette, *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs: Continuity and Change in Roman Copies*, *BICS Suppl.* 62 (1995); T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-Century Athens* (1997) 82–84; Joyce (supra n. 9) 81–179.
- 34Barash (supra n. 30) 152–160.
- 35ARV² 208,144. LIMC VII (1994) 312 no. 42, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 36Ibid. no. 43.
- 37See e.g. LIMC VII (1994) 85–87 nos. 28–59, s.v. Orpheus (M.-X. Garezou); D. Tsiafaki, *Η Θράκη στην αττική εικονογραφία του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ.: Προσεγγίσεις στις σχέσεις Αθήνας και Θράκης* (1998) pls. 5–24; B. Cohen, in: B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal* (2000) 107–115.
- 38E.g. LIMC VII (1994) 527–528 nos. 1–4. 6–8, s.v. Prokne et Philomela (E. Touloupa); LIMC VI (1992) 74–75 nos. 3–5. 15–18, s.v. Klytaimnestra (Y. Morizot); cf. also F. Viret-Bernal, in: A.O. Koloski – C.L. Lyons (eds), *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality, and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology* (1997) 93–107.
- 39See supra and n. 27.
- 40J.-J. Maffre, *RA* 1982, 203–207; M.C. Villanueva-Puig, *RA* 1983, 241–244;

- Carpenter (supra n. 9) 190–199. Moraw (supra n. 9) 91. 174–175.
- 41Maffre (supra n. 40) 203–207; Carpenter (supra n. 9); idem (supra n. 33) 37–40; Joyce (supra n. 9) 40–43; G. Markoe, in: *Greek Vases in the J.P. Getty Museum* 6 (2000) 45–54.
- 42E.g. a cup (ARV² 406,2), an amphora (E. Serbeti, AAA 19, 1986, 119–133), an amphora (ARV² 987,2), and a krater discussed below (see n. 44).
- 43Cf. Moraw (supra n. 9) 57–61. 256.
- 44Athens, National Museum, 12908: ARV² 1165,72.
- 45Sources: Mattes (supra n. 4) 21; LIMC VI (1992) 309–310, s.v. Lykourgos I (A. Farnoux).
- 46Ibid. 312 no. 15; Tsiafaki (supra n. 37) 184 pl. 61a; eadem, in: Cohen (supra n. 37) 381 pl. 14,8.
- 47ARV² 1121,17; LIMC VI (1992) 313 no. 26, s.v. Lykourgos I (A. Farnoux); Tsiafaki (supra n. 37) 184–185; eadem (supra n. 46) 381–382.
- 48For these gestures: G. Neuman, *Gesten und Gebärten in der griechischen Kunst* (1965) 37–40. 85–89.
- 49ARV² 1343; LIMC VI (1992) 311 no. 12, s.v. Lykourgos I (A. Farnoux); LIMC VII (1994) 313–314 no. 65, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bazant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 50Literary sources: LIMC VI (1992) 581–582, s.v. Minyas (E. Simon); for the iconography of maenads with children: V. Provenzale, *AntK* 42, 1999, 73–80.
- 51LIMC VII (1994) 314 no. 68, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer); cf. Moraw (supra n. 9) 61–65. 260.
- 52LIMC VII (1994) 312 no. 44, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 53March (supra n. 9) 36–37; LIMC VII (1994) 308. 310 nos. 1. 24. 25, s.v. Pentheus (J. Bažant – G. Berger-Doer).
- 54For earlier possible depictions of Orestes and the Furies: A.J.N.W. Prag, *The Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Tradition* (1985) 44–51.
- 55Naples Painter (ARV² 1097,21bis); Orestes Painter (ARV² 1112,5); Hephaestus Painter (ARV² 1115,31); Duomo Painter (ARV² 1117,7); and an Undetermined Later Mannerist (ARV² 1121,16); see also Prag (supra n. 54) 48–51; LIMC III (1986) 831–832 nos. 41–44, s.v. Erinys (H. Sarian); D. Knoepfler, *Les imagiers de l'Orestie* (1993) 79–82; T. Mannack, *The Late Mannerists in Athenian Vase-Painting* (2001) 89–90.
- 56Prag (supra n. 54) 50; Mannack (supra n. 55) 89–90.
- 57Neuman (supra n. 48) 39–40; Barasch (supra n. 30) 119–127.
- 58LIMC III (1986) 832 no. 45, s.v. Erinys (Sarian); Knoepfler (supra n. 55) 72–73 fig. 35.
- 59ARV² 1045, no. 7; LIMC VI (1992) 324–325 no. 1, s.v. Lyssa (Kossatz-Deissmann); H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (1993) 168–170.
- 60McNally (supra n. 16) 137–138.
- 61Cf. R. Padel, in: A. Cameron – A. Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity* (1983) 3–19; cf. also the earlier depiction of insane women, the semi-naked Proitides, on a terracotta pinax from Thermon: LIMC VII (1994) 523 no. 1, s.v. Proitides (L. Kahil).
- 62Hubert (supra n. 6).
- 63My warmest thanks to John Oakley and Olga Palagia for inviting me to participate in this conference, and also to Liz Langridge-Noti for correcting my English text.

10 Women and Deer: from Athens to Corinth and Back

Sonia Klinger

Introduction

The starting point of this paper goes back to my earlier study of the scenes of women with deer in late Attic black-figure vase-paintings.¹ In that study, I argue that deer appear with women for the first time on wedding scenes ca. 530 BC, and that during the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC, deer appear with women in three additional types of scenes: processions and dances (e.g., the blackfigure plaque, Athens, NM, Acropolis 2574, Fig. 1), water fetching, and courtship scenes.

I also concluded that in these scenes deer are closely associated with Apollo and Artemis, especially with the latter's role in a woman's journey toward sexual maturation, and that the vases with provenance depicting these scenes often turn up in sites related to women's maturation rites and weddings, such as the sanctuary of Nymphe in Athens, and the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron, Mounychia and the Athenian Acropolis.² These observations strongly suggest that the iconography of women with deer refers to initiation and wedding. In these scenes, which first appeared during the Peisistratid rule, when Artemis's cult flourished in Athens and Attica, deer, which serve as metaphors for young women approaching sexual maturity, allude to Artemis's role in young women's lives, protecting but also attacking the young, sexually awakening bride.



Fig. 1. Attic black-figure plaque, Athens, NM, Acr. 2574. Photo: DAI Akr Vas 295.

These metaphors are already present in the eighth and seventh centuries BC in literary texts by Homer, Sappho, Archilochos and others,³ suggesting a wider chronological span of the associations linking women and deer. But no deer seems to appear in scenes with mortal women before 530 BC, even though Attic vase-painters did represent numerous scenes with women participating in processions and weddings.⁴ I was, therefore, very fortunate to learn about the Middle Corinthian cup in Athens, NM 992 (Figs 2–5; Color Pl. 8C).⁵ A new reading of its iconography will allow me to suggest that the association of mortal women with deer was present in Corinthian art already by the early sixth century BC, and that its iconography is linked to that of the later Attic black-figure scenes.

Description and Readings – Old and New

The Middle Corinthian cup was first published by Th. Sophoulis in 1885. It is fragmentary and has been restored in plaster.⁶ Attributed to the Kluka Painter, the cup is dated ca. 590–570 BC, and its interior is decorated with two female protomes facing one other (Figs 2–3; Color Pl. 8C). They wear mantles, necklaces and a wreath. From the dipinti in the Corinthian alphabet above their heads we learn that the female on the left is called Nebris (Νεβρίς), and the one on the right Kluka (Κλύκα). A battle with riders and chariots decorates the upper band of the cup's exterior (Fig. 4); padded dancers and a dinos on a stand decorate the lower band (Figs 4–5), and two birds fill the space beneath the preserved handle.

Aside from Sophoulis, who described the female names as personal or mythological, scholars such as F. Lorber, E. Keuls and D.A. Amyx, among others, have almost unanimously identified the female protomes as hetairai. This identification is based on the view that respectable women are not likely to have been named in Corinthian vase inscriptions, especially on banquet vessels.⁷ In a recent study of non-Attic Greek inscriptions, Wachter agrees that the women are likely to be hetairai and briefly discusses their names. He agrees also with an earlier analysis that Nebris derives from *nebrós* (νεβρός, fawn) and adds that *nebris* (hide of a deer calf) is an attribute of maenads and may also fit a hetaira. He believes *Kluka* stands for either *Kaluka* or *Gluka*, favoring the former, though he does not explain the possible meanings of the names.⁸



Fig. 2. Middle Corinthian cup, Athens, NM 992, Klyka Painter, interior. Photo: Museum.

C. Isler-Kerényi holds a slightly different view. In a study of Dionysiac scenes on later Attic cups she, too, identifies *Kluka* as a hetaira, but assumes that *Nebris* is a Dionysiac nymph. Although Isler-Kerényi does not explain the meaning of the scene or what prompted

her to reach this conclusion, her reading is presumably based on two premises. One is the obvious link between Nebris's name and the fawn skin often worn by Dionysos and his female followers. The other is her comparison of the scene with a later Attic cup dated ca. 540 BC, that illustrates female protomes next to Dionysos and Semele, surrounded by grapes and ivy, all of which she links to wine drinking and the symposion.⁹

Most recently S. Lewis, pointing to this scene as an example, among others, questioned the use of a name alone to identify a woman as a prostitute, and rightly argued that context is essential.¹⁰ Indeed, a detailed examination of the scene in its Corinthian context reveals that the females are not hetairai, nor is Nebris a Dionysiac nymph.

Starting with the latter, Nebris has no Dionysiac attributes. Moreover, Dionysiac females are rare in Corinthian iconography and on the two extant Corinthian examples, both incidentally later than ours, they are easily recognizable because they are naked, dance, and copulate with satyrs, and in one case they are accompanied by Dionysos himself.¹¹



*Fig. 3. Middle Corinthian cup, Athens, NM 992, Klyka Painter, drawing of interior.
Photo: Museum.*



Fig. 4. Middle Corinthian cup, Athens, NM 992, Klyka Painter, exterior. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 5. Middle Corinthian cup, Athens, NM 992, Klyka Painter, exterior. Photo: Museum.

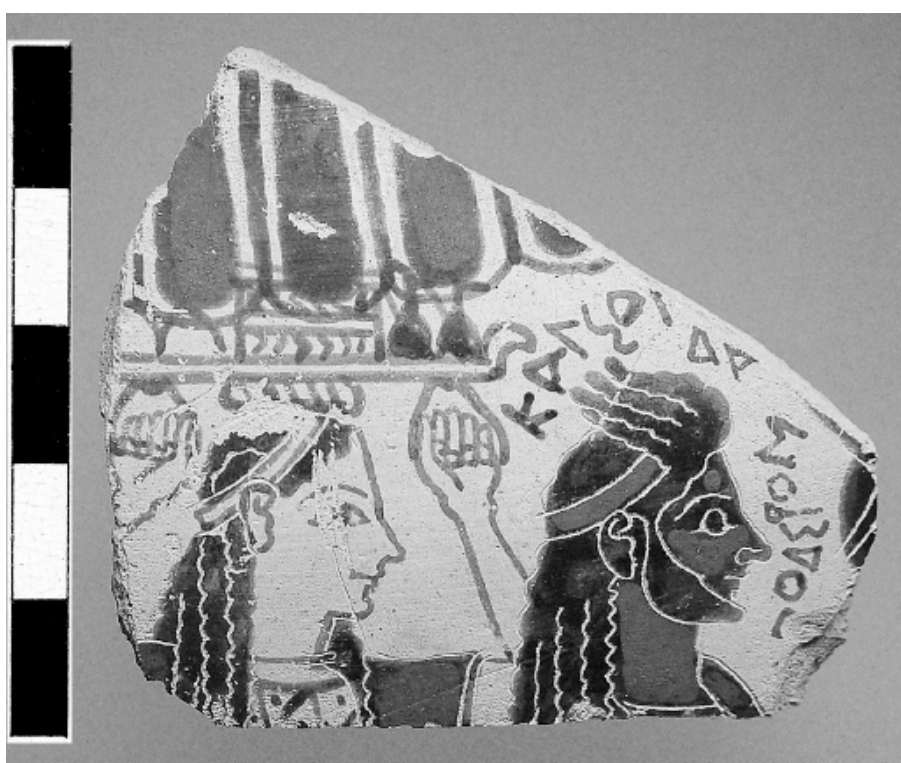


Fig. 6. Middle Corinthian column-krater fragment, Corinth, C-26-3 (formerly T-132), Near the Klyka Painter. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 7. Middle Corinthian column-krater, Paris, Louvre E 629, Athana Painter. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 8. *Middle Corinthian olpe, Paris, Louvre E 603, Anodos Painter, detail of protome between panthers and row of women. Photo: Museum.*

The female protomes are not hetairai either. Lorber, Amyx and Wachter's main comparison is a roughly contemporary female protome with the name Aineta inscribed beneath it on a handle of an aryballos in London. Aineta has been identified as a hetaira not because she is named, but because her name alludes to such notions as, "the praised one" and the dipinti name her nine admirers written beneath her head.¹² Interestingly, M. Steinhart and E. Wirbelauer now argue that linguistically Aineta could actually refer to a male.¹³ But the traditional reading, even if accepted, does not necessarily identify all named females as hetairai. In fact, Amyx himself pointed out that a female named Kalliope on a fragmentary Middle Corinthian column-krater from Corinth, C-26-3 (Fig. 6), is one "serious exception," because she carries a ritual basket (a kanoun) and is obviously participating in a ritual procession.¹⁴ This example is especially pertinent in the context of this study, because the vase-painting is on a column-krater, the Corinthian banquet vessel par excellence, and because it was produced in the same workshop as our cup. This suggests that painters belonging to the Kluka Painter's workshop gave names to respectable women. That the female protomes on our cup are not hetairai is further supported by two facts: first, Corinthian vase-painters clearly differentiated hetairai from other women by portraying the former naked, copulating, or interacting otherwise with men, as on the Middle Corinthian column-krater in the Louvre, E 629 by the Athana Painter (Fig. 7; Color Pl. 9A);¹⁵ second, only a few of these hetairai are actually named.¹⁶ In short, had the Kluka Painter intended to depict our protomes as hetairai, he would have probably omitted their mantles!

Who, then, are Nebris and Kluka? The answer, I suggest, lies in some important details of their depiction which have so far been overlooked. Their dress and pose are our first clues to their identity. Their wide mantles, open at the front, suggest they are holding their hands beneath them. This pose closely recalls that of divine and mortal females in Corinthian vase-painting. One example is the Potnia Theron on a Middle Corinthian olpe in the Louvre, E 603 by the Anodos Painter (Fig. 8; Color Pl. 9B).¹⁷ Other representative examples are the participants in two closely connected scenes: weddings, such as the females (one of them even named!) in the wedding of Paris and Helen on the Middle Corinthian column-krater in New York, MMA 27.116 by the Detroit Painter (Fig. 9),¹⁸ and processions, the so-called *Frauenfest* scenes, as on the Middle Corinthian bottle in London, BM 1865.7-20.20 by the London *Frauenfest* Painter (Fig. 10).¹⁹ These

scenes have been studied by I. Jucker, D.A. Amyx, and more recently by E. Pemberton,²⁰ who conclude that they show women's cultic activities related to female initiation. The mantled women are the companions of others who hold wreaths or ritual baskets such as kana, dance, or play the flute; still others are younger girls, seated women holding infants in their laps, spinning women, and sometimes even male padded dancers and robed men.

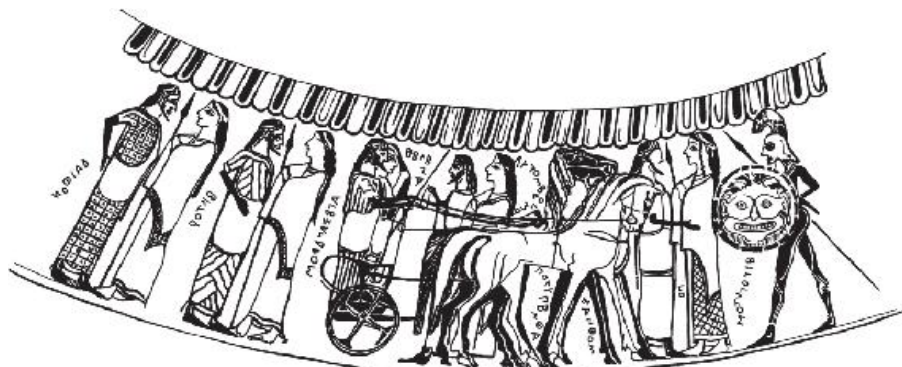


Fig. 9. Middle Corinthian column-krater, New York, MMA 27.116, Detroit Painter.
Drawing: after Amyx 1988, pl. 79,1b.

The precise meaning of these mantled women is more difficult to assess. Nevertheless, G. Ferrari's analysis of the metaphorical meaning of mantled girls and women in Attic art is helpful. She explains the cloak wrapped around the body as an attribute that conveys *aidos*, that is, the notion of shame, respectability, or modesty qualifying the person who wears it.²¹ This meaning tallies well with the mantled women's apparent function as companions in wedding and *Frauenfest* scenes. This reading, in turn, allows us to propose that the mantled protomes of Nebris and Kluka should also be viewed as representations of modest, respectable Corinthian women linked to the wedding and *Frauenfest* scenes described above.

The protomes' anatomical details identify them further: the two are young women of the same kind, although the one on the left is younger. By drawing a vertical line across the tondo, we notice that the younger woman on the left does not fill as much space (Fig. 3a) as the one on the right (Fig. 3b) whose head, neck and bust are heavier suggesting a more mature age. This intentional age differentiation,²² rendered through variations in height and proportions, is especially clear precisely in the *Frauenfest* scenes, in which age groups repeatedly indicate cultic activities related to initiation (e.g. Fig. 10).²³ The heraldic composition used for Nebris and Kluka also supports our reading. On all extant examples known to me, women's protomes

appear singly, or, in a few cases, in pairs or trios, but placed side by side.²⁴ The tondo's design may have been dictated by the large available field, but, more probably, it was meant to emphasize the women's close relationship and difference in age, as in the full-figured females facing each other on *Frauenfest* scenes.²⁵



A further important link to the Frauenfest iconography is the allusion to wine drinking, conveyed by the very fact that the scenes decorate a wine cup, and that the scene on the lower band of the cup's exterior illustrates a large dinos on a stand with padded dancers around it, some of whom hold wine vessels (Figs 4–5). The Kluka Painter and his workshop seem to have specialized in such vessels. The workshop's extant output consists of eight columnkraters, banquet vessels par excellence. Closest in style to the Athens cup is the scene on the column-krater fragment mentioned above (Fig. 6), while the rest are decorated with padded dancers.²⁶

This specialty is hardly surprising in view of the fact that wine drinking must have been a major activity at Corinthian sanctuaries. Large numbers of drinking cups and mixing bowls, as well as lekanides, kraters, oinochoai and storage amphorae were found at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, and, as N. Bookidis points out, although male youths played some part in the rites, it was mostly the women who dined, drank and reclined at Corinth.²⁷ At the Hera sanctuary at Perachora, the drinking of wine may have been limited to men, but wine vases decorated with male and female Frauenfest scenes were found there too. Most probably these scenes emphasized different male and female activities in the cult and reinforced gender roles.²⁸

The padded dancers, too, display wine-related functions. As pointed out by Pemberton, they appear with males (banqueters, horsemen) but also with females in Frauenfest scenes, sometimes even in the same space, thus emphasizing the cultic character of these female festivals and alluding to the drinking of wine.²⁹

Even the exterior's upper band decorated with a battle, riders, and chariots (Figs 4–5) may be loosely connected with the women and the padded dancers. This scene may represent the male (heroic or communal) role, just as the women in the tondo represent the female communal role. Although the precise connection between the three scenes is difficult to determine,³⁰ all seem to refer to the participants in festivals and cultic activities related to the drinking of wine.

The Names

A look at their names will further confirm that Nebris and Kluka are linked to the Frauenfest scenes. Neither of the two names appears on other Corinthian vases. Kluka is not known otherwise but, as indicated above, her name may stand for either Gluka/Gluke or, more probably,

for Kaluke/Kaluka.³¹ The many parallels we have for the names Gluka/Gluke are of a later date,³² but the notion that this name alludes to, sweetness,³³ is eminently suitable to describe a woman.³⁴ The extant parallels for Kaluke/Kaluka are also later and not Corinthian,³⁵ but again, the notions that the name alludes to, fit a young woman well. The name may refer to a seed vessel, husk, shell, or pod, or to the cup or calyx of a flower, a bud or rosebud.³⁶ As Amyx points out, “women’s names usually have a laudatory connotation, praising the bearer’s beauty, loveliness, sweetness, virtue, or some other desirable feminine quality.”³⁷

Kluka may also stand for Kaluky, thus perhaps alluding to a song titled Kaluky and the notion it implies. Athenaeus and Eusthatus believe that this song was written by Stesichoros, a lyric poet (632–556 BC) who may have spent some time in the Peloponnese when this cup was painted. The following passage, quoted by Athenaeus, tells us why Kaluky may have been the epitome of a chaste young woman (Athen., 14.619de, trans. D.A. Campbell):

“Aristoxenus in book 4 of his treatise *On Music* says that in time gone by women used to sing a song called *Calyce*, the work of Stesichoros. In it a girl called Calyce loves a youth Euathlus and prays to Aphrodite that she be married to him. When the youth scorned her, she threw herself from a cliff; this took place near Leucas. The poet represented the girl’s character as very chaste, since she did not want to have intercourse with the youth by hook or by crook, but prayed to be Euathlus’s wedded wife if she could, and to die if that were impossible”

In short, whether the vase-painter named the woman’s protome Kluka to allude to her sweetness, her resemblance to a flower, or her chasteness, her name fits well a young, respectable woman.

Turning now to Nebris, we find parallels for her name, but they are not very helpful, because they are also much later and non-Corinthian. As pointed out above, Nebris’s name derives from either *nebris* (νεβρός, fawn) or the hide of a deer calf.³⁸ Since she does not wear a fawn skin, her name most probably alludes to a context.³⁹ The evidence provided earlier in this study refutes a Dionysiac context, suggesting one related to Artemis instead. As in later Attic vase-painting (e.g. Fig. 1), here, too, the deer may be a metaphor for Nebris’s approaching sexual maturity, alluding to Artemis’s role in the young woman’s life.

This reading is further supported by the presence of young deer with Artemis on Corinthian terracotta figurines. Though manufactured later than our cup, in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC, they imply that this association was well known in Corinth too. These

figurines were dedicated to Artemis at her sanctuaries in different parts of Greece and depict the deity holding a young deer nuzzling her breast, probably to symbolize her nurturing and protective/destructive powers over women in vulnerable conditions (upon entering adulthood, sexual maturation, and at childbirth).⁴⁰

These metaphorical associations are already evident in literary passages from the eighth and seventh centuries BC. In Homer, for example, young deer are often used as metaphors to represent unmanly behavior (Il. 4.243–245, trans. A.T. Murray, rev. by W.F. Whyatt):

“Why is it that you stand around dazed in this way, like fawns (nebroi) that, when they have grown weary with running over a wide plain, stand still, and in their minds is no valor found at all?”

And in one of his epodes, Archilochos of Paros (seventh century BC) uses the image of a young deer to describe a young woman’s sexual readiness and timidity (Archil. 196a. 42–47, trans. M.L. West):

“and then I took the girl,
and laying her down in the flowers,
with my soft-textured cloak
I covered her; my arm cradled her neck,
while she in her fear like a fawn
gave up the attempt to run”

Last but not least, wearing a young deer’s skin (nebris) is also associated with young brides under the auspices of Artemis. Though much later than our cup, a passage from a second-century AD tale by Xenophon of Ephesus allows us to visualize the type of allusions suggested by the name Nebris (Xen. of Ephesus, 1.2.2–7, trans. M. Hadas):

“The girls in the procession were all decked out as if to meet lovers. Of the band of maidens the leader was Anthia...a prodigy of loveliness who far surpassed the other maidens. Her age was fourteen, and she
had bloomed into mature shapeliness...Her eyes were lively, shining sometimes like a girl’s and sometimes severe of a chaste goddess. Her dress was a frock of purple...Her wrap was a fawn skin, and a quiver hung down from her shoulder. She carried bow and javelins and dogs followed her heels. Time and again when the Ephesians saw her in the sacred procession they bowed down as to Artemis”

As pointed out by S. Lonsdale, this suit helped her become more “divine,” in other words, more desirable in the eyes of her suitors.⁴¹

Final Observations

In sum, the above analysis of Nebris's and Kluka's names and appearance and the various allusions to wine drinking in a Corinthian context clearly establish that they are not hetairai, but young, respectable, Corinthian women approaching marriageable age, and their iconography is most probably related to the sexual maturation typical of women participating in *Frauenfest* scenes. Names should not be used as conclusive evidence to identify women as hetairai. In fact, the new reading suggests that the painter of the cup added their names to emphasize their female role under Artemis's protection.

Frauenfest iconography seems to be related to women's rituals at various sanctuaries: that of Hera at Perachora, of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, and of Artemis. Artemis is clearly linked to *Frauenfest* iconography on a number of Corinthian vases already by the late seventh century BC, when she is depicted as Potnia Theron with dancing women (e.g. Fig. 8; Color Pl. 9B) and padded dancers.⁴² The deity probably had a sanctuary under the Forum in Corinth, as suggested by a small bronze base of a figurine excavated there, which features a dedication to her.⁴³ In addition, she was also present as a "visiting" deity at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, as suggested by some fifth-century figurines of the goddess, as well as by several Hellenistic representations found there. As G. Merker explains, Artemis's association with children and youths before marriage "would be in keeping with the concerns for human fertility and the safety of children apparent at this shrine".⁴⁴

From a broader viewpoint, the early sixth-century Corinthian use of the name Nebris to identify a young woman approaching marriageable age under Artemis's aegis (or shall we say hide!) mirrors the use of deer images on late sixth-century Attic vase-painting to identify young women approaching marriageable age under Artemis's power. These two parallel iconographies may be related. The interrelationship between Attic and Corinthian vasepainting⁴⁵ allows us to wonder, for example, whether the Attic vase-painters were looking at Corinthian scenes when they developed their own pictorial version. But this may be stretching the evidence too far. For now, the new reading of the Middle Corinthian cup in Athens allows us to safely conclude that young deer and/or their hide were used to allude to young women not only in eighth- and seventh-century literary passages, but also in early sixth-century art. Around 530 BC, when Attic vase-painters started producing scenes referring to women's maturation rites, the readily available motif of the young deer was their obvious choice.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to J.H. Oakley and O. Palagia for inviting me to participate in this conference. My research was supported by the Israel Science Foundation. It is part of a broader study on the iconography of women with animals currently under preparation. I thank N. Kaltsas and E. Stasinopoulou for allowing me to publish the cup in Athens, *Nat. Mus.*, 992 (Figs 2–5; Color Pl. 8C), and to G. Kavvadias for arranging my visit to examine it on very short notice. For help and information about particular points, I thank F. Babayev, N. Bookidis, W. Geominy, A. Johnston, V. Sabetai and R. Stroud. For help in obtaining photos and permission to illustrate them, I thank C. Arnold, M. Guerre, I. L'Hoir, N. Levin, J. Pierrick, M. Poulain, I. Tzonou-Herbst and A. Villing. The drawings of Figs 3 and 9 are by P. Arad.

Abbreviation

~~Ant. 1988~~
 Ant. 1988, Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period (1988)

Notes

1S. Klinger, *NumAntCl* 31, 2002, 11–43

2For a discussion on the earliest extant depiction of deer in a wedding procession and on the vases found on these sites, see Klinger (*supra* n. 1) 15ff. The plaque from the Acropolis (Fig. 1), found east of the Parthenon, may have been dedicated at the nearby Brauroneion on the Acropolis.

3For some of these, see Klinger (*supra* n. 1) 12. 28. 31 with additional bibliography.

4For a representative sample of Attic vase-paintings until 530 BC illustrating women standing, processing or dancing, none with deer, cf. a krater by the Painter of Berlin A 34, ABV 1,1; BAdd² 1; a neck-amphora by the Bellerophon Painter, ABV 2,2; BAdd² 1; a stand of a skyphos-krater by the Nettos-Chimaera Painter, ABV 4; BAdd² 1; neckamphorae by the Painter of Eleusis 767, ABV 21,1; BAdd² 7; and CVA Sarajevo 1 pl. 19,1–3; vases of various shapes by the Polos Painter, ABV 44,19; 45,24–26. 28. 39; 46,88; 47,103. 108. 110. 115. 124; 48, 135; BAdd² 12. See also a representative sample of wedding scenes before 530 BC in J.H. Oakley – R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (1992) figs 65–66. 68–71. 99. No deer are preserved on the early black-figure loutrophoroi studied by C. Papadopoulou-Kanellopoulou, *To hiero tes Nymphes. Melanomorphes Loutrophoroi* (1997) either, but they are very fragmentary; for a discussion on the late black-figure ones with deer, see Klinger (*supra* n. 1) 16.

5I thank N. Marinatos for bringing this cup to my attention. She mentions it in N. Marinatos, in: D.B. Dodd – C.A. Faraone (eds), *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives. New Critical Perspectives* (2003) 151 n. 75.

6H. 0.11 m. D. with handles 0.26 m. The design is executed in dilute black-brown glaze and the faces are in outline. Red decorates their mantles, and the head band is reserved. For the main publications and discussions of the vase, see Th. Sophoulis, *AEphem* 1885, 255–268; B. Philippaki, *Vases of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens* (n.d.) 46; H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931) 312 no. 995; A. Seeberg, *ActaAArtHist* 2, 1965, 5–6 pls 4. 5b; O. von Vacano, *Zur Entstehung und Deutung gemalter seitenansichtiger Kopfbilder auf*

- schwarzfigurigen Vasen des griechischen Festlandes (1973) 81 n. 294; 212 K-117; F. Lorber, *Inschriften auf korinthischen Vasen* (1979) 33–34 no. 35 pl. 8; Amyx 1988, 200 no. A-1; 463 n. 76 pl. 83,1ad; F. Croissant, *BCH* 112, 1988, 120–122 fig. 54; C.W. Neeft, *Addenda et Corrigenda to D.A. Amyx, Corinthian Vase-Painting in the Archaic Period* (1991) 200; C. Isler-Kerényi, *Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 4, 1997, 90–91 fig. 6 (printed the wrong way round).
- 7Lorber (supra n. 6) 30 n. 173; 33–34 no. 35; E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (1985) 155; Amyx 1988, 554–555. 563 no. 25, with earlier bibliographies. This view, in turn, may be related to Corinth's notoriety as a haven for hetairai. On the earliest evidence for prostitutes in Corinth, including those serving Aphrodite, see C.K. Williams II, in: M. Del Chiaro – W.R. Biers (eds), *Corinthiaca, Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (1986) 18–21.
- 8R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (2001) 54–55. 258. 344 no. COR 25. Basing himself on the much earlier study by Blass, Wachter claims that Kaluka is the name of a Nereid on an Attic cup in Munich, 2619 by the Epeleios Painter; see his 55 n. 218; 314. This seems to be a mistake, because there is no Kaluka among his labeled Nereid names; see ARV² 146,2; BAdd² 179 and most recently, J.M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (1998) 75 n. 24; 193 no. 130 with earlier bibliography. However, note that there is a Nereid named Kaluke in the fragmentary cup by the Euergides Painter, Paris, Louvre CP 11224–11225, New York, MMA 1976.20.1, ARV² 89,20; 93,83; 1606; BAdd² 170–171; Barringer (supra) 222 no. 297.
- 9Isler-Kerényi (supra n. 6) 91.
- 10S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman. An Iconographic Handbook* (2002) 107–110.
- 11On the two Late Corinthian scenes illustrating Dionysiac females, see Amyx 1988, 270 no. A-4; 330 no. C-3 bis; 590 no. 118; both discussed on 620–621; on the latter, see Wachter (supra n. 8) 109–110; 284 no. COR 118. On the scant evidence of Dionysos's presence in Corinthian iconography, see T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art* (1986) 17–18. 89. On the Dionysiac aspects of the padded dancers, see E. Pemberton, *Kernos* 13, 2000, 86 n. 5 with earlier bibliography.
- 12London, 1865.12–13.1, Payne (supra n. 6) 287 no. 480 fig. 70; Lorber (supra n. 6) 28–30 no. 28 pl. 8; Amyx 1988, 561 no. 18; Wachter (supra n. 8) 47–48. 258 no. COR 18.
- 13M. Steinhart – E. Wirbelauer, *Chiron* 30, 2000, 266–267. 281.
- 14Column-krater Corinth, C-26-3 (formerly T-132), Amyx 1988, 200 B.1; 554–555. 563 no. 26, with earlier bibliography. As he points out, her name is the first of the nine Muses, but it would be suitable for any female. See also Wachter (supra n. 8) 55. 344 no. COR 26.
- 15Amyx 1988, 235 A.1.
- 16For the traditional identification of hetairai, named and unnamed, in Corinthian vase-painting, cf. Amyx 1988, 554–555. 563. 571. 597–598 with earlier bibliography. In my view, the only clear examples of hetairai are the nude women participating in banquets and sex, cf. Amyx 1988, 647. 658–659. The identification of other women as hetairai is based on highly problematic generalizations. For the argument that the very few Corinthian vases with scenes of hetairai were found in Italy and were, therefore, made specifically for the Etruscan market, cf. Pemberton (supra n. 11) 101 n. 68.
- 17Amyx 1988, 231 A.3.
- 18Amyx 1988, 196 A.5.
- 19Amyx 1988, 230 1.
- 20I. Jucker, *AntK* 6, 1963, 47–61; Amyx 1988, 653–657; Pemberton (supra n. 11) 85–106.

- 21G. Ferrari, *Metis* 5, 1990, 185–200; eadem, *Figures of Speech* (2002) 72–81.
- 22That this portrayal of age differentiation is intentional is further suggested by the illustration of distinct age groups also apparent on the cup's exterior. For example, compare the young, beardless rider with the older, bearded warriors on the upper frieze (Fig. 4), and the young, unbearded padded dancer with the older, bearded one on the lower frieze (Figs 4–5).
- 23For additional *Frauenfest* scenes with girls next to more mature women, cf. the bottles in Béziers, 22 and Montpellier, 127 and the pyxis in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 94, Jucker (supra n. 20) pls 17,1–6; 23,1 respectively.
- 24For some examples, cf. Amyx 1988, 163–164 A-5. A-6. A-7. AP-2. For a summary of their use in Corinthian vasepainting, cf. D.A. Amyx, in: D.A. Amyx – P. Lawrence (eds), *Studies in Archaic Corinthian Vase Painting*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 28 (1996) 36–37.
- 25For some examples of confronted women in *Frauenfest* scenes, see Jucker (supra n. 20) pls 17,1–6; 20,1; 21,5; Pemberton (supra n. 11) figs 1. 5–8. For the use of a similar design with two male figures of different ages to suggest a close relationship in a maturation rite, cf. Marinatos (supra n. 5) 134–135 fig. 7,4.
- 26Amyx 1988, 200–201 nos. B 1. D 1–8 respectively; Neeft (supra n. 6) 200–201.
- 27N. Bookidis, in: N. Marinatos – R. Hägg (eds), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (1993) 50–51. 54; N. Bookidis et al., *Hesperia* 68, 1999, 14–15.
- 28Pemberton (supra n. 11) 105.
- 29On the different scenes with padded dancers and their associations with wine, and for illustrative examples on which chains of women or single women are combined with padded dancers in a single frieze, cf. Pemberton (supra n. 11) 88–89. 97–98 ns. 52–54 figs 2–4.
- 30On the often unclear relationship of a vase's sides, cf. Pemberton (supra n. 11) 89 n. 20.
- 31See above, n. 8.
- 32P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1 (1987) 108–109, s.v. Γλύκη; vol. 2 (1994) 95, s.v. Γλύκη; vol. 3A (1997) 100, s.v. Γλύκα; J.S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, vol. 4 (1995) 294–295, s.v. ΓΛΥΚΗ. For a Corinthian loomweight stamped with the name ΓΛΥΚ from the third century BC and additional examples, cf. H. Payne – T.J. Dunbabin, *Perachora. The Sanctuaries of Hera Akraia and Limeneia*, vol. 2 (1962) 401–402 no. 173 pl. 131.
- 33LSJ, s.v. Γλυκύς.
- 34For a later example in Attic art, see the properly dressed young woman called “Gluke” who is fetching water from a fountain house together with other young women on the fragmentary black-figure hydria, Athens, NM Acropolis 732: B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (1925) 89–91 pl. 47a. The hydria is mentioned in ABV 261,41; 677.
- 35P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews (eds), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1 (1987) 251, s.v. Καλύκη; vol. 2 (1994) 255, s.v. Καλύκη; vol. 3A (1997) 236, s.v. Καλύκα, Καλύκη. For the nereid called Kaluke, see above, n. 8.
- 36P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: histoire des mots* (1968–1980) 487, s.v. κάλυξ; LSJ, s.v. κάλυξ.
- 37Amyx 1988, 554.
- 38See above, n. 8 and LSJ, s.v. νεβρός.
- 39On this careful distinction regarding context rather than attributes, cf. G. Hedreen, *JHS* 114, 1994, 48–49. 51. 52 n. 30. As he points out, fawn skins may be worn by satyrs, nymphs, maenads, chorus members, and even Hermes.
- 40For a list of these terracotta statuettes and a fuller discussion of this iconography, cf. S. Klinger, *IEJ* 51, 2001, 208–224.

41S. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion* (1993) 209–210.

42For the association of the Potnia Theron, *Frauenfest* themes and padded dancers, cf. Jucker (*supra* n. 20) 58–60; Amyx 1988, 618–619. This suggests a strong link between the Potnia Theron and Artemis already by the early sixth century BC. A later date for their blending is argued by N. Marinatos, *The Goddess and the Warrior* (2000).

43C.K. Williams II – J.E. Fisher, *Hesperia* 41, 1972, 153–154.

44G.S. Merker, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Terracotta Figurines of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*, *Corinth* 18,4 (2000) 183. 331.

45See Amyx 1988, 424–425. 678–681 with earlier bibliography.

11 The Sky as *hippodromos* – Agonistic Motives within Astral Representations

Bettina Kratzmueller

“Heaven was mustering the stars in the circle of the sky. Helios was driving his horses toward his final gleaming, bringing on the brightness of Eveningstar. Night, robed in black, was making her chariot, drawn by a pair with no trace horses, swing forward, and the stars were accompanying the goddess. The Pleiades were passing through mid heaven and so was Orion with his sword, while above them the Bear turned its golden tail about the Pole. The circle of the Full Moon, as at mid month, darted her beams, and there were the Hyades, clearest sign for sailors, and Dawn the Daybringer putting the stars to flight” (Euripides, *Ion* 1147–1158: translated by D. Kovacs [ed.], Euripides [1999] 457).

In this description of the sky in *Ion*’s tent many of the terms used are reminiscent of agonistic contests, as a comparison with the description of the imaginary chariotrace of Orestes by Sophocles (*El.* 680–756) demonstrates: Helios drives horses, Nyx sets the chariot’s pair of horses into motion, the Pleiades reach the middle of their course, the Bear turns its tail, and the Full Moon throws a spear; finally the stars assemble in the *kyklos* of the sky.

Both Attic vase-paintings¹ from the end of the sixth century BC to the beginning of the fourth (Figs 1–5; Color Pls 7. 8A–B)² and Attic drama³ employ agonistic terms metaphorically for astral representations. For example, the usage of the terms *kyklos* and *trochos* – both mean something circular – in agonistic and celestial contexts⁴ show that the sky was seen as a kind of *hippodromos* or *stadion* for celestial phenomena. Both terms were not only used to describe the racecourse for chariots (Eur. *Hipp.* 1133–1134), as well as for human runners (Eur. *Med.* 46) on earth, but they also were used to describe the course’s celestial phenomena like the one Helios (Soph. *Ant.* 1065) or Nyx (Soph. *Aj.* 672–673) took through the sky; sometimes the terms

can mean the sky itself (Soph. Phil. 815).

Helios, the sun-god dominates the sky during the day. Already Homer describes Helios as untiring (Il. 18.484) and fast-driving (Od. 3.1–2). His journey starts from the isle of Aiaia (Od. 12.4), from where he rises to the starry sky before turning back again from the sky toward the earth (Od. 12.380–381). The turning point is at the middle of Ouranos which he walks around (Il. 8.68), after which he is sent by Hera (Il. 18.239–240) so that his shining light falls or plunges into the Okeanos (Il. 8.485) at the end of the day.⁵ The terms used by Homer and by Hesiod (Op. 563), who also mentions the turn of Helios to describe the way in which Helios moves during the day, mirror the ancient *diaulos*, a footrace with the length of two *stadia*. After the first half the competitors turn around a post, change direction, and run back to the starting place. Eumelus (Schol. Il. 23.295b; Hyg. Fab. 183) tells us that the trace horses were male and named Eous and Aethops, and the yoke horses female (Bronte and Sterope). These horses have fast feet (Hom. Hymn. Ath. 13–14) and breathe fire (Pind. Ol. 7.72).⁶

The Attic dramatists deliver the most detailed information. Aeschylus (Heliades fr. 181 [103]), for example, supplies information about what happens to Helios and his horses after he returns. They keep on moving fast and use a *depas* – a kind of vessel – to get back over the sea to the place of rising.⁷

Euripides is one of the primary and most detailed written sources for the use of agonistic motives when describing not only Helios but also other astral phenomena. The sun appears not only as a golden lump/clod (Phaethon fr. 783 [1097]), or a sun-disk on winged horses (El. 464–466), but most often as the personified god Helios. Helios, whose shining belt (Phoen. 175) may be taken as reference to the charioteer's long dress which had to be fixed to his body, drives a four-horse-chariot (fr. 1083, 8 [1429, 8]), a *tethrippon*. These horses had their stables at the end of the world at a place named the shining stables of Eos and Helios by their dark-colored neighbours (Phaethon fr. 771 [1087]). Sometimes the chariot is described as winged (Or. 1001–1004) and Helios drives (Ion 1148–1149) the horses, directing 'their course (*dromon*)' by controlling his colts with soft whips (Phoen. 177–178). He is also described as taking the shining *hippodromoi* (IT 1138–1139) and turning his bright chariot (*tethrippon*) towards the earth (Ion 82–83). All these details are summarized in the beginning sequence of Euripides's *Phoenissae* (1–3): "You who takes the way through the stars of the sky and who stands on the *diphros* made of gold, Helios, who on fast horses turns your flame".



Fig. 1. Selene. Detail of an Attic red-figure calyx-krater (so-named “Blacas-Krater”), London, British Museum Inv. E 466. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum.



Fig. 2. Helios fleeing the stars. Attic red-figure calyx-krater (sonamed “Blacas Krater”), London, British Museum Inv. E 466. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum.



Fig. 3. Selene. Detail of an Attic red-figure bell-krater by the Painter of the Athens Wedding, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. IV 1771. Photo: © Copyright Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.



Fig. 4. Helios. Attic red-figure bell-krater by the Painter of the Athens Wedding, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. IV 1771. Photo: © Copyright Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

In Attic depictions of the sun god,⁹ Helios and his chariot are often

embedded between other often female astral personifications. It is easy to identify him as he sometimes has a sun-disk on or near his head¹⁰ (Figs 2. 4. 5; Color Pls 7. 8A–B) and is the only male person driving a chariot.¹¹ His vehicle is drawn by two or four horses (*synoris* or *tethrippon*) and can be painted with or without wings. Many of the Attic vases show Helios's *tethrippon* in a frontal view indicating the start of his trip from Okeanos which is symbolized by waves or swimming dolphins. The four horses either stand still¹² waiting for the start, or more often they move their forelegs, representing the start of their movement from out of the ocean.¹³ Other vases have a *synoris*, whose large wings take the place of the trace horses of the *tethrippon*.¹⁴

When painted in profile, the horses are shown in motion. They make their way through the sky, their hoofs not touching the water. Sometimes the hindquarters of the horses are hidden by the ocean or a hill (Fig. 4; Color Pl. 8B), and sometimes their legs are cut off to fit the shape of the vase, as, for example, on the round form of a pyxis lid (Fig. 5).¹⁵



Fig. 5. Astral deities – Helios driving a four-horse-chariot, Nyx driving a two-horse

On early pictures Helios wears the typical long-girded chiton of the charioteers of the agonistic chariots,¹⁶ but around 480 BC the costume changes and Helios also wears a himation (Figs 2. 4; Color Pls 7B. 8B), whereas other examples show the god just wearing a mantle (Fig. 5).

Helios shares the sky with several goddesses: Eos, Hemera, Nyx, and Selene. Eos, the Dawn, is the one who is named by Homer to have – like Helios – her residence and *choroi* on the isle of Aiaia (Od. 12.3–4). Wearing a saffron-colored peplos (Il. 8.1; 19.1–2; 23.227) Eos rises from Okeanos (Il. 19.1–2) where she, the goldenenthroned, harnesses two fast running horses, colts named Lampos and Phaethon (Od. 23.243–246).¹⁷ Euripides's mentions her white-horses (Or. 1004) and that 'lightbringing Eos drives away the stars' (Ion 1157–1158). In another passage (Tro. 849), Eos's rape of Tithonos is meant, but the goddess Hemera, the Day, replaces Eos and drives a golden four-horse-chariot (Tro. 855–856). Here, Euripides has mixed up Eos (the Dawn) with Hemera (the Day) but other authors do not. Hesiod (Theog. 750–751) says that Nyx and Hemera do not come into contact with one another as one descends, the other arrives, whereas Aeschylus (Pers. 386) as well as Sophocles (Aj. 672–673) identify Hemera as a driver or as having white horses.

Nyx, the personification of the night is the real female counterpart of Helios. In Homer, she, the black night, moves over the land (Il. 8.486). He calls her swift (Il. 14.261) but also long-lasting (Od. 23.243). Aeschylus (Heliades fr. 181 [103]) notes her black horses and her fast dark chariot (Cho. 660–661). Euripides describes Nyx once as winged (Or. 176) and also mentions that it is she who sets the chariot into motion. He describes the chariot as drawn by a pair without trace horses (Ion 1150–1151). Nyx's course is called *kyklos* by Sophocles (Aj. 672–673), whereas Euripides mentions that Nyx drives the chariot along 'the starry back of the sky' (Andr. fr. 114 [164]; Ar. Thesm. 1065–1068).

In contrast to Eos, Hemera, and Nyx, who embody parts of the day, Selene, the Moon, personifies – like Helios – a celestial body. But the picture often drawn by the authors is not as extensive or clear as that of the other astral deities. Homer (Od. 14.457) only notices that a night without a moon is bad or mad, but says nothing about movement. Pindar (Ol. 3.19) is the only early Greek source who notices that the Full Moon has a golden chariot.¹⁸ Euripides, however, places Selene's ride in direct contrast to Helios's drive (Suppl. 991–994)¹⁹ and notices that the bluish moon turns around (fr. 1009 [1406]).

Several goddesses are shown on Attic vase-paintings among the astral representations, and their interpretation has caused much confusion, especially the questions concerning possible pictures of Selene driving a chariot or Eos riding a horse.²⁰ For correctly interpreting the pictures, it is better 'das Pferd beim Schwanz aufzuzäumen', a German phrase that is similar to the English 'to put the cart before the horse'! The first step is not to ask who the female charioteers are, but to start with the pictures showing a woman riding a horse, knowing that Selene is the only female astral deity who does so.

The pictures showing the riding woman are in many ways similar (Figs 1. 3. 5; Color Pls 7A. 8A): the woman sits side-saddle on the back of an animal identified by most scholars as a horse.²¹ The animal moves slowly on the earliest depictions which date starting from about 460 BC onwards.²² The animal's head bent down to the ground is a motif which can often be found in architectural sculpture (e.g. Parthenon, North Metope 29).²³ This pose is not only used to illustrate and symbolize slow motion but also to direct the line of sight towards the ground, symbolizing that the goddess is leaving or that something ends here; furthermore, the contour of such a figure fits better into the ends of a pediment. Some later vases show only part of the animal, namely just the hindquarters and tail,²⁴ symbolizing that the moon is half gone. Some examples from the last third of the fifth century BC onwards change the posture, movement and speed of the riding animal to that of the trace horses (Figs 3–4. 5; Color Pl. 8A 7, 8A–B).

All pictures – from 460 to 400/380 BC – show Selene riding side-saddle on her animal without using any kind of saddle or cover. Her legs hang down on the left or right side of the animal depending on the direction of movement. No literary source mentions her side-saddle pose which must be an invention of the vase-painters. They chose the side-saddle as a concession to the female sex of the rider, the dress she wears, the slow motion, and the animal itself. In Classical Greece when people had to travel over a long distance, they – especially women – normally sat in a two- or four-wheeled cart.²⁵ Women riding animals, however, are found in scenes of myth. Their pose is determined by their sex. A comparison of people riding on the same animal, such as swan- or dolphin-riders,²⁶ shows that male riders ride astride, women – like the Nereides or Aphrodite – ride side-saddle.²⁷ The side-saddle position is also a concession to the dress worn by riding Amazons, maenads, or Europa on the bull. Female 'outsiders' like the Amazons and those maenads who wear the *chitoniskos* – the dress of female outsiders who move a lot – can ride astride. Ordinary women in long dress, like Europa, use the side-saddle position.²⁸

One well-known male figure who can be shown riding side-saddle is Hephaistos. Here the side-saddle position can depend partially on the long dress that the god sometimes wears, although he can also be shown riding astride not wearing this dress – both ways are shown on the François vase.²⁹ The side-saddle pose is also a concession to the slow speed with which it was necessary to bring the drunken god back to Olympus, as well as to the animal that he rides – a mule.³⁰

When creating the figure of Selene the artists used the side-saddle position because they wanted to show a proper female person characterized by her long dress – a goddess who had to cover slowly a long distance by riding³¹ while not using a racing chariot or cart.

The question about the identification of the animal being ridden still remains. Pausanias (5.11.8) writes in his description of the pedestal of the throne of Zeus in Olympia that Selene is “driving what I think is a horse. Some have said that the goddess takes a mule and not a horse, and they tell a silly story about the mule”.³² The story itself is unfortunately not recorded by Pausanias.³³ It is no wonder that Pausanias is somewhat confused about the nature of the animal shown, since already in ancient times it was well known that the colts resulting from crossbreeding horses and donkeys take after their mothers. That means that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between horses and mules who are the offspring of a mare and a jackass.³⁴ For this reason those mules having a mare as mother were taken for the *apene*, the ancient cart race.³⁵ Looking at the animal that Selene rides, it very often cannot be distinguished from the horses of the astral chariots on the same vase³⁶ (Figs 3–4; Color Pl. 8A–B), although occasionally it may be (Figs 1–2. 5; Color Pl. 7).

The similarity between mules and horses and the fact that a mule was used to bring Hephaistos back to Olympus – not only because it was a favourite animal in the world of Dionysos, but also because it was able to bring somebody safely across a long distance – suggest that Selene’s animal should be identified as a mule.

In contrast to Selene, the other three astral goddesses, Nyx, Eos, and Hemera, as well as Helios, have one detail in common when looking at the written sources: They drive a chariot because they need to move quickly. Eos’s is drawn by two white colts and Nyx’s by two black horses. A *tethrippon* is only mentioned in the passage of Euripides (Tro. 849ff.) where Hemera is confused with Eos. On those vases with inscriptions – a white-ground lekythos in New York and an amphora in Moscow³⁷ – Eos drives a *tethrippon* or a *synoris*. Nyx in turn can drive a *tethrippon*, but this does not mean that other manners of representation did not once exist. These examples demonstrate how the vase-paintings do not reflect the literary tradition in every detail.

Returning back to the problem of the identification of the astral

goddesses on the Attic vases, some things can be taken as given: Selene is the only one who rides an animal;³⁸ inscriptions on vases verify that Eos³⁹ and Nyx were represented as driving chariots; the full moon or the crescent of the moon near a woman or on the head of a woman indicates Selene or Nyx⁴⁰ (Fig. 5); we do not have pictures where a female charioteer is clearly named Hemera but this does not mean that none of the female charioteers are her. Only the figure of Selene is defined precisely (Figs 1. 3. 5; Color Pls 7A. 8A): a woman who rides a horse-like animal in a side-saddle position. Helios is the only man who drives a chariot (Figs 2. 4. 5; Color Pls 7B. 8B), and this makes him unique, but other details may vary, such as the number of his horses (two or four), his costume, the presence or lack of wings, and a sun-disk. A similar variation of detail is also obvious for the pictures of Nyx and Eos. Therefore, the interpretation of the female charioteers depends on several factors: the other personifications or gods present whose iconography is clear, such as Helios and Selene, symbols like stars or moon-disk or crescent, or the context of the scene.⁴¹ Sometimes different interpretations are possible, and it seems as if certain deities are used only as indicators of an astral context. This unconventional way of handling the figures by paying no heed to sharp methodical definitions matches not only the nature of the written sources, but it also fits well with the nature of ancient Greek vase-painting as a whole.

The written sources concerning the chariots and their ride through the sky clearly show that agonistic metaphors were used to describe these scenes. The same can be said about the vase-paintings, especially regarding the movement of the horses which is agonistically inspired.⁴² This can be shown by comparing the astral representations to pictures showing agonistic contests – particularly those on Panathenaic Prize Amphorai (PPA; Figs 6–8). While the necks and heads of the astral horses can be stretched or bent, positions also rendered on PPA, the slightly bent position of the hindquarters of the astral horses differs from that of most PPA chariot horses whose hindquarters are stretched out (Figs 7–8). A horse ridden by a boy near a pillar on a PPA in Leiden⁴³ is similar to some degree. This horse starts or has just made the first jump after turning round and is shown just before he stretches out. Another PPA that can be compared is one in Berlin⁴⁴ (Fig. 6) which shows the agon, *aph' hippou akontizen* (javelinthrowing from horseback). The riders sit on horses moving in a controlled gallop, and the riders seem to slow them down in order to have a controlled position from which to throw their javelins.



Fig. 6. Javelin-throwing from horseback. Reverse of a Panathenaic Prize Amphora (Philokles 392/1 BC), Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. V.I. 3980. Photo: © Copyright Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.



Fig. 7. Chariot-race. Reverse of a Panathenaic Prize Amphora by the Kleophrades Painter, Basel, Antikensammlung Inv. BS 494. Photo: © Copyright Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Claire Niggli).



Fig. 8. Chariot-race. Reverse of a Panathenaic Prize Amphora, Berlin, Antikensammlung V.I. 3979. Photo: © Copyright Antikensammlung. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

The bent hindquarters of the astral horses which do not touch the ground can be meant to indicate the flight of the animals above the water of Okeanos, but the bent hindquarters which are clearly drawn as touching the ground, do not indicate flying. When not symbolizing the start of the ride over the ocean,⁴⁵ this position may be used to indicate that the astral chariots do not follow a flat course but have to mount the sky.⁴⁶

Also, when comparing the horses on the astral representations to the chariot horses on contemporary PPA, it is clear that the former move in a controlled gallop and not the full gallop typical of the agonistic *tethrippon* horses on the PPA⁴⁷ (Figs 7–8) whose bodies are shown in full tension from the hindquarters to the nostrils and move at full speed.⁴⁸ For the astral representations, however, the vase-painters wanted to underscore the long-lasting aspect of their journey.⁴⁹ Because of that, they did not use the full-gallop positions which were chosen for the PPA, but poses that indicated a long-distance race – the bodies of the horses are not tense and the heads and hindquarters are bent. A similar situation occurs when comparing

the pictures of the human sprint and long-distance race on PPA; the racers in the former⁵⁰ move their extremities fast and wide (Fig. 9), but the latter⁵¹ were depicted with their arms bent at the elbow and near their body (Fig. 10).

In this paper I have tried to show how various aspects of astral representations were agonistically inspired and that the Attic vase-painters as well as the ancient authors took several motives out of the agonistic sporting repertoire to characterise the different celestial bodies or phenomena.⁵² Helios, as well as Eos, Hemera, and Nyx, are described and shown as charioteers driving racing chariots. Female charioteers are a good example of a situation which had no model in Athenian reality but could be shown in the world of myth.⁵³ By noting various agonistic motives and the interaction of reality and myth, we have seen how written and pictorial traditions inspire each other, although the pictorial tradition did not always follow the written tradition. Myth was the place where natural phenomena were explained and visualized by using agonistic metaphors, and it was also the place to show agonistic *paradoxa* like women in a sporting world.

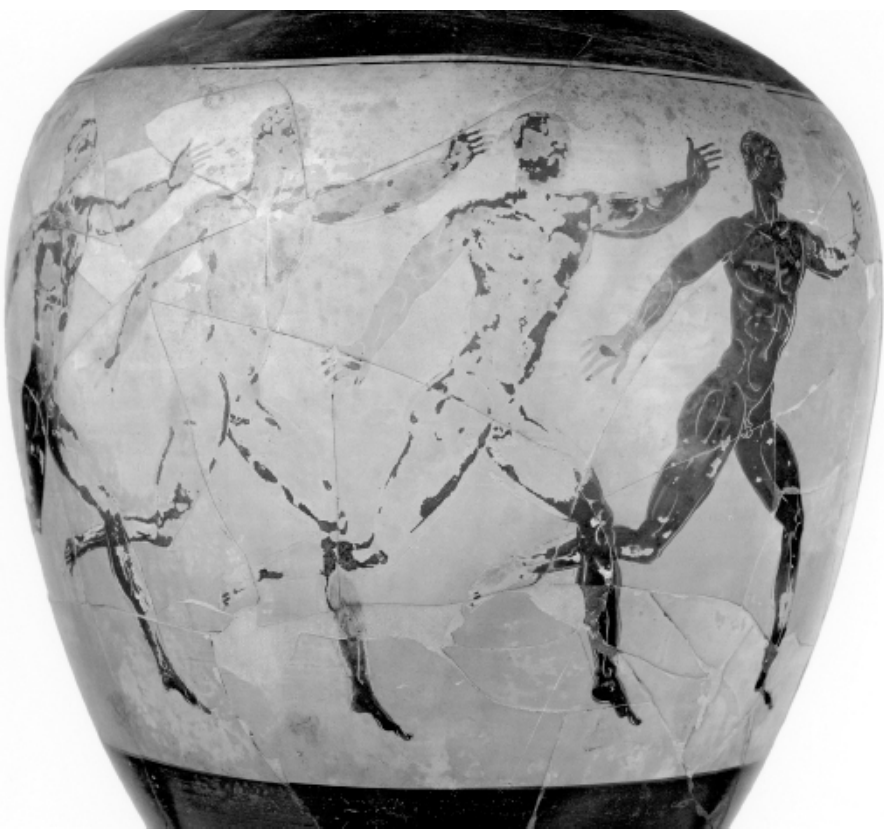


Fig. 9. Short-track-race. Reverse of a Panathenaic Prize Amphora of the Nikomachos series (Euthykritos 328/7 BC), London, British Museum Inv. B 611. Photo: © Copyright



Fig. 10. Long-distance-run. Reverse of a Panathenaic Prize Amphora of the Nikomachos-Series (Nikokrates 333/2 BC), London, British Museum Inv. B 609. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum.

Abbreviation

Ehrhardt, *JdI* 119, 2004, 1ff.

Notes

¹The following works contain all the written and pictorial sources mentioned in the text: K. Schauenburg, *Helios* (1955); idem, *AntK* 5, 1962, 51ff.; N. Yalouris, *AJA* 84, 1980, 313ff.; LIMC II (1984) 904ff. (905ff. [Nyx]; 909ff. [Selene]), s.v. Astra (S. Karusu); LIMC III (1986) 747ff., s.v. Eos (C. Weiss); LIMC V (1990) 1005ff., s.v. Helios (N. Yalouris); E.P. Manakidou, *Parastaseis me armata* (8os – 5os ai. p.Ch.) (1994) 194ff. 304; P. Schollmeyer, *Antike Gespanndenkmäler* (2001) 78ff.; P. Matern, *Helios und Sol. Kulte und Ikonographie des griechischen und römischen Sonnengottes* (2002); Ehrhardt. When I refer to certain vases, I will only cite Ehrhardt who in turn provides references to the articles in LIMC.

²Figs 1–2; Color Pl. 7: Attic red-figure calyx-krater, so-named 'Blacas-Krater' London, BM E 466: Ehrhardt 27f. n. 161 fig. 20. Figs 3–4; Color Pl. 8A–B: Attic red-figure bell-krater Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IV 1771: Ehrhardt 30f. n. 179 fig. 22. Fig. 5: Attic red-figure pyxis-lid London, BM 1920.12–21.1: Ehrhardt 15 n. 113 fig. 8.

³For the importance of agonistic metaphors in drama see e.g. D.H.J. Larmour,

- Stage and Stadium. Drama and Athletics in Ancient Greece, Nikephoros, Beiheft 4 (1999) 94f.
- 4Because of the circular shape of the sun and the moon, both terms were taken to describe the sun- as well as the moon-disk. In a metaphorical sense the phrases 'course of the daylight or year' (Sophocles Ant. 1065; Euripides Or. 1645) stand for the terms 'day or year'.
- 5Compare also the Hom. Hymn. Herm. 68–69. This picture was copied to describe the ways of the stars see e.g. LIMC II (1984) 925, s.v. Astra (S. Karusu) and Fig. 2; Color Pl. 6B.
- 6Compare the description in Sophocles's imaginary chariotrace of Orestes: the horses foam and the horse breath flows (El. 718–719).
- 7The pictures of Helios in the depas (see, e.g., LIMC V [1990] 1006. 1015 nos. 99–100; 1033, s.v. Helios [N. Yalouris]) will not be treated here. Aeschylus (Prometheus Lyomenos fr. 34 [323]) indicates also that Helios relaxes his immortal body and the exhausted horses in the warm flood of the soft water. This scene is reminiscent of relaxation after sport.
- 8Compare also Sophocles: Helios, the charioteer (Aj. 857) is driving the chariot high in the sky and stops the golden rein (Aj. 845–847). Furthermore, he (Ant. 1065) uses the sequence 'finishing/ending the competing circles/runs/courses of Helios' metaphorically for 'days', thereby clearly using terms of agonistic competitions.
- 9For the development of the pictorial transformation see Schollmeyer (supra n. 1) 78f.
- 10LIMC V (1990) 1033, s.v. Helios (N. Yalouris).
- 11Nevertheless, there is one situation where Euripides shows Helios as rider: in order to follow his son Phaethon who drives his father's chariot, Helios mounts the back of Sirios (Eur. Phaethon fr. 779 [1094] V. 8–10). The choice of Sirios as Helios's mount depends upon the knowledge of the ancients as mentioned by Plato (Epin. 987B) that Sirios takes the same course as Helios does. Phaethon's demise is not known on Attic vase-paintings, but only on later objects (LIMC VII [1994] 350ff. s.v. Phaethon I [F. Baratte]); Helios riding is shown, for example, on a Homeric cauldron (LIMC VII [1994] 353 nos. 24, s.v. Phaethon I [F. Baratte]).
- 12See, for example, Paris, Cab. Méd. 220: LIMC V (1990) 1016 no. 103, s.v. Helios (N. Yalouris) which resembles everyday race-chariots in the same position.
- 13As, for example, on two lekythoi in New York, Metr. Mus. 41.162.29 (Ehrhardt, 21 n. 138 fig. 14) and Metr. Mus. GR 540 (LIMC V [1990] 1008f. no. 7 pl. 631, s.v. Helios [N. Yalouris]).
- 14Lekythos Cambridge, Fitz. Mus. GR 78.1864: LIMC V (1990) 1015 no. 96 pl. 637, s.v. Helios (N. Yalouris); lekythos Oxford, Ashm. Mus. 1934.371: LIMC V (1990) 1015 no. 97 pl. 638, s.v. Helios (N. Yalouris); lekythos Athen, Agora Mus. P 5113: Ehrhardt, 21f. n. 140 fig. 15.
- 15Compare also London, BM 73.9–15.14: Ehrhardt, 15 n. 111 fig. 7.
- 16K. Schauenburg, AntK 5, 1962, 51ff., especially 51; Schollmeyer (supra n. 1) 80; Matern (supra n. 1) 47f. Compare also the locally made amphorai of Panathenaic shape which were given as prizes at the Halieia on Rhodos; see I. Ringwood Arnold, AJA 40, 1936, 432ff., especially 435f.; Matern (supra) 11 (Halieia). 49. 208 no. Q 5a–b (amphorai of Panathenaic shape); E. Zervoudaki, ADelt 38, 1983, Mel. 249ff. (amphorai of Panathenaic shape).
- 17The fast chariot and horses are also mentioned by Mimnermos (331 = fr. 12) and in the Hom. Hymn. Herm. 98.
- 18The only other written source naming this kind of motion is the Hom. Hymn. Sel. which does not date before the second century BC. It says that Selene takes a bath

- in the Okeanos (V. 7), harnesses colts, and drives the horses with splendid manes fast (V. 9–10).
- 19LIMC II (1984) 910, s.v. Astra (S. Karusu).
- 20See, for example, F. Brommer, AA 1963, 680ff., especially 687 n. 12; LIMC II (1984) 907 no. 10; 909. 914f. nos. 58–66; 916f., s.v. Astra (S. Karusu); LIMC III (1986) 756f., s.v. Eos (C. Weiss) who is against the interpretation as a riding Eos; K. Schauenburg, ÖJh 63, 1994, Beibl. 53ff., especially 76; Ehrhardt, 17 n. 123 or 23 n. 149 naming a female charioteer Selene.
- 21Named mule or horse, for example, by K. Schauenburg, AntK 5, 1962, 51ff., especially 57 and S. Karusu in LIMC II (1984) 916, s.v. Astra (S. Karusu).
- 22See, for example, the oinochoe Florence, Mus. Arch. 3996: LIMC II (1984) 910 no. 18 pl. 673, s.v. Astra (S. Karusu).
- 23See Ehrhardt, 1ff., especially 8 fig. 3.
- 24See, for example, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2524 (Ehrhardt, 18f. n. 126 fig. 12) or Athens, NM 17983 (Ehrhardt, 17ff. n. 124 fig. 11).
- 25For carts see B. Kratzmüller, Nikephoros 6, 1993, 75ff., especially 81ff. For the use of animals (mules, donkeys) or carriages for travelling see e.g. N. Crowther, The International Journal of the History of Sport 18.4, 2001, 37ff. who notes that “horses were not generally practical for travel in Greece because of the rocky terrain and the lack of proper saddles, stirrups and horseshoes” (Crowther [supra] 39).
- 26Swan-riders: M. Steinhart, AA 1993, 201ff. and H. Hoffmann, Hephaistos 18, 2000, 155ff. (Apollon); U. Knigge, AM 97, 1982, 153ff. (Aphrodite). Dolphin-riders: B. Sismondo Ridgway, Archaeology 23, 1970, 86ff.
- 27“In Greece and Crete, the side-saddle position was also a common way for women to ride”: M. Voyatzis, BSA 87, 1992, 259ff., especially 274. Moreover, Voyatzis (275) names donkeys as animals ridden by women in daily life. Compare also C. Scheffer, in: E. Rystadt – C. Scheffer – C. Wikander (eds), Opus Mixtum. Essays in Ancient Art and Society, Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae 21, 1994, 111ff.
- 28Astride riders: Attic black-figure lekythos in Malibu, Getty Mus. 86.AE.134: LIMC VIII (1997) 789 no. 83 pl. 541, s.v. Mainades (I. Krauskopf and E. Simon); Attic redfigure dinos in London, BM 99.7.21.5: LIMC I (1981) 602 no. 233 pl. 470, s.v. Amazones (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras). Riding side-saddle: Attic blackfigure neck-amphora Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Mus. L 193: LIMC IV (1988) 78 no. 27 pl. 34, s.v. Europe I (M. Robertson).
- 29See Brommer (supra n. 20) pl. 1.
- 30F. Brommer, Hephaistos. Der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst (1978) 11 calls Hephaistos’s riding animal a mule, but compare also the discussion in LIMC IV (1988) 652ff., s.v. Hephaistos (A. Hermay and A. Jacquemin).
- 31I. Papageorgiou, AM 120, 2005, 1ff., especially 22 sees riding deities as symbols for „Gottheiten, die ‘reisen’, d.h. in einem immerwährenden Kreislauf des Werdens und Vergehens erscheinen und wieder verschwinden“ and compares travelling deities to the seasons which return in regular intervals.
- 32For tourist guides in Olympia and elsewhere see Crowther (supra n. 25) 49.
- 33See J. Dalfen, in: R. Faber and B. Seidensticker (eds), Worte, Bilder, Töne. Studien zur Antike und Antikerezeption. Bernhard Kytzler zu ehren (1996) 159ff., who notes that Pausanias knows certain stories but does not want to write them down and that he does not accept them in some cases (Dalfen [supra] 162ff.).
- 34“The Mule is a cross between a donkey stallion (called a jack) and a horse mare. Hinnies are just the opposite – a stallion horse crossed to a donkey jennet (...) hinnies and mules are classified and shown together under the general term Mule”: (http://www.lovelongears.com/about_mules.html).
- 35See Kratzmüller (supra n. 25) 75ff., especially 86ff.

- 36Compare, for example, London, BM 73.9–15.14 (Ehrhardt, 15 n. 111 fig. 7) or Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2519 (Ehrhardt, 15f. n. 115 fig. 9).
- 37New York, Metr. Mus. 41.162.29: Ehrhardt, 21 n. 138 fig. 14; Moscow, Pushkin Mus. 73: LIMC III (1986) 750 no. 2 pl. 562, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss).
- 38Manakidou (supra n. 1) 304.
- 39Because of the inscribed amphora, Moscow, Pushkin Mus. 73 (supra n. 37), other vase-paintings following the same scheme, like a bell-krater in Bologna, Mus. Civ. 324 (LIMC III [1986] 750 no. 5 pl. 563, s.v. Eos [C. Weiss]) or a column-krater in Tarquinia, Mus. Naz. (LIMC III [1986] 750 no. 6 pl. 563, s.v. Eos [C. Weiss]) can be interpreted as showing Eos, too.
- 40Compare also Athens, NM 17983 (Ehrhardt, 17ff. n. 124 fig. 11) where Helios and Selene and her mule are shown, too. The same can be said about the inner pictures of two kylikes in Berlin: Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2293 (Ehrhardt, 23f. n. 146 fig. 17) shows Helios's direct counterpart Nyx using the iconography of a chariot in frontal view and on Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2524 (Ehrhardt, 18f. n. 126 fig. 12) the running woman behind Selene's mule can be interpreted as Nyx also. See also Brommer (supra n. 20) 690 n. 17; LIMC II (1984) 906 no. 4 pl. 671, s.v. Astra (S. Karusu). LIMC III (1986) 753 no. 28; 756, s.v. Eos (C. Weiss) connects the moon-crescent also with Eos.
- 41The fragmentary hydria in Naples, Mus. Naz. RC 157 (Ehrhardt, 17 n. 123 fig. 10) shows Helios fleeing the final stars that dive into Okeanos. In front of them Eos flees Nyx. Very often Helios in his chariot and the riding Selene are used as framing figures, as is the case with the architectural sculpture on the Parthenon, Northern metopes nos. 1 and 29, or on the base of the statue of Zeus in Olympia (Pausanias 5.11.8). Both figures – the driving god and the riding(!) goddess – were used as a topos (see Ehrhardt, 14; LIMC V [1990] 1033, s.v. Helios [N. Yalouris]) and because of this the female charioteer in the Parthenon East Pediment cannot be identified as Selene as Matern (supra n. 1) 48 and Ehrhardt, 8 do. In LIMC II (1984) 908f. no. 17; 915 no. 65; 916, s.v. Astra [S. Karusu] Karusu names the charioteer Selene or Nyx.
- 42Schollmeyer (supra n. 1) 80 sees the general influence of agonistic representations on Greek divine chariots.
- 43PPA in Leiden Inv. PC 7: M. Bentz, Panathenäische Preisamphoren. Eine athenische Vasengattung und ihre Funktion vom 6.–4. Jahrhundert v.Chr., AntK Beiheft 18 (1998) 144 no. 5.069.
- 44PPA (Philokles 392/1 BC) in Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. 3980: Bentz (supra n. 43) 167 no. 4.001.
- 45Schollmeyer (supra n. 1) 82 n. 432 also names the brake after reaching the goal.
- 46This fact also causes a different posture as a comparison with pictures of the apotheosis of Herakles shows; see Schollmeyer (supra n. 1) 93f.
- 47A list of PPA with pictures of the *tethrippon agon* is given by Bentz (supra n. 43) 217f.; compare also 76f. (chariot race).
- 48K. Fagerström, in: Rystadt et al. (supra n. 27) 35ff. gives five schemata of horse stances or postures which were represented on Attic vase-paintings; the astral horses resemble Fagerströms position P4 (“a horse with bent heels, hindquarters well drawn in under the belly, and forelegs in the air”), but often the hindquarters also do not touch the ground. The *tethrippon*-horses reflect her position P5 (“a horse with both hind- and fore-quarters well stretched out, no hoofs under the belly”).
- 49Compare Homer (Od. 23, 243) who describes Nyx as *doliche*. Fagerström (supra n. 48) 39 surmises that position P5 was seldom used for drawing horses in an arrested movement but mostly in continuous movement, whereas position P4 is only rarely used to indicate continuous movement.

- 50A list of PPA with pictures of sprint races is given by Bentz (supra n. 43) 211f.; compare also 63ff. (sprint races).
- 51A list of PPA with pictures of long-distance-runners is given by Bentz (supra n. 43) 212f.; compare also 65f. (long-distance race).
- 52Similarly Schollmeyer (supra n. 42) 82 notes that the description of Helios's drive was "ohne den agonalen Zusammenhang nur eingeschränkt faßbar" and that the races deliver "den realen Hintergrund, vor dem die Bilder als Ausdruck äußerster Dynamik und Kraft gelesen werden konnten". The metaphoric use of agonistic terms within the written and pictorial astral representations of Greek Archaic and Classical times, however, had a great influence on later times. See, for example, Philo of Alexandria (E.B. Lyle, *The Circus as Cosmos*, *Latomus* 43, 1984, 827ff., especially 830ff.). This was especially true in Roman times (see A. Frazer, *The Cologne Circus Bowl. Basileus Helios and the Cosmic Hippodrome*, in: L. Freeman Sandler [ed.], *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* [1964] 105ff.; Lyle (supra); Matern [supra n. 1] 24ff.), but also as late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries AD, as can be shown by the so-named 'Planetenkinderbilder' (K. Grasshoff, *Leibesübungen in Planetenkinderbildern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Die Kinder des Planetengottes Sol*, *Stadion* 2, 1976, 218ff.).
- 53Manakidou (supra n. 1) 196ff. 304; W.J. Raschke, *Nikephoros* 7, 1994, 157ff. 167 for a discussion of the astral goddesses.

12 An Aristocrat in the Athenian Kerameikos: The Kleophrades Painter = Megakles

Bettina Kreuzer

At *Athenian Potters and Painters* Dyfri Williams concluded his presentation of a huge skyphos by the Kleophrades Painter with a big bang,¹ by suggesting that the inscription on it should be read as that of a painter named Megakles. In Athens, this name was exclusively used by an elite family, the Alkmaionidai,² and Megakles the son of Hippokrates played an important role during the first quarter of the fifth century before he was later ostracized. He was most probably the Megakles praised on vases of the Pioneer Group (Euthymides, the teacher of the Kleophrades Painter, and Smikros) as one of the *kaloi* of Athenian society and the Megakles depicted as a jumper in a palaestra scene on a white-ground lekythos by the Kephisophon Painter in Toronto.³ It appears that he was only a bit older than the Kleophrades Painter who began his career briefly before 500 BC. In this paper, I will support the idea that the Kleophrades Painter was named Megakles, a member of an elite family, by analyzing the imagery on the artist's works.⁴

Let us first consider the debate about the status of potters and vase-painters in Athenian society,⁵ and start by noting the painters' love for writing in general.⁶ Some of them indulge in "the joyful play of communication,"⁷ but the appearance of potters and painters in undoubtedly aristocratic contexts, such as the symposion or music lessons, is most unexpected.⁸ Are these in fact depictions of contemporary reality?⁹ The painters use their literacy¹⁰ to convey a good deal of self-confidence – the consequence of economic success and subsequent wealth¹¹ – and selfirony as well as competition.

Another important point to me is their intricate knowledge of patterns of behavior, as well as the setting and the lavish interiors of the symposia. Where did a painter get those exact perceptions if not in

the actual houses?¹² If we consider that many an Athenian family owed its wealth to commerce,¹³ and that societies like the Athenian one are to a certain degree open, we should not be so surprised by the sudden intrusion of young, handsome, and wealthy artists in the world of the elite. Maybe this newly acquired openness was more appropriate in a time characterized by a certain pressure on the old elites and their forms of display. It is worth remembering that the customers of our painter's work accepted the "subversive ideas" of their favorites. Perhaps this is because it described a reality with which they themselves lived. The images may have been a means to remind the customers of their vital role in sustaining social order by sharing their traditions; in symposia as well as in politics, they still make the rules and grant access. These images play not only with participation but also with reality; they are the painters' comment on society, maybe even a praise of the elite's adaptability.¹⁴ The introduction of vase-painters into the world of the elite is just a means to convey this, and certainly a welcome one on their behalf; whether it is realistic or not, does not seem to be the point. Accordingly, in my view, painters had access to the world of the elite. Since, however, there seems to be no way to prove this beyond a doubt, I intend to focus on the Kleophrades Painter's imagery and try to reveal its sources.

The Imagery of the Kleophrades Painter

1. Rendering of Emotions¹⁵

The element that characterizes the work of the Kleophrades Painter more than any other, and this is his ability to convey emotion. The most famous example is the so-called Vivenzio hydria in Naples with its intriguing depictions of key-episodes in the Trojan War (Fig. 1).¹⁶ In three impressive pictures a family and by implication a city is being destroyed; the divine sphere is violated by the actions of Neoptolemos and Ajax, and the normal pattern of behavior is reversed when women need to fight. These incredibly sad moments are framed by two events that point to a partially happy future: Aeneas escapes¹⁷ and Aithra is being rescued by her grandsons; both events stress the strength of the family which is also the focus of the cruelties in the center of the scene. The elements that the painter chose in order to display emotion are mostly familiar: gestures of despair, such as those of Priam or the companions of Cassandra, blood rendered throughout much of the image, the use of a weapon not designed for killing (the mortar), eyes with pupils set in different spots that underline the figures' fate, and most impressively the weeping palm tree.



Fig. 1. Kalpis, Naples 2422. Photo: Museum.

The Kleophrades Painter is not the only painter to mix emotional extremes, endless cruelties and hope. Oltos even frames two episodes from the Sack of Troy by palm trees,¹⁸ but the plants are immobile. It is in a surprisingly restrained way that the painter prefers to depict terror. Onesimos includes episodes of rescue in his full depiction of the Sack of Troy;¹⁹ here, however, they are integrated into the narrative of destruction, thus not immediately noticeable. These comparisons reveal obvious differences that are only partly explained by the «Zeitgeist». It is the great accomplishment of the Kleophrades Painter to tell a well-known story in a hitherto unequalled expressive way by placing high emotions in a new frame. Is this characterization only a consequence of the Athenian experience with war, or is there a personal involvement as well?

On the Kleophrades Painter's kalpis in the J. Paul Getty Museum three Harpies have approached a table laden with food in front of Phineus (Fig. 2).²⁰ The blind king helplessly raises his hands towards the intruders, maybe to address them, since his mouth is slightly open. His huge, clothed body has no chance to react; instead he stays immobile on his diphros. His opponents with handsome girl-like appearance cast him wary looks – note the location of their pupils! –

and they are clearly on their guard, anticipating that they will soon be attacked by the defenders of Phineus. The only contemporary parallel is a white-ground lekythos by the Sappho Painter.²¹ Again, the Harpies are winged, but according to tradition, move on foot. The form of their hands reminds us of claws, thereby stressing the terrifying nature of these beings. The Kleophrades Painter, however, follows Hesiod and characterizes the Harpies as beautiful young, winged women.²² This detail suggests that he had a good knowledge of Greek literature. The painter minimizes the threat and instead resorts to a scene whose dangers become obvious only at a second glance.²³



Fig. 2. Kalpis, Malibu 85.AE.316. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3. Skyphos, Florence 4218. Photo: Museum.

Emotions often characterize fights and encounters.²⁴ They are very noticeable on the fragmentary skyphos in Florence (Fig. 3).²⁵ Since the vase has already been discussed by Williams, let me only point out some important elements of characterization. The composition is marvelous and evokes three-dimensional space. There is a deliberate contrast between the beautiful Iris and the unkempt, but unarmed centaurs whose animal skins mark them as creatures of the wilderness. Gestures, open mouths, eyes and raised arms stress their excitement. The most impressive person involved is the central centaur who stares at Iris because of his interest in her, an expression that seems to be one of longing rather than threatening.²⁶ The encounter between Iris and the centaurs reminds us of problems that she had with the satyrs of Dionysus on cups in Boston and London.²⁷ On these vessels rapid movements and threatening gestures visualize the dramatic situation. Once again the satyrs are unkempt, and the gods beautifully dressed. These eyes, however, do not convey emotion. Furthermore, the scenes on both sides of the skyphos in Florence are connected not only by the two centaurs crossing underneath the handle, but also by a related event, again centaurs framing a figure. The painter has, thus, created a unit.



Figs 4–5. Calyx-Crater, Basel BS 482. Photos: Museum.

Movement and eyes are in fact the painter's favorite means to underline the emotional state of his figures.²⁸ On his psykter in Princeton²⁹ a young symposiast has stretched his head forward and follows intently the forms of entertainment his fellow symposiasts chose.³⁰ The artist, by the way, develops over time the expression of emotion in his pictures. The differences are clearly visible if you compare the lively depiction on the psykter with an earlier frieze on a dinos in Malibu.³¹ Both scenes show the participants lying on mattresses on the ground. The interior, however, seems rather simple compared to the lavish decoration of klinai and cushions on, for example, the calyx-crater by Euphronios in Munich.³² Both scenes by the Kleophrades Painter, however, in comparison to those by Euphronios, display a new simplicity and that on the psykter shows the now-fashionable play with drinking cups.³³ This change may be the result of the Kleophrades Painter's recognition that the participants of symposia have changed. Additionally, by avoiding any sign of indecent behavior, his pictures differ profoundly from those of his contemporaries, such as Onesimos and the Brygos Painter.³⁴ His obvious interest in the propriety of his protagonists is conspicuous and may reveal the personality behind the scene.

For the Kleophrades Painter, however, the pupils are not his only means by which to convey emotion; the shape of his eyes and their expression are also used to characterize a personality. While gods, heroes and mortals share almond-shaped eyes, the rounded form, as we have already seen, is a feature of his satyrs and centaurs – see also, for example, the calyx-crater in the Louvre with the depiction of the Return of Hephaistos,³⁵ or Hermes playing the barbiton and a satyr treading grapes on a bell-crater in Basel (Figs 4–5).³⁶ It is only Herakles who, without exception in the oeuvre of the Kleophrades Painter and from early times on (Fig. 6),³⁷ has eyes with the same shape, and when we have only a figure with similar eyes, but without other attributes, it is sometimes difficult to decide if the figure is

Herakles or a satyr.³⁸

On the famous early cup in the Cabinet des Médailles we find once more Herakles rendered in the familiar way.³⁹ He has to fight the Amazons and faces two of them with a fiercely determined round eye. On the left a fair-haired Amazon has just met her death as her eye clearly indicates; her demise is due to Herakles's companion, Telamon, whose eye corresponds to that of his opponent. Other Amazons are marked as wild and dangerous by the animal skins and caps they wear, and one's shield blazon is a centaur who is ready to strike with his branch. These Amazons all have almond-shaped eyes. This connects them with Theseus, the hero depicted on the cup's counterpart, which is also in the Cabinet des Médailles.⁴⁰ This handsome young man, nude and with hair tied up in back, fights his enemies, in one instance supported by Athena.

That this contrast between the two heroes is deliberate is made evident by their confrontation on both sides of a stamnos in Philadelphia.⁴¹ Both have difficult tasks to fulfill – Herakles has to overcome the lion, Theseus the bull – which makes them equals. The eyes, however, speak a different language. Theseus is equal in every respect to an athletic, handsome young Athenian who does his duty for his city, in this case slaying brigands who threaten the surroundings of Athens, a region only recently added to the city's sphere of influence. Herakles, however, belongs to a group of rather wild and dissipated creatures, and has to overcome the lion for personal reasons. On the other hand, his deeds eventually serve his contemporaries as well as those of Theseus which, again, puts them side by side as they are put together in their joint fight against the Amazons on a volute-crater in Malibu. They are the two sides of a coin, their characters and abilities expressing the duties of and acting as a role model for the Athenian citizen – liveliness and excess, young and middle-aged, handsome and shaggy. Together, they both present Athens as it was perceived at the beginning of the fifth century, in a combination of Athenian – this is Theseus's role – and Pan-Hellenic – Herakles's role – a city where duty and entertainment are well-balanced.⁴²

The round eye, however, was not the Kleophrades Painter's invention. Forerunners were the H.P. Painter⁴³ and, most influential of all, Euphronios. The latter uses the round eye for satyrs⁴⁴ as well as for Herakles, as, for example, on a calyx-krater in New York.⁴⁵ In addition, on this crater he distinguishes the eyes of the two parties, providing those of Herakles, Athena and Kyknos with eye lashes, while Ares and Aphrodite do without. Furthermore, the painter characterizes Ares as a non-Greek by adding a moustache. Exhibiting the same vigor as in scenes of the Kleophrades Painter, Athena and

Ares face each other and are definitely the main contenders. Herakles awaits the divine clash with obvious excitement. He has already done his job and overcome Kyknos, whose sacrilege was the reason for this encounter, but by defending his son, Ares offends divine law as well. Contrary to this characterization, Herakles and Antaios struggling on Euphronios's calyx-crater in Paris share the same eye shape with lavish lashes, while Herakles, who fights Geryon on the same artist's cup in Munich, has almond-shaped eyes.⁴⁶ Thus, Euphronios proves himself in some ways to be a predecessor of the Kleophrades Painter – in particular his interest in powerful clashes that he arranges artistically and his love for episodes from everyday life.⁴⁷ The physiognomic details that Euphronios and many other artists used to characterize their figures, however, depended upon their tasks, the particular situation and the participants, so that the same figure appeared differently in different contexts. On the contrary, the Kleophrades Painter created a permanent personality by grasping and analyzing all aspects of the figure available, be it written or visual. Maybe this is the reason that Euphronios's figures lack some of the intensity that is found in the works of the Kleophrades Painter.

2. *The Play with Identities*

The Kleophrades Painter is also interested in the play with identities. On his amphora of Panathenaic shape in Leiden he has created an interesting interplay between the figures on the two sides, which the viewer only realizes if he turns the vase around (Figs 8–9).⁴⁸ On one side, a man with short hair wearing a wreath and a long himation that covers most of his body leans on his stick and looks to his left, presumably at the satyr on the opposite side of the vessel. The man's young age is made clear by his sparse facial hair. The hare he keeps on his right arm indicates that he is the *Eromenos* who has just received the animal as a gift. It is a typical scene that is not only a favorite of the Kleophrades Painter – he chooses a related topic for example on his kalpis in the Villa Giulia – but also of his fellow vase-painters.⁴⁹ These scenes, however, refer to Athenian everyday life, since all the persons involved are human. It is the context that is different on the Kleophrades Painter's vase in Leiden, for the reverse has a satyr whose body is turned right as he looks back at the young man. He is nude, as satyrs by nature are, but infibulated like the athlete in the palaestra, and his hair and beard are well-groomed. Both features also characterize some of the satyrs on the psykter by Douris,⁵⁰ but whereas they are part of an altogether rather dissipated feast, the Leiden satyr has a barbiton – the instrument for love poetry and thus certainly used to express his own feelings. Compare him to the satyrs on the Berlin Painter's amphora, again of Panathenaic

shape, in Munich who are even crowned and as well kept as ours.⁵¹ The Leiden satyr, however, talks to his young friend as indicated by his open mouth. The satyr, therefore, must be the *Erastes*. But this is a task for Athenian adult men not for satyrs. It bears great responsibility since its function is to introduce the *Erastes*'s young companions into all aspects of daily life in the city, something satyrs are naturally not concerned with. As members of the entourage of Dionysus they serve rather to indicate a certain distance from everyday life. They are, therefore, the counterpart to the Athenian citizen, or, as Ducroux and Lissarrague once put it, "Entre le citoyen d'Athènes et le satyre le hiatus est le même que du Docteur Jekyll à Mister Hyde".⁵²



Fig. 6. Cup, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 535. 699. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 7. Cup Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 535. 536. 647. Photo: Museum.



Figs 8–9. Amphora of Panathenaic Shape, Leiden PC 80. Photos: Museum.

Clearly the Kleophrades Painter intended to catch the attention of his clientele by exchanging the Athenian citizen for a satyr. To reverse a well-known situation is a perfect means to attract everybody's attention and to raise questions about an institution that maybe, in the light of a now new political system, has to accept new challenges. It was, as John Boardman notes, “.. hardly at all non-upperclass”.⁵³

This image proves the Kleophrades Painter's vital interest in the

world of Dionysus. This is also well illustrated by his famous pointed amphora in Munich and by two kalpides in Rouen⁵⁴ and Malibu.⁵⁵ The satyrs on them approach maenads, while the satyrs on a neckamphora in St. Petersburg⁵⁶ are involved in the transport of wine. Again, two worlds are contrasted. The two satyrs immersed in the preparation of wine for a Dionysiac feast who, facing each other, are blind to a world outside their own, are confronted with two young athletes who (obviously avoiding eye contact) also prepare for action. The Kleophrades Painter presents both sides of the coin, the “Lebenswelt” as exemplified by the athletes, as well as the “holiday” from this world personified by satyrs. He does this by playing convincingly with the ambiance of the scene and the emotions of the figures, thus emphasizing the seriousness of physical training for the well-being of the polis, as well as a necessity for relaxation. While their actions take place on a common ground, the satyrs in Leiden cross the border of reality; this is one way to attract the viewer’s attention, howbeit a rather conventional and conspicuous one.

3. Interest in Literature

On an amphora with twisted handles in London (Figs 10–11) the first line of a hexameter has just left the open mouth of a bearded man whose neatly folded himation and stick depict him as an Athenian citizen.⁵⁷ His relaxed pose and civic appearance contrasts with the image of the young musician on the obverse of the vase, an aulete clad in a long swinging chiton and *ependytes* of oriental origin, the garment of a professional musician.⁵⁸ The bema underneath their feet demonstrates the public space of their performances. The immobility of the older member of the Athenian citizenry contrasts with the swinging chiton of the young professional musician on the opposite side of the vase.

The symposiast on the very early calyx-crater in Copenhagen is especially found of Theognis’s lyric.⁵⁹ He and his fellow symposiasts display some of the same iconographic features as the males on the London amphora: the combination of genuine Greek and oriental elements in clothing and equipment, as well as the mixture of private and professional participants, here of symposion and komos. Men clad in himatia and exotic clothing play music, sing, and dance, their luxurious garments proving the wearer’s wealth as indicated by a poem of Anakreon.⁶⁰ That the singer himself takes part in the komos is made evident by the inscription on his barbiton. This is a unique depiction of a living poet, the famous kaloi or athletes.⁶¹ Again, the Kleophrades Painter shows an unusual interest in contemporary affairs.

Hesiod, meanwhile, is the main source for his depiction of the

companions of Thetis on a cup in London, as evidenced by their names which are taken from the poet's *Theogony*.⁶² The Kleophrades Painter was one of a few painters with a marked interest in inscriptions and literary quotations. Like his predecessors he knew where to find his inspiration for figures which included texts, for his unusual references to Hesiod point to a deeper knowledge of the poets than what simply listening to recitations may have provided.

Conclusion

With few exceptions – Phineus or the symposium of Anakreon – the Kleophrades Painter chooses the same topics to depict as the Pioneers and his contemporary colleagues. Contrary to most of their works, however, he is very fond of displaying emotion which he creates by vivid gestures or movements and also by having his figures interact with one another. His most effective means of accomplishing this is his depiction of the eye which allows him to underscore the emotions of certain situations, as well as to stress certain characteristics.⁶³ Particularly striking is the difference between his works and those of his main competitor, the Berlin Painter. Whereas the Kleophrades Painter prefers to unify mythic and contemporary worlds with a lot of emotion, the Berlin Painter sticks to his rather uninvolved and, thus, often statue-like figures. He usually favors a composition of separation whereas the Kleophrades Painter loves integration. These general differences naturally have an effect on the depiction of figures.





Figs 10–11. Amphora, London, BM E 270. Photos: Museum.

The Pioneers in general were keenly interested in rendering the human body and exploiting the possibilities of the new red-figure technique. They produced figures displaying stunning movement and torsion, particularly Euphronios,⁶⁴ but they also rendered groups of figures in rapid motion, as in the work of Euthymides who is well-known as the teacher of the Kleophrades Painter.⁶⁵ Only rarely, however, is there any sign of an emotional connection between their protagonists.

Thus, as we have seen, the Kleophrades Painter concentrates on the description of a situation,⁶⁶ on the communication between his figures, their abilities and roles. This enables him to refer to contemporary events – the Vivenzio hydria, e.g. mirroring the Ionian revolt? – and to social behavior. Figures displaying sympathy were a

main characteristic of his work, dominating his imagery. The personality behind the creations must have been characterized by empathy after all. The deep interest in forms of behavior and their motives, as well as empathy, must be rooted in a person whose character was defined also by a strong will and fervor and by knowledge of and participation in contemporary events; a person much more involved than any other painter of his time, let alone his predecessors. He probably felt much closer to painters as Onesimos and the Brygos Painter, artists of his own generation who were, however, more provocative in their depiction of daily life, and maybe also to Euphronios, his predecessor.

This alone, however, may not be enough to identify the painter as a member of an elite family. Yet, more important is his ability to stimulate viewers, which in turn raised a desire or maybe even a necessity for them to discuss the contents of the depiction, whether it concerned the behavior of gods or heroes, or daily life in Athens. This, again, for the Kleophrades Painter seems more important than for his fellow painters; he reveals himself to be most concerned with forms of social existence and communication which usually are the business of politicians rather than that of vase-painters. In a city whose structures and ambitions had changed considerably during the previous two decades, a young and involved vase-painter with the corresponding background may well have felt drawn into the problems and rearrangements that started to shape the city's new face, and who decided to have his say by creating images that provided exemplars for his contemporaries. This way he was not just a bystander but was involved in and contributed to discourse in the city. Thus, in my opinion, the Kleophrades Painter is not a shadowy figure but rather a distinct personality – a man named Megakles.

Acknowledgements

This paper summarizes the results of an extensive study about the iconography of the Kleophrades Painter and his colleagues (predecessors as well as contemporaries), which was part of my habilitation thesis «Im Dienst der Polis» submitted in 2003. The financial support of the Gerda Henkel Stiftung made this study possible. For discussion and help I would like to thank A. Möller and M. Steinhart, as well as M. Beckmann for improving my English.

Abbreviations

APF. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (1993).

- Beazley 1974, The Kleophrades Painter (1974).
 Boardman 2001 History of Greek Vases (2001).
 Buxton 2005, Music and Image in Classical Athens (2005).
 Capaso and Miller 1991, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, 367–382.
 Ephron 1991 Maler, Catalogue of the exhibition (1991).
 Immerwahr 1965, *AJA* 69, 1965, 152–154.
 Immerwahr 1990, *Attic Script. A Survey* (1990).
 Lissarrague 1999 Vases grecs. Les Athéniens et leurs images (1999).
 Lissarrague 2000 in: G.R. Tsetskhladze – A.J.N.W. Prag – A.M. Snodgrass (eds), *Periplus. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman* (2000) 190–197.
 Mack 1995: I.W.G. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition* (1995) 25–37.
 Neer 2002, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-painting* (2002).
 Neils 1994 (1994) 922–951 pls 622–667, s. v. Theseus (J. Neils).
 Schäfer 1997 Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion (1997).
 Scheibler 1983 Griechische Töpferkunst (1983).
 Shapiro 1994, *Myth into Art. Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (1994).
 Shapiro 1995, *Revista do Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia, São Paulo*, 5, 1995, 211–222.
 Simon 1976 Die griechischen Vasen (1976).
 Taming 2001 *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 79.1, 2001, 5–30.
 Williams 1997 in: *APP* 195–201.

Notes

- 1Williams 1997, 196–201. For the painter see Beazley 1974; B.A. Sparkes, *The Red and the Black* (1996) 95; Immerwahr 1990, 82.
- 2Name and family: S. Brenne, *Ostrakismos und Prominenz in Athen. Attische Bürger des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. auf den Ostraka* (2001) 221–228. 377–379. *Consciously chosen?: Fragment by the Kleophrades Painter used for the ostracism of Megakles Hippokratous: ibid.* 226; U.Knigge, *AM* 85, 1970, pl. 5,2.
- 3H.R. Immerwahr, in: *Studies in Attic Epigraphy History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Hesperia Suppl. 19* (1982) 60,1–5 (no. 4 the fragment in Leipzig); Boardman 2001, 148–149. *Lekythos Toronto* 963.59: ARV² 1699; Immerwahr 1982, pl. 6 a–c; *CVA Toronto* 1 pl. 27,15–18.
- 4Boardman 2001, 152 on painters as shadowy figures. Status: I. Scheibler, in: *Céramique et peintures grecques. Modes d'emploi, Actes du colloque international École du Louvre* 1995 (1999) 211–215; Shapiro 1995, 211–212; Neer 2002, 87–134.
- 5Scheibler 1983, 120–133; Shapiro 1995, 211–222.
- 6Immerwahr 1990, 74. Often in the context of the symposium or the komos; cf. the amphora by Euthymides in Munich 2037: ARV² 26,1; Scheibler 1983, 127 fig. 105; Schäfer 1997, 44 n. 332. Special kind of exclamation: Capaso and Miller 1991.

- 7Allusions: Euthymides's praise for Theseus (psykter Turin 4123: ARV² 28,11; Immerwahr 1990, 66 no. 377; 73). Herakles's greeting on the Sosias Painter's cup in Berlin 2278: ARV² 21,1; Immerwahr 1990, 66 no. 384; Euphronios 1991, 244–249 no. 59. Also Neer 2002, 121. Exclamation: Munich 2421: ARV² 23,7; Csapo and Miller 1991, 373 no. 2 pl. 99.
- 8Euthymides on the psykter in Malibu 82.AE.53: Euphronios 1991, 250–253 no. 60; Bundrick 2005, 60–61 fig. 35.
- 9Neer 2002, 102; review G. Hedreen, BMCR 2003.03.20; cf. Mark 1995, 31–35; Bundrick 2005, 212, 60; D. Williams, in: M. Denoyelle (ed.), *Euphronios peintre*, Actes de la journée d'étude 1990 (1992) 87–88.
- 10Bundrick 2005, 60. Cf. Boardman 2001, 147; Scheibler 1983, 131; Immerwahr 1990, 74.
- 11As demonstrated by the large size of votives dedicated by Nearchos or Euphronios (A.M. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* [1949] 255–258 no. 225): Scheibler 1983, 125–127; Mark 1995, 29.
- 12Potters who worked as traders had access to foreign markets and the chance to observe them first hand; but cf. Boardman 2001, 145.
- 13Boardman 2001, 144.
- 14See also Neer 2002, 132.
- 15Tsingarida 2001, 14. 16. 18. 26–29 already analyzed some of the features presented here, and included comparisons with predecessors such as Euphronios and Euthymides, as well as his fellow colleagues Onesimos and the Brygos Painter. I thank her for bringing her article to my attention.
- 16Naples 2422: ARV² 189,74; Beazley 1974, pl. 27; Shapiro 1994, 165–167 fig. 117; L. Giuliani *Bild und Mythos* (2003) 209 fig. 45a; 219 fig. 45b; *ibid.* 208–230 for the topic and its possible interpretations.
- 17A second scene of flight (Antenor and Theano) on the calyx-crater in Basel, priv.: ARV² 186,48; LIMC I (1981) 813 no. 3 pl. 657, s.v. Antenor I (M. Davies); LIMC VII (1994) 912–913 no. 12, s.v. Theano I (A. Lezzi-Hafter).
- 18On a cup in Malibu 80.AE.154: M. Mangold, *Kassandra in Athen* (2000) 24 fig. 13; 160 no. I 26.
- 19Rome, Villa Giulia (formerly Malibu 83.AE.362; 84.AE.80; 85.AE.385): D. Williams, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (1991) 41–64; M.A. Rizzo, in: A.M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.), *Euphronios epoiesen: un dono d'eccezione ad Ercole Cerite* (1999) 12–20.
- 20Malibu 85.AE.316: LIMC IV (1988) 446–447 no. 9 pl. 268, s.v. Harpyiai (L. Kahil); LIMC VII (1994) 388 no. 4, s.v. Phineus (L. Kahil); B. Cohen, in: APP 149, 150 fig. 11.
- 21Basel, Sammlung Bosshart Bo 33: LIMC IV (1988) 446 no. 8 pl. 267, s.v. Harpyiai (L. Kahil). Cf. the louterion by the Nettos Painter in Berlin F 1682: ABV 5,4; LIMC IV (1988) 446 no. 1 pl. 266, s.v. Harpyiai (L. Kahil).
- 22Theog. 265–69. Hesiod, however, names only two.
- 23This is also true for the painter's perception of Herakles and Ops on the hydria in Paris, Louvre G 50: ARV² 188,70; CVA Louvre 6 pl. 52,1. 4–5; LIMC III (1986) 151 no. 32 pl. 131, s.v. Bousiris (A.-F. Laurens); LIMC VII (1994) 58 no. 2, s.v. Ops I (D. Williams).
- 24Between Theseus and the Minotaur on the pointed amphora in Berlin 1970.5: A. Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophrades-Malers* (1972) pls 1. 5–6. Compare the Berlin Painter's perception of the same event: pelike in Florence 70800: ARV² 204,110; LIMC VI (1992) 576 no. 28 pl. 320, s.v. Minotauros (S. Woodward).
- 25Florence 4218: ARV² 191,102; Beazley 1974, pl. 31 (later); Williams 1997, 195–196; LIMC V (1990) 757 no. 167 pl. 499, s.v. Iris I (A. Kossatz-Deißmann).

- 26Compare the frontal face of Thoudemos on the calyx-crater by Euphronios in Munich (Neer 2002, 113 fig. 55) with his "normal" look and the symposiast on Douris's cup (Karlsruhe 70/395: Schäfer 1997, pl. 16,2).
- 27Boston 08.30a: ARV² 135. 1700; E. Vermeule, *AntK* 12, 1969, 13 no. 12 pl. 10,3. London, BM E 65: ARV² 370,13; E. Simon, in: D.C. Kurtz – B. Sparkes (eds), *The Eye of Greece* (1982) pl. 30; CVA London, British Museum 9 pls 63–64; LIMC V (1990) 751–752 no. 111, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman). Cf. also J.D. Beazley, *JHS* 30, 1910, 57.
- 28See the satyrs who excitedly observe the fight between Peleus and Thetis on a fragmentary stamnos in Malibu 81.AE.220: J.M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts. Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (1995) pls 100–103.
- 29Princeton 1989–69: Lissarrague 1999, 28 fig.
- 30Compare the handling of cups by the elder symposiast on the cup Vatican 16561: ARV² 427,2; Schäfer 1997, pl. 16,1.
- 31This seems generally true for his early imagery; see e.g. the pointed amphora in Berlin (supra n. 23) with its sequence of young men all clad in himatia who only communicate when grouped in pairs. On the equally early hydria in Salerno (ARV² 188,67) there is hardly any emotional bond between the young men.
- 32Munich 8935: ARV² 1619,3bis; Euphronios 1991, 88–92 no. 5.
- 33Similarly artistic are the twisted hands on Euphronios's calyx-crater in Munich (Neer 2002, 113 fig. 55); thus, this kind of skill is not new, only diversified.
- 34Schäfer 1997, 41–68. A different approach is seen in the oeuvre of Makron, one of whose main characteristics, according to N. Kunisch, Makron (1997) 121, is his "Hang zu Dezenz, um nicht zu sagen Prüderie."
- 35Paris, Louvre G 162: ARV² 186,47; CVA Louvre 2 pls 12,8; 13,2. 5. 8; 14,1. 6.
- 36BS 482: ARV² 1632,49bis; CVA Basel 3 pl. 11.
- 37Athens, Agora P 7241: ARV² 125,59; Moore 1997, 352 no. 1650 pl. 155: Shape and size can already be anticipated. This peculiarity has already been noted by A. Cambitoglou, *The Brygos Painter* (1968) 22; for the shape of his figures' eyes see D. von Bothmer, in: *Dialexis* 1986–89, Idryma Nikolaou Goulandri (1990) 33–42 and Tsingarida 2001, *passim*.
- 38Athens, Nat. Mus. 730: ARV² 186,42.
- 39Paris, Cab. Méd 535. 699: ARV² 191,103; Beazley 1974, pls 11–12. 15,1–7. Reconstruction drawing in J.C. Hoppin, *Euthymides and his Fellows* (1917) 148 pl. 38 = LIMC I (1981) 592 no. 84 fig., s.v. Amazones (P. Devambez – A. Kauffmann-Samaras).
- 40Paris, Cab. Méd. 536. 647. 535 u.a.: ARV² 191,104; Beazley 1974, pls 14. 15,9; Neils 1994, 926 no. 37 pl. 625 (B).
- 41Philadelphia, University Museum L 64.185: ARV² 187,62; E. Hall Dohan, *AJA* 39, 1935, 451–452 fig. 1a–b; Neils 1994, 936 no. 188 pl. 656.
- 42Cf. the figures by the Berlin Painter on the neck-amphora in Basel BS 453: ARV² 1634,30bis; CVA Basel 3 pls 44–46. Contrary to the Kleophrades Painter's figures, there is almost no interaction between the enemies which reduces the vigor considerably.
- 43BS 489: ARV² 454, Swiss Private; CVA Basel 3 pl. 23. Herakles enjoys the guest friendship of Pholos. Does the shape of the hero's eye simply indicate his reaction in view of the imminent fight? Neer 2002, 92 is certainly right when he interprets the big eyes of the painter on the Leningrad Painter's hydria as a sign of attention.
- 44Calyx-craters in Paris, Louvre G 33 (ARV² 14,4; Euphronios 1991, 120–126 no. 11; cf. particularly 121 fig.) and New York, Collection of Leon Levy and Shelby White (M. Robertson, *Euphronios at the Getty*, *PGMJ* 9, 1981, 29–34; *Wealth of the Ancient World*. The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt

- Collections, Kimbell Art Museum Fort Worth [1983] 58–61 no. 6; Euphronios 1991, 106–113 no. 6) as well as fragments of a neck-amphora in Princeton (Euphronios 1991, 163 nos. 25–26).
- 45A 1810: ARV² 14,5; Euphronios 1991, 116–117 no. 8.
- 46Louvre G 103: ARV² 14,2; Euphronios 1991, 77–87 no. 3. Cf. also the fragmentary calyx-craters in Paris, Louvre G 110 (ARV² 14,3; Euphronios 1991, 70–76 no. 2) and Munich 8704 (ARV² 16,17; Euphronios 1991, 199–204 no. 41).
- 47See e.g. the pelike Rome, Villa Giulia: ARV² 15,11; Euphronios 1991, 167–170 no. 29.
- 48PC 80: ARV² 183,7; CVA Leiden 3 pls 120; 122,1–2. Early amphorae of Panathenaic shape and their topics – unrelated to the shape as here – H.A. Shapiro, in: M. Bentz – N. Eschbach (eds), PANATHENAÏKA. Symposion zu den Panathenäischen Preisamphoren Rauschholzhausen 1998 (2001) 119–120.
- 49Villa Giulia 50384: ARV² 189,75; G. Koch-Harnack, Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke (1983) 71 fig. 8 and *passim*.
- 50London, BM E 768: ARV² 446,262; D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* (1995) 78 no. 84 pls 54–55.
- 51Munich 2311: ARV² 197,9; CVA Munich 4 pl. 193.
- 52F. Ducroux – F. Lissarrague, *AION* 5, 1983, 31.
- 53Boardman 2001, 148. Cf. Harrow 55: ARV² 183,11; Beazley 1974, pl. 29,1–2; LIMC VIII (1997) 1122 no. 132 pl. 769, s.v. Silenoi (E. Simon); CVA Harrow pls 13–14 (satyrs as “..squires for Dionysos in the gigantomachy...”). There is no evidence, however, for satyrs equipped with hoplite armor before ca. 470, cf. T.H. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Fifth-century Athens* (1997) 25–29.
- 54Rouen 25: ARV² 188,68 (early); Lissarrague 2000, 190 fig. 2.
- 55Malibu 81.AE.206.C.15–17; 85.AE.188; 85.AE.339.1–8: A. Kossatz-Deißmann, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (1991) 139. 142 fig. 5; Lissarrague 2000, 191–197.
- 56St. Petersburg B 1550 (609): ARV² 184,19; Beazley 1974, pl. 21; E. Kunze-Götte, *Der Kleophrades-Maler unter Malern schwarzfiguriger Amphoren* (1992) 34 FA 28 pl. 14b. Cf. also the fragment in Eleusis 598: ARV² 190,90.
- 57London, BM E 270: ARV 183,15; J. Herington, *Poetry into Drama. Early Tragedy and the Greek Poetic Tradition* (1985) 12 pl. 1; 14; Bundrick 2005, 36–37 figs 21–22.
- 58M.C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC* (1997) 175 fig. 95.
- 59Copenhagen, Nat. Mus. 13365: ARV² 185,32; CVA Copenhagen 8 pls 331–333; Immerwahr 1965, 152–154; D.C. Kurtz – J. Boardman, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (1986) 48 no. 5; 52 fig. 13a; F. Frontisi-Ducroux – F. Lissarrague, in: D.M. Halperin – J.J. Winkler – F.I. Zeitlin (eds), *Before Sexuality* (1990) 215; 238 figs 7.8–10; M.C. Miller, *JHS* 112, 1992, 97 pl. 2a–b.
- 60Immerwahr 1965, 152–153.
- 61Famous colleagues as Alkaios and Sappho (on the kalathos by the Brygos Painter in Munich 2416: ARV² 385,228; Simon 1976, pl. 150) had died a long time ago, as had other historic figures (e.g. Kroisos on the amphora by Myson in Paris, Louvre G 197: ARV² 238,1; Simon 1976, pl. 132). Interestingly enough, these vases are by contemporaries of the Kleophrades Painters. For the victorious pentathlete Phayllos and the musician Smikythos cf. Williams 2005, 273. 281.
- 62243–262. Hesiod as source of inspiration: Cf. the depiction of the Harpies on the kalpis in Malibu (Fig. 2).
- 63Examples: Tsingarida 2001, *passim*.
- 64Particularly visible in his depiction of the barbarian giant Antaios who fights Herakles on the calyx-crater in the Louvre G 103: ARV² 14,2; Euphronios 1991, 77–87; Tsingarida 2001, 26.

65Amphorae Munich 2307. 2308. 2309: ARV² 26–27,1–2. 4; CVA Munich 4 pls 162–172.

66A comparable situation e.g. on the pelike in St. Petersburg 615: Simon 1976, pl. 116.

13 Sourcing Stories: the Embassy to Achilles on Attic Pottery

Elizabeth Langridge-Noti

In this paper,¹ I explore the relationship of Attic vasepainting to its potential story sources – written, visual and oral – by using a calyx-crater in the Louvre, an early work of the Eucharides Painter. This vase shows on its reverse “The Embassy to Achilles” when the Achaeans tried to persuade Achilles to return to battle after his argument with Agamemnon (Figs 1–2).² I begin with an overview of the vase and note that there is ‘slippage’ between the sources posited for this image on Attic pottery and the depictions on the vases themselves. I then assess the potential sources for the visual images. I continue by noting the spread of the motifs that make up the “Embassy” image in different media and their use for other stories. I end by suggesting that the distinctive motifs on the Louvre crater do not illustrate a specific story source from another word-based medium but instead use a formulaic vocabulary for pose or gesture to serve as indicators for reading emotion.

The Vase and its Interpretation

The image of the ‘Embassy to Achilles’ on the reverse of the Louvre crater shows four figures, of which three are labeled.³ Beginning from the left, there is a standing, bearded, unlabeled man wearing chiton and himation and holding a long staff in his right hand. There follows a seated and bearded Odysseus (labeled Olyteus)⁴ with a petasos hanging around his neck, a chlamys pinned at his right shoulder and a baldric with sword sheath slung around his chest. He sits on a stool, his legs crossed and both hands clasped around his left knee. He looks straight ahead at a labeled, unbearded Achilles, who sits before him on a *diphros* covered with a leopard skin. Achilles is fully swathed in a himation that covers his head and encompasses his arms and hands,

leaving his face visible. He looks down, and his right arm is bent and raised with his palm pressed against his forehead. Behind Achilles stands another bearded male labeled Diomedes along his back. He, too, is draped in a himation, and a baldric supporting a sword sheath crosses his chest. His right and left hands are on his hips, although only his right is fully visible. The position is an awkward one, and it is clear that the Eucharides Painter struggled to position the parts of the body accurately. Above and between Odysseus and Achilles hang a partially extant shield and sword.



Fig. 1. Attic red-figure calyx-crater, Louvre G163 (reverse). Photo: © The Louvre Museum.



Fig. 2. Attic red-figure Calyx-crater, Louvre G163 (obverse). Photo: © The Louvre Museum.

The figure of the seated, swathed, unbearded Achilles has served as a focus for the identification of a source or sources for the “Embassy” images. In labeled depictions, Achilles’s himation is pulled up over his head, leaving his face visible and, frequently, the palm of his hand is pressed up against his forehead as on the Louvre crater.⁵ Although some scholars connect the images with the *Iliad*, they have also noted that Achilles is here a figure whose interpretive connotations are very different from the congenial, singing figure of Achilles in *Iliad* IX 186–89.⁶ Thus, from as early as the nineteenth century, scholars, remaining focused on literature as the source, have suggested that the silent, swathed, unbearded Achilles seen on vases has his roots in Aeschylean drama, as satirized by Aristophanes in the *Frogs* at the end of the fifth century BC.⁷

In the *Frogs*, Aristophanes used the silent, swathed figures of Achilles and Niobe as representative of Aeschylus’s stagecraft, suggesting that they should be seen as among the more memorable visual figures from Aeschylus’s dramatic repertoire.⁸ Although Aristophanes did not specify in which particular Aeschylean works these figures appeared, the scholiasts to the *Frogs* indicate that the trilogy involving Achilles consisted of the *Myrmidons*, the *Nereids* and

Hektor Ransomed / Phrygians. Modern scholarship, in two important articles by Döhle and Taplin, has come down firmly in favor of the *Myrmidons* as the source for this silent, swathed Achilles, although both scholars acknowledge that he could have appeared elsewhere as well.⁹ Indeed, both date the play in large part by its potential association with vase-paintings, such as that on the Louvre crater. Thus, scholarship has already suggested two possible sources for this image – epic and theatre – but the introduction above has already indicated that there is ‘slippage’ from the stable identification of the image with a single source, to an image that appears to vacillate among possibilities. That is, the silent, swathed, unbearded Achilles who has acted as a key to the identification of a source for the “Embassy” images may appear in more than one play, and this silent figure does not appear to match the interpretative connotations of the *Iliad*’s singing Achilles. Thus, neither literary source provides a completely satisfactory source for this image.

To examine this ‘slippage’, I exchange the traditional search for sources in vase-painting to ask instead how a source like epic or tragedy might have been transmitted to the vase-painter. Did the vase-painter have access to a text to illustrate? Did he hear the story, or was it something that he saw and drew? I propose, in conclusion, that the figures seen on the vases are best understood as elements of a formulaic visual vocabulary that helped the vasepainter to express emotions and relationships within a particular image.¹⁰

The Basic Visual Motif

Images of the “Embassy to Achilles” comparable to that on the Eucharides Painter’s crater appear on Attic vases, a few of them labeled, throughout the fifth century BC, although most are clustered in the first quarter or so of the century. The Attic images are similar to one another, but by no means identical.¹¹ On the Attic vases, two figures act as the central motif: that of Achilles and that of Odysseus. Both figures are necessary to be certain that the image shows the “Embassy to Achilles”, since this is not the only place in which a recognizable seated, swathed, unbearded and, at times, inscribed Achilles appears. Similar figures of Achilles are also visible in images of Briseis being taken from Achilles, as well as in images that show Thetis giving Achilles armor.¹² While the depictions of the “Giving over of the Armor” may well have had their source in the same trilogy of Aeschylean plays that scholars have suggested acted as the source for the vase-paintings under consideration, the “Taking of Briseis” images certainly did not.¹³ Thus, the Achilles’s image-type was exclusive neither to pictures of the “Embassy of Achilles” nor to this

particular set of plays. Furthermore, although neither of these other stories in which this image-type of Achilles appears exists in the surviving work of the Eucharides Painter, those of the “Taking of Briseis” are contemporary to that of the “Embassy” and appear in the work of the same group of painters. The vases depicting the “Giving over of the Armor” are all later in date, falling closer to the middle of the century, although this may have been the subject of one of the other plays of the Aeschylean trilogy under consideration.

The second figure in this central motif, Odysseus, appears seated with legs crossed and hands on his knees on the Eucharides Painter’s crater, but on other vases Odysseus either stands leaning on his staff, or he is seated with both legs firmly on the ground.¹⁴ Thus, there is no consistency in his pose, nor does it receive comment in our literary sources. Finally, the number and identification of the figures that complete the “Embassy” scene vary from vase to vase. Sometimes Diomedes is one of the labeled figures as on the Louvre crater, whereas Ajax appears labeled in other depictions.¹⁵

Thus, a simple scrutiny of surviving vases suggests a complicated relationship to potential sources, not a simple or straightforward one. What happens to these complicated interactions if we assume that a further component, a specific source for the image, has been added? For the vase-painter to have illustrated a specific source, as scholars have suggested, from either epic or tragedy for the “Embassy to Achilles”, he would have needed either to have had access to a text or to have been witness to some type of oral or visual display. It is access to these types of sources that we now turn.

Potential Sources: Written

Three major issues must be considered here. The first is whether a vase-painter would have had the competence to use an available ‘book’.¹⁶ The second is whether a ‘book’ would have been physically available to the average Athenian (on the assumption, of course, that a vase-painter should be placed within the category of average Athenian). The third is whether there can be any certainty that the text available to the vase-painter would be ‘accurate’ or ‘standardized’ – that is if an image was affected by a text, are the divergences seen as ‘mistakes’ made by the vasepainter or differences in the text available to the painter, and what has come down to the present?

A quick glance at the well-formed letters, good spelling and, occasionally, metre, that can appear on the dipinti and graffiti on Athenian vases indicates that vasepainters could be well-acquainted and comfortable with their letters.¹⁷ The vases also demonstrate that it could, at times, be solely the appearance of letters that was important.

The Eucharides Painter wrote on his vases, sometimes legibly, sometimes not. Furthermore, he and other painters of the 'Embassy' images were among the few painters who depicted the accoutrements of reading and writing on their vases.¹⁸

In fact, the fifth century BC was a time of growing access to and production of texts. Technical treatises were being produced by the second half of the fifth century BC, comedy suggests that bookstalls existed in the Athenian Agora by the end of the century, and in the early fourth century BC, a capsized boat had a cargo of texts.¹⁹ Aristophanes's *Frogs* suggests that text possession was desirable for the majority of theatre-goers.²⁰ It is possible, as Ford has suggested, that the 'book', Aristophanes referred to in the *Frogs* was a type of status symbol, a way to indicate that you were educated. Ford compares the text to a modern anthology which might also help to explain why certain plays and authors recur in quotations in works that do survive.²¹ These were the bits with which everyone was familiar. It also suggests, however, that it is the words that survived – and these incompletely – and that staging or visuals might well have been considered secondary. Even when official copies of tragedies were available in the fourth century BC in Athens, actors appear to have memorized plays from a recited official version rather than using a copied text.²² This suggests that oral remembrance would still have been the trusted method of transmission, although this may also suggest that there were numerous inaccurate copies of the plays in Athens as well. Thus, by the end of the fifth century BC, it is clear that texts were not unknowns in Athens, but it is not clear just how accessible they were and at what point they became so.²³

Furthermore, an anecdote indicating that Alcibiades had a hard time finding a reliable copy of Homer suggests that multiple versions of Homer were available and circulating in Athens.²⁴ If more than one version of any work were available 'on the street', divergences in surviving visuals could be explained in four ways. First, there may have been varying literary texts. Second, the vase-painter may have misunderstood or misrepresented a particular text. Third, a vase-painter may rely on a version that doesn't have a text. Finally, a vase-painting may differ because it is a different medium.²⁵ Certainly the possibility that (radically) different versions of the same story could exist is demonstrated even within the few tragedies that do survive.²⁶ The constant referral to visuals and language from earlier plays on the same theme makes it clear that the playwrights were dealing with a basic visual and story vocabulary that was expected to be familiar to all theatre-goers. Coherency in the tradition came from each new 'take' on a particular myth, with its new set of motivations or actions drawing on earlier works in order to 'cap' what had come before.²⁷

That surviving versions can create such radically different characterizations of a particular myth, indicates how little we can assume about plays known only from brief synopses or titles.²⁸ They also demonstrate that our field of possible illustrative models – if necessary – was much wider than is normally accounted for.²⁹

Potential Sources: Visual

In this section, the visual sources considered include not just traditional visual sources like painting or sculpture, but also theatre, since performance is clearly one way, indeed, perhaps the main way, by which a play would be known to Athenian audiences. In fact, the Eucharides Painter's relationship to the visuals of the theatre has always been considered a close one, as he is one of the earliest vase-painters to depict what are considered accoutrements of the theatre.³⁰

That drama has a large visual component is clear, one that includes not just the visual effects of the play itself, but also descriptive passages or ekphrasis.³¹ Our surviving plays indicate that playwrights were very aware of the possibilities to attract the attention of their audience visually with props as simple as the red carpet on which Agamemnon walked in his eponymous play.³² Still, for a visual effect to have been effective, it must have had its roots in something that the audience recognized – perhaps this is most clear in the passage that attempts to describe the Eumenides in which the parallels for their gruesome appearance are to be found in monstrous visuals with which an Athenian audience would have been familiar.³³

However, although certain visuals are givens from the words of a play, exactly how these visuals were presented on stage, and whether the presentation of a particular visual motif remained static from one production to another, is much harder to confirm. The plays themselves appear to have been written for a performance at a particular competition, with structured re-production of older plays beginning only with Aeschylus's death in 456/5 BC.³⁴ This indicates the need to consider that new theatrical ideas (including the development of sets over the course of the fifth century BC) might well have radically changed the original appearance of the play in later productions.³⁵ This becomes relevant for the source of the image on the Louvre crater, when we consider that Aristophanes's play was written and produced at the end of the fifth century BC and may well have relied for its 'influential' Aeschylean figures on the type of 'anthology' suggested above, or on re-production of the plays of Aeschylus. Finally, we need to remember that Euripides's aim in the Aristophanic *agon* was to make Aeschylus look excessive. Thus, the silent, swathed Achilles was less a successful visual figure at this

point, than visual overkill.



Fig. 3. Terracotta plaque, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.26). Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Furthermore, the visual motif of a swathed, seated figure, of a seated, cross-legged figure, and, indeed, the motif of the combined figures appear in other media and with other identities. The cross-legged position does not appear to be used for Odysseus elsewhere in surviving vase-painting, although vase-painters do use the crosslegged position in images of men at the palaestra, of courtship, or of revelry (Figs 3–4).³⁶ A similar pose is used for other mythological figures in vase-paintings: for example, Sinis as he verbally spars with Theseus rather than physically fighting with him, and the enigmatic central figure on the obverse of the Niobid Painter's namepiece.³⁷ Moving beyond vase-painting, Odysseus also appears cross-legged on a series of relief plaques dating from the first half of the fifth century BC that

show Eurykleia washing his feet (Fig. 5). On these, Odysseus sits with his left leg raised and his hands clasped around his left knee, much as he does on the Louvre crater.³⁸ The most obvious example of Odysseus's pose outside of vase-painting is, however, the seated figure of Ares on the Parthenon Frieze. Although this sculpture is later than the Eucharides Painter's crater, Ares sits cross-legged on it with his hands on his knees, much as Odysseus does on the earlier Louvre crater.



Fig. 4. Attic red-figure kylix, London E 62. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

We have noted above the appearance of the second motif – Achilles as a seated, swathed figure – in other scenes of Achilles. The motif, however, also occurs in images of the palaestra, mourning the dead, and courtship (Fig. 4). Ajax also appears swathed with palm to forehead, although standing, on a cup by Douris.³⁹ The position is also not restricted to male figures, for Penelope appears in a similar position on a fifth-century red-figure skyphos and on Melian relief plaques.⁴⁰

Correspondence of other figures to the poses of Achilles and Odysseus is also assumed for the slightly later Polygnotan paintings in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi.⁴¹ Here, although the original paintings do not survive, Pausanias's description implies that the individual figures of Hector and Helenos should be positioned much as the figures on the Louvre vase, although they appear in different

paintings. Reconstructions of these paintings assume that Polygnotos drew on a common visual language that permitted even Pausanias to make assumptions of interpretation in interaction or emotion.⁴²

Finally, there are two sets of images that confirm the spread of the combined motif to other narratives and the ambiguity that can result. Two Dourian vases depict the combined motif, each showing two figures: one seated and swathed, one bearded and standing (Figs 6–7). On the one vase, the seated figure is bearded, on the other he is not. On the one vase, palaestra equipment acts as a marker suggesting the palaestra as the context of the image, on the other a hanging shield suggests battle. Usually the vase with the shield is associated with the “Embassy”, despite the fact that the seated, swathed figure identified as Achilles is bearded, which is very unusual for Achilles on red-figure pottery. The possibility that this seated figure might be another warrior should certainly be considered.⁴³



Fig. 5. Attic red-figure kylix, Bonn E76. Photo: © Institut für Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn.



Fig. 6. Attic red-figure kylix, London E 56: Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 7. Attic red-figure kylix by Douris, about 490 B.C., Getty 83.AE.217. Photo: © The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, California.



Fig. 8. Gem, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, inv. FG 194. Photo: Isolde Luckert.

Furthermore, the appearance of the two figures as a central motif on a series of Etruscan gems close in date to the Louvre crater indicates that the motifs are not tied to a single story (Fig. 8). On these gems two seated figures, one looking down and semi-swathed, the other with legs crossed and hands on his knees, are frequently surrounded by standing figures. Indeed, since Achilles is represented not infrequently in Etruscan art, sometimes semi-swathed and mourning, it might have been possible to suggest that these scarabs represent the “Embassy” story.⁴⁴ However, the inscriptions on some of the gems identify the image as a gathering of the captains of the Argive expedition against Thebes. Thus, even the motif of the two figures together is not explicitly reserved for scenes of the ‘Embassy’, making the assumption that these figures automatically illustrate a specific story a difficult one.

Potential Sources: Oral

This leads to the next and potentially most slippery source for a visual image – the oral one. After all, if the source is oral, then what actually survives to demonstrate this? Can we, in fact, prove the complete orality of a particular story?⁴⁵ The Athenians themselves through verse

memorized in school, through participation in choral performance and through informal symposiastic gatherings were immersed in oral performance in all facets of their life.⁴⁶ One must assume, then, that some type of common oral repertoire formed the basis for this. These are the stories everyone knew – perhaps even the versions that everyone knew.⁴⁷ However, scholarship has repeatedly demonstrated that different mythological stories and the interest in depicting different mythological figures existed at different times.⁴⁸ That is, the visuals reproduced or echoed a story that was popular or that resonated in some fashion with Athenians at a particular moment in time. Further complicating the picture is the question if the source was an Athenian version of the tale, or if the story depicted was derived from an Etruscan version.⁴⁹

Conclusion

So what does this review of the visuals of the story of the “Embassy to Achilles” and its potential sources suggest? Can the story, as it appears on Attic pottery, be tied to a specific source? The above review of what is known of the transmission and availability of these stories suggests that this is unlikely. In fact, although there is some continuity to the Attic vase-paintings – both Achilles and Odysseus need to be present for us to recognize the scene and Achilles is normally beardless, seated and swathed – there is also great variation in the number of associated figures and in the main figures’s poses. The visual motifs are also used in a variety of stories and media from at least as early as the date of the Louvre crater. This suggests that the interpretation of this image should be sought not in one particular source, but elsewhere.

I would suggest that the display and understanding of emotion through formulaic gestures and pose might well be the guiding principle behind the creation of these motifs.⁵⁰ The motif used for Achilles is less variable, because the emotions that are attached to his removing himself from battle are stable: those of *aidos* and *menis*.⁵¹ It also explains why this visual motif can be found in other scenes of Achilles at Troy, as his basic emotions remain the same from the time that Briseis is taken, to when he decides to return to battle. Furthermore, it explains the appearance of the motif in other scenes and other media, since the motif is a successful conveyor of these emotions, perhaps so much so that by the end of the fifth century BC, Aristophanes can use it as an example of a visual cliché. Odysseus is more complicated, as the emotions that he is meant to feel during the course of the Embassy may have been much less clearly defined. Thus, the range of poses seen in the visual images reveals the range of

responses that might have been envisioned by the creators of the images. This is further reflected by the disagreement in modern scholarship as to the meaning of the figure which vacillates among grief, impatience and cogitation.⁵² Neither figure, however, acts as the key that unlocks our identification of the story, as neither appears solely in this particular image.⁵³ These choices of visual ‘formulae’ for a figure would have permitted the viewer to move paradigmatically to connections to other depictions and other figure – connections that could have given the story its resonance. The vase-painter did not, in fact, want to be unique.

In conclusion, although the inspiration for, or the spark behind, a story may have been a folktale that resonated with contemporary Athenian cultural or political life or a recent dramatic performance, the vocabulary of the vasepaintings does not illustrate any of these. Rather, these pictures use formulaic figures to help express emotions and relationships between figures. These formulae would have helped the viewer of the vase to understand the image, much as attributes can be used to recognize specific mythological figures. Thus, both Odysseus’s and Achilles’s poses act as visual symbols expressing emotions. While the emotions expressed may reflect those of their literary counterparts, the needs of the visual medium mean that they were expressed in a fashion that was appropriate to the pictorial narrative, not as an explicit illustration of a text or performance.

Abbreviations

BDitt-Bonit Oliver 1995, Douris (1995)
 BMCZ II (1981) 37–2061, s.v. Achilles (A. Kossatz-Deissmann)

Notes

II would like to thank John Oakley and Olga Palagia for the opportunity to speak at the Athenian Potters and Painters II conference, the American College of Greece for release time, the 1984 Foundation for research funds in 2005–2006 and J. Barringer, E. Kephaliadou, S. Klinger, V. Sabetai and D. Williams for commenting on the text as it developed. Any mistakes that remain are, of course, my own.

Louvre E163, ARV² 227,12. The vase’s early date is suggested both by the awkward figures and by the figures on the cul of the vase that are paralleled in the work of the Pioneers and their older colleague, the Nikoxenos Painter. For the Eucharides Painter, see E. Langridge, *The Eucharides Painter and His Place in the Athenian Potters’ Quarter* (diss. Princeton University, 1993).

Two possible earlier images of this story, on a Caeretan hydria (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 108 no. 438 pl. 103) and on a shield band from Olympia (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 107–108 no. 437 fig.), choose very different moments and visual formats from that on the Eucharides Painter’s vase. A possible Corinthian representation of this scene comes closest to the Attic images. On the

- oinochoe, Brussels A4, Achilles lies on a couch, arms raised in a gesture of mourning, surrounded by women, Odysseus and probably Phoinix: see J. Barringer, *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (1995) no. 51 figs 9–10. The story is also unusual in West Greek pottery. Heidelberg 26.87 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 111 no. 457 pl. 105), a calyx-crater attributed to the Sarpedon Painter in which Achilles is unswathed and accompanied by a figure with legs crossed and hands on his knees is the sole certain example, see A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen* (1978).
- 3The labels here and on the obverse confirm the vase's subjects. For the labels on the obverse, see D. von Bothmer, in: S.L. Hyatt, *The Greek Vase* (1981) 63–81. Although Sleep and Death are seen earlier as outfitted, bearded warriors in depictions of this story, H.A. Shapiro, *Myth into Art: Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (1994) 25 has noted that later on white-ground lekythoi they can be naked, much as they are on the Louvre crater.
- 4For the non-Homeric spelling, see S. Lowenstam, *TAPA* 122, 1992, 189.
- 5For labeled scenes other than the one on the Eucharides Painter's crater, see the aryballos, Berlin F2326 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 109 no. 443 fig.); the stamnos, Basel private collection (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 110 no. 453 pl. 105) and probably the skyphos, Louvre G146 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 110 no. 447 pl. 104).
- 6K. Friis-Johansen, *The Iliad in Early Greek Art* (1967); Shapiro (*supra* n. 3) sees the scenes as a mixture of the epic with the tragedy, but privileges the epic.
- 7B. Döhle, *Klio* 49, 1967, 63–149; O. Taplin, *HarvStClPhil* 76, 1972, 57–97; H. Brunn, *AdI* 20, 1858, 352–383 in the nineteenth century with response against from C. Robert, *Bild und Lied* (1881) 129–149 in particular and *idem*, *AZ* 39, 1881, 137–154.
- 8It should be noted that a seated, swathed Niobe does not appear on extant late Archaic vases, although she is found later on South Italian vases, see LIMC VI (1992) 910–912 nos. 10–20, s.v. Niobe (M. Schmidt). I would like to thank J. Barringer for reminding me that memorable and successful are not synonymous and of the mocking nature of the Aristophanes' passage.
- 9Frogs 911. Scholiasts quoted in Döhle (*supra* n. 7) and Taplin (*supra* n. 7). See also Barringer (*supra* n. 2) 30–36 for some of the pitfalls in associating images with this trilogy.
- 10See J.P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (1997) for the difficulties of seeing the vase-paintings as illustrations. S. Lowenstam, *TAPA* 127, 1997, 21–76 discusses potential sources for the stories in detail, but his conclusions differ from mine. See M. Stansbury-O'Donnell, *Pictorial Narrative in Ancient Greek Art* (1999) for the idea of a formulaic vocabulary.
- 11For vases whose images differ from the Louvre vase, see Munich 8770 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 109–110 no. 445 pl. 104) on which Odysseus sits with open legs, Villa Giulia 50441 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 110 no. 450 pl. 105) on which Achilles looks up unswathed with hand on chin and Odysseus stands and London G146 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 110 no. 447 pl. 104) on which Achilles's head is up, unswathed and his arm wrapped in a himation is held out and Odysseus stands. Louvre G264 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 112–113 no. 464 pl. 106) on which a seated figure wearing petasos and chlamys and carrying a kerykeion sits with his back to a seated, swathed, unbearded figure neither of whom is inscribed, may also show this story.
- 12Examples include: Taking of Briseis: London, BM E76: LIMC III (1986) 158 no. 1 pl. 133, s.v. Briseis (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). Giving Over of the Armor: Leiden XVIII g 32 and London E363: Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 123–125 nos. 514–515 pl.

- 110). The female figure that appears with this figure on the Agora calyx-crater in M.B. Moore, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery*, Athenian Agora XXX (1997) 175–177 no. 256 pl. 35 makes it likely that this vase would have depicted one of these two stories. B. Knittlmayer, *Die attische Aristokratie und ihre Helden. Darstellungen des trojanischen Sagenkreises im 6. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1997) 23–25 has made similar observations about the swathed Achilles.
- 13See Barringer (supra n. 2).
- 14See examples cited in n. 11.
- 15Ajax: aryballos, Berlin F2326 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 109 no. 443 fig.); and skyphos, Louvre G146 (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 110 no. 447 pl. 104); Diomedes: aryballos, Berlin F2326 (supra); stamnos, Basel private collection (Kossatz-Deissmann 1981, 110 no. 453 pl. 105).
- 16For ancient literacy, see R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (1992) and W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (1989) as basic introductions.
- 17See H. Immerwahr, *Attic Script: A Survey* (1990) for a survey of both sense and nonsense inscriptions on vases.
- 18See kylix, Berlin F2285: D. Buitron-Oliver 1995, 78 no. 88 pl. 58; kylix, Florence PD328: Buitron-Oliver 1995, 77 no. 74 pl. 51; and kylix, Philadelphia MS4842: J. Boardman, *Expedition* 21, 1979, 34 fig. 3. E.G. Turner, *Athenian Books in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* (1951) 10f. notes that vase-painters do not appear to hold a writing brush properly. A. Snodgrass, *Homer and the Artists: Text and Picture in Early Greek Art* (1998) 160–161 makes the point that labels begin much later than the first uses of writing – as if the specificity given by a label was not always desirable.
- 19For bookstalls, see Ar. Av. 1288 and Eupolis Fr. 304 Kock, *Com. Gr. Meinike* vol. V. βιβλιοπωλῆς. For the capsized ship, see Xen. An. 7.5.14. For technical treatises, see Vit. Arch. 7 praef. 11–12–14. For the earliest surviving illustrations within manuscripts (second-century BC) see J.P. Small, *The Parallel Worlds of Art and Text* (2003) 1–2.
- 20For a book-owning public, see Ar. Ra. 1109–14. In this play Dionysos is portrayed as a book-owning eccentric, so it is possible that book-owning is meant to be seen as such.
- 21A. Ford, in: in H. Yunis (ed.), *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece* (2000) 15–37.
- 22Plut. Lyc. 841–42, see J. Sickinger, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens* (1999) 134. 241 n. 108.
- 23For references to reading in tragedy and its implications for the literacy of the average Athenian, see also E.A. Havelock, *The Muse Learns to Write: Reflections on Orality and Literacy from Antiquity to the Present* (1986) and J. Wise, *Dionysus Writes: The Invention of Theatre in Ancient Greece* (1998). Just as with the ‘ordinary’ Athenians, all vase-painters cannot be placed in a single category.
- 24Plut. Alc. 7.1–2.
- 25See R. Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (1992) and S. Lowenstam (supra n. 10) 23 for the interplay between oral recitation/remembrance and written text.
- 26As examples from the surviving literature, consider the intertextual references from Aeschylus’s *Libation Bearers*, to Sophocles’s and Euripides’s *Electra* in the recognition of Orestes, as well as the deliberate manipulation of myth in Euripides’s *Medea*.
- 27For capping, see D. Collins, *Master of the Game* (2006). I have extended the term far beyond Collins’s definition, but I wished to stress the manner in which the poets refer to and manipulate the work of their predecessors.
- 28Consider as examples, *Electra* in the plays noted above or what is known of the

- changed Phaedra in the earlier and later versions of Euripides's *Hippolytos*.
- 29Döhle (supra n. 7), Taplin (supra n. 7), Lowenstam (supra n. 10) 24 and E. Simon, *AJA* 63, 1967, 43–62 acknowledge a variety of potential sources stemming from a literary or oral medium, but artistic innovation is seen as unlikely and none focus on the idea of visual formulae. L. Giuliani, *BICS* 41, 1996, 71–86 discusses the split between ‘philodramatists’ and ‘iconocentric’, rejecting both stances, although his interpretation still appears to be literarily based.
- 30See J.D. Beazley, in: Scritti in onore di Guido Libertini (1958) 91–96, C. Bérard, *Anodoi: Essai sur l’Imagerie des Passages Chthoniens* (1974), and A. Kossatz-Deissmann, *JdI* 97, 1982, 65–90, especially 68–69, although there are no truly satisfactory explanations of exactly how the vase relates to early ancient theatre.
- 31For the visual effects of theatre see F. Zeitlin, in: S. Goldhill – R. Osborne (eds), *Art and Text in Ancient Greek Culture* (1994) 138–196; O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy* (1977); and S. Goldhill, in: N.K. Rutter – B.A. Sparkes (eds), *Word and Image in Ancient Greece* (2000) 161–179.
- 32Aesch. Ag. 905ff.
- 33Aesch. Eum. 32ff.
- 34The reproduction of Aeschylus's *Persians* in Magna Graecia in 456 BC is the first certain example of reproduction, but Hdt. 6.21.2 by reporting that the Athenians forbade the reproduction of Phrynichus's 496 BC production, ‘Taking of Miletus’, implies as much substantially earlier. Most of our evidence for reproduction falls in the second half of the fifth century BC; see W. Allen, *Gar* 48, 2001, 67–86.
- 35Goldhill (supra n. 31) 175 notes an increasing use of terms related to visuality within tragedy over the course of the fifth century BC. For the possibility of different visuals in different productions, see O. Taplin, *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Painting* (1993) 22–23 and Barringer (supra n. 9) 30–36.
- 36Examples include, kylix, Bonn 76 (Buitron-Oliver 1995, 80 no. 123 pl. 75); kylix, London E62 (N. Kunisch, *Makron* [1997] 184 no. 234 pl. 78) and kylix, Munich 2657 (Kunisch [supra] 214 no. 507 pl. 163) and London 95.5–13.1 (Knittlmayer [supra n. 12] pl. 3,2). See also T. Dohrn, *JdI* 70, 1955, 50–80 and G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (1965).
- 37See for example the Nolan amphora, Cab. Méd. 360 (LIMC VII [1994] 929 no. 68 pl. 638, s.v. Theseus no. 68 [J. Neils]) and the calyx-crater, Louvre G341 (Simon [supra n. 29] pl. 7). See also Neumann (supra n. 36).
- 38For the Melian relief plaques, see LIMC VII (1994) 294 no. 33 pls 229–230, s.v. Penelope (C. Hausmann) and F. Stilp, *Die-Jacobsthal-Reliefs. Konturierte Tonreliefs aus dem Griechenland der Frühklassik* (2006) 51–54.
- 39See kylix, Cab. Méd 597. 675. 600. 727 (part). 774. 586 (part) (Buitron-Oliver 1995, 74 no. 26 pl. 17); kylix, Getty 83.AE.217 (Buitron-Oliver 1995, 75 no. 38 pl. 24); kylix, Munich 8710 (Buitron-Oliver 1995, 77 no. 73 pl. 51); kylix, Tarquinia RC 5771 (Buitron-Oliver 1995, 81 no. 134 pl. 80); Ajax: kylix, Vienna 3695 (Buitron-Oliver 1995, 75 no. 42 pl. 26) and kylix, Munich 2657 (Kunisch [supra n. 36] 214 no. 507 pl. 163). For swathed, mourning figures, see E. Langridge-Noti, *AA* 2003, 141–155, especially figs 3 (Basel, Cahn 855) and 14 (Athens 18720).
- 40For the skyphos, see Chiusi Mus. Naz. 1831 (LIMC VII [1994] 293 no. 16 pl. 227, s.v. Penelope [C. Hausmann]) and for the Melian relief plaques, see LIMC VII (1994) 294 no. 33 pls 229–230, s.v. Penelope (C. Hausmann).
- 41There is no ancient evidence for a large-scale painting of the “Embassy” story, nor is there any ancient evidence for dedicatory plaques that depict specific victorious plays, although both have been posited as models for the “Embassy” vases. See L.

- Giuliani, BICS 41, 1996, 71–86 and H. Kenner, ÖJh 33, 1941, 1–24.
- 42Pausanias X.31.5 for Hektor (cross-legged) and X.25.5 for Helenos (swathed and seated). See M. Stansbury-O'Donnell, AJA 9, 1989, 203–215 and idem, AJA 94, 1990, 213–235 for reconstructions of the Delphic paintings and earlier bibliography on them. Although Stansbury-O'Donnell's reconstructions show more figures in the positions discussed here, I have noted only those for which Pausanias's language supports their appearance in these positions.
- 43For discussions of these vases, see Kossatz-Deissmann (supra n. 2) 12 and Döhle (supra n. 7) 121. I would like to thank E. Kephaliidou for noting that Achilles was not the only hero to suffer during war, and thus may not have been the only figure to be depicted in this manner.
- 44I. Krauskopf, Heroen, Götter und Dämonen auf etruskischen Skarabäen (1995) 81–132, Liste E. Although on most labeled gems, this figure is labeled Achilles, as on London BM G32 (Krauskopf [supra] no. 327 pl. 1), on Hermitage 870 (Krauskopf [supra] 120 no. 928 pl. 1) he is labeled Theseus.
- 45R. Finnegan, Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context (1992) and Lowenstam (supra n. 10) 64 note the interplay of oral and textual. Finnegan cautions against seeing the transmission of works as purely one or the other. R.M. Cook, BABesch 58, 1983, 1–10 is a strong proponent of traditional folk tales as sources.
- 46E.A. Havelock, The Oral Composition of Greek Drama, reprinted in: E.A. Havelock, The Literate Revolution in Greece and its Cultural Consequences (1982) 261–313 (280) and P. Wilson, The Athenian Institution of the *Khoregia*: The Chorus, the City and the State (2000).
- 47See Small (supra n. 19) for a discussion of Little Red Riding Hood in this context.
- 48See, for example, H.A. Shapiro, ClAnt, 1990, 114–148.
- 49See K. Lynch in this volume on erotic images and their market.
- 50Neumann (supra n. 36) and E. Kephaliidou in this volume on the 'pathos-formula'.
- 51For *aidos*, see G. Ferrari, Metis, 5, 1990, 185–200; D.L. Cairns, JHS 116, 1996, 152–158 and for anger/extreme sadness, see Neumann (supra n. 36) 136–150. Neumann separates out the gesture into three different emotions depicting either grief or anger, but his interpretation of emotion appears to come from the context rather than the gesture itself.
- 52Pausanias explicitly states grief. Simon (supra n. 29) 44 posits grief for the cross-legged pose (although she explicitly denies a connection between the pose of Odysseus on the Louvre vase and that of cross-legged figure on the Niobid Painter's name vase); E. Pemberton, AJA 80, 1976, 113–124 posits impatience; T. Dohrn, JdI 70, 1955, 53 suggests a pose indicating readiness for creative negotiation. Neumann (supra n. 36) 16 suggests that in some representations, Odysseus is listing reasons to return.
- 53Stansbury-O'Donnell (supra n. 10) for narrative association. Indeed, Zeitlin (supra n. 31) 138–196 notes that for *ekphrasis* to work, there needed to be a set of recognized visual images upon which an audience or reader could draw.

14 Iconographical Divergencies in Late Athenian Black-Figure: The Judgement of Paris

Anna A. Lemos

Introduction

The Judgement of Paris, a folktale story, once thought to originate in shamanic poetry,¹ disappears in the mist of ancient Greek prehistory or protohistory. In Proklos's summary of the *Kypria*, in his *Chrestomathy*, information about the story is given in some detail: "Strife arrives while the gods are feasting at the marriage of Peleus and starts a dispute between Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite as to which of them is fairest. The three are led by Hermes at the command of Zeus to Alexandros on Mount Ida for his decision, and Alexandros, lured by his promised marriage with Helen, decides in favour of Aphrodite."²

Earlier references in ancient Greek and Roman literature are abundant, some of which I will refer to later on, but it is worth citing first the sole mention in the *Iliad*'s last rhapsody –

“ ... Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ’ ἄτης
ὅς νείκεσσε θεάς, ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο,
τὴν δ’ ἦι νησ’ ἢ οἱ πόρε μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινὴν.”³

– to which I shall return later. This is the only explicit allusion to the Judgement of Paris in the *Iliad*; yet knowledge of the story is presupposed in the epic, since Aphrodite's sympathy towards the Trojans, and specifically her protégé Paris,⁴ as opposed to Hera's and Athena's extreme animosity,⁵ is thus fully justified.

Iconography

Securely identifiable representations of the Judgement of Paris in the seventh century occur on two well-known monuments of different types: polychrome vase-painting and relief, namely the Chigi vase, a Late Protocorinthian olpe of about 640 BC,⁶ and the Laconian ivory comb from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta of 630–600 BC.⁷ Relatively recently, a third vase was added to this short list, the Parian polychrome crateroid-amphora (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 10A).⁸ It has some intriguing iconographical peculiarities, mainly the accompanying lion with a snake's tail and the winged Hermes, which make it a real puzzle. The lion, which reappears in late Athenian black-figure at least a century later imbued with a different meaning, is a favourite animal widely used in Anatolian civilizations and their art. Hermes is not uncommon on other Parian vases and is identified by a sceptre or stick,⁹ but a winged Hermes is certainly peculiar and perhaps restricted to local imagery; the image of the god with the addition of wings is difficult to explain, and a tentative proposal would be that it is a conflation with an anonymous, daemonic, winged-figure,¹⁰ or with the better explored *Potnia Theron* of seventh-century Cycladic relief pottery.¹¹

It has been suggested that the Judgement of Paris has its source of inspiration in Near Eastern introduction-scenes decorating cylinder seals, or relief sculpture¹² which were observed by Greek travellers and traders. Although Greeks were ingenious enough to invent pictures themselves and subsequently associate them with an appropriate legend, as is suggested by other themes, this proposal is attractive and might further be sustained by the presence of the lion on the early Parian crateroid-amphora. It can be argued that the creature is the result of a misunderstanding of the recumbent lions supporting a throne in procession scenes, as, for example, on a neo-Hittite basalt relief from Carchemish in the Archaeological Museum of Ankara depicting the goddess Kubaba seated on a throne supported by recumbent lions and a procession of women bringing offerings and paying their respects.¹³

From these three early Archaic scenes, the Late Protocorinthian Chigi vase, the Laconian ivory comb, and the Parian crateroid-amphora, two iconographical points of interest can be singled out. First, the direction of the procession can be either towards the left, as on the Chigi vase and the Laconian comb or towards the right, as on the Parian amphora, which will become more usual later on. And second, Paris can either be seated, as on the Laconian comb, or standing, as on the Chigi vase and the Parian crateroid-amphora. It can clearly be deduced that an established iconographical scheme did not yet exist, probably due to their early date, the scarcity of the material,

and the distance between workshops; this implies that the motif was independently conceived and rendered by different creative artisans.



Fig. 1. Side A of the Parian polychrome crateroid-amphora, Paros, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2652. Photo: Courtesy of P. Zappeiropoulou.

Early and Mature Athenian Black-figure, c. 580–520 BC

The transmission of the subject to Athenian art, and especially to black-figure vase-painting, enters the repertoire possibly via Corinth.¹⁴ It is, however, likely that in its first stages certain iconographical details were influenced by East Greece. The earliest instance is a fragment of a long-necked loutrophoros of about 580 BC, which depicts the procession of the three divinities led by Hermes wearing his winged boots.¹⁵ His pointed shoes have better parallels with East Greek examples than with the remote and vague Mycenaean footwear, as has been suggested.¹⁶ This is also supported by the plaited footwear of the lady who follows him; both are to be seen on contemporary Chian chalices from Aigina and Naukratis¹⁷ or on the mid-sixth century Boccanera plaque with the Judgement scene;¹⁸ the latter, although Etruscan, is heavily influenced by East Greek, and at times by Chian fashions.¹⁹

The arrangement with the figures moving to the left follows the Peloponnesian practice, as attested by the Chigi vase and the Laconian comb, and is seen later, although restrictedly, on a handful of other Athenian vases. Paris is missing on the fragmentary loutrophoros²⁰

only perhaps because of the break, but soon after he appears on the fragment of a column-krater attributed to the KX Painter, of around 575 BC, running away from his task.²¹

The subject becomes very popular in the Athenian Kerameikos during the sixth and early fifth centuries. At least a hundred and fifty vases in black-figure depict the scene in one way or another.²² Almost all vase-painters of the second quarter of the sixth century were preoccupied with the Judgement as can be seen on a variety of shapes, ranging from exaleiptra²³ to lekanides,²⁴ which were en vogue at the time, to the more common Tyrrhenian amphorae, Siana cups,²⁵ rounded hydriai and columnkraters, and towards the middle of the century on type B amphorae and shoulder hydriai. Before the middle of the sixth century the Judgement scene preoccupies mostly the Painter of London B 76 (Fig. 2),²⁶ Lydos and his circle.²⁷ The established scheme is almost identically depicted in each case: a standing and bearded Paris who is dressed in civilian clothes receives the three divinities arranged in line; they are still undifferentiated in their “penguin” himatia, occasionally holding wreaths, and led by an easily recognizable Hermes. Most commonly, a panic stricken Paris tries to step out of the right edge of the picture, and at times Hermes gestures towards him, or shakes hands with him,²⁸ or even tries to stop him by grabbing hold of his wrist.²⁹



Fig. 2. Amphora B, Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 13440. Photo: Courtesy Museum.

Pausanias's famous passage about the Chest of Kypselos³⁰ provides reassuring evidence of the theme, for in his description of the ninth panel on the fourth row he mentions a written inscription, leaving no

doubt of Paris's presence and that the famous Judgement was depicted. He also refers in his *Laconika* to Bathykles's throne in the sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amyklai,³¹ where the Judgement of Paris is mentioned as part of the rich sculptural decoration. By the end of the sixth century, when the throne is usually dated, the theme was very popular in mainland Greece, so it is quite possible that the now lost monument of the Ionian sculptor represented it in accordance to Laconian taste and the predilections of the Spartan priesthood.³²



Fig. 3 Neck-amphora, Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. CHRVIII 321. Photo: Courtesy Museum.

Unfortunately, in neither passage does the traveller offer any explanation of Paris's reluctance to assume his role, as singled out on

dozens of Athenian vases. Thus, the attitude of the arbitrator appointed by Zeus remains inexplicable. If this attitude is not attributable to a lost poem, such as the lost epic, the *Kypria*, or possibly Stesichoros,³³ it is most probably an innovation of an inventive vase-painter, who conceived the core and meaning of the story with its subsequent consequences for the ill-fated Trojan prince. This type of Paris was to be followed by his fellow craftsmen for a long time, almost to the end of black-figure.

Late Athenian Black-figure, c. 520–470/460 BC

Differentiations to the established motif are gradually introduced in the 520's, more explicitly on the well-known neck-amphora, attributed to phase II of the Swing Painter, of 530–525 BC.³⁴ Here the same kind of dilemma, as with the reluctance of Paris, arises once more, this time with reference to the “apple of discord”. Was it initially mentioned in the epics, or is it another artistic innovation? Incidentally, this amphora is one of the rare examples in black-figure that clearly shows the apple.³⁵ The motif reappears again in fifth-century red-figure.³⁶ On the Swing Painter's amphora Paris timidly holds his lyre,³⁷ foreshadowing his role as the shepherd of Ida, a role that was to become more regular in the succeeding years. A third intriguing peculiarity on this vase is Hermes's absence; henceforth his presence or absence, as well as that of Paris, or one of the goddesses, becomes a matter of choice.

An iconographical classification proposed relatively recently³⁸ plausibly supports a distinction of the different instances of the Judgement unrolling in accordance to the episode's chronological order: that is, when the retinue led by Hermes is pictured without Paris, it must be understood that it is approaching Ida and the encounter will follow, whereas when Hermes is omitted, which occurs rarely on black-figure, as on the previous vase, then the retinue has already arrived on the spot, Hermes has withdrawn, and the ladies alone are with Paris. This arrangement, however, depends on the shape and the space available for the composition; it is mainly encountered on neck-amphorae of the last quarter of the sixth century.³⁹ It might equally well be affected by the fact that a familiar subject does not necessarily need all its components in order to be portrayed by its creator or understood by his clients.

Closer scrutiny reveals that the turning point in the Judgement's imagery takes place in an inventive blackfigure workshop, that of the Antimenes Painter and his wider Circle.⁴⁰ For the first time, fresh motifs enrich the established scene and a new iconographical scheme finally emerges. To start with, the stereotyped iconography of the five

figures, although frequently followed to the end of the black-figure style, can vary, allowing Paris's absence. Occasionally, Athena fully clad in her now standardized clothing and attributes heads the trio,⁴¹ which will become more frequent later on, thus intentionally stressing her leading role in Athens, especially that as patron to the potters.

The enrichment of the iconography now permits animals to be added: mostly a dog near Hermes,⁴² or a deer behind Athena in the middle of the scene (Fig. 3)⁴³ or a couple of animals, such as a goat and a deer,⁴⁴ emphasizing the rustic setting of Mount Ida.

Secondly, for the first time Paris is shown seated on a richly decorated throne. This occurs on a hydria attributed to the Antimenes Painter of about 520 BC, where he conforms to his royal role, as opposed to that of the standing contestants. In the specific scene the pro-Achaian Poseidon's presence on the left corner is not entirely out of place, pointing to the cause of the two losers, Hera and Athena, his comrades-in-arms at Troy. Nevertheless, the seated figure has also been interpreted as Zeus immediately after having given birth to Athena, who is saluting him in full armour surrounded by the Eileithyai, while Poseidon and Hermes flank the scene.⁴⁵ If the interpretation is dubious here, on an early shoulder lekythos Paris clearly heads towards his judge's chair (Fig. 4),⁴⁶ whereas an already seated Paris in a stately pose is portrayed on a skyphos of about 510 BC.⁴⁷ Once seated, Paris acquires his princely attire and usually holds a sceptre, but it is only in the mid-fifth-century red-figure style that a palatial residence is depicted,⁴⁸ although his shepherd's attribute, the lyre, is still present.



Fig. 4 Shoulder lekythos, Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 1937. Photo: Courtesy Museum.

Thirdly, Paris puts on his shepherd's attire and for the first time is depicted seated on a rough, rocky outcrop.⁴⁹ From this point on, a new iconographical scheme emerges to be explored and exploited both in black- and red-figure vase-painting. The first rural setting, as far as blackfigure allows, is depicted with rocks and later with a few landscape elements.⁵⁰ It is only in red-figure, however, that flocks of sheep or other animals, and palm trees embellish the scene, rendering it even more idyllic.⁵¹

By the end of the sixth century, as depicted on the shoulder of a hydria of the Leagros Group of 510–500 BC, the goddesses at long last regain their divine status and are seated, though on humble stools.⁵² The restricted space on the hydria's shoulder cannot be the reason, since the usual standing procession may be found on a few other shoulder hydriai,⁵³ and a small, winged male figure, formerly interpreted as a winged Hermes,⁵⁴ and now plausibly and perhaps decisively as Momos,⁵⁵ tries to escape at the left edge. Although extremely rare, this iconographical scheme is suitable for decorating mostly Leagran shoulder-hydriai.

The last generation of Athenian black-figure painters are mainly

lekythoi-painters, although other shapes have also been attributed to them; and of course there are the unattributed vases. Now more than ever, the subject is adapted to the shape. Shapes bearing the Judgement comprise a relatively wide variety and range from the popular lekythoi to skyphoi, small neck-amphorae, oinochoai, exaleiptra⁵⁶ and, surprisingly, an alabastron⁵⁷ and a lebes gamikos.⁵⁸ The available space on each shape decisively determines the composition and the number of figures depicted. Nevertheless, the very popular lekythos provides an appropriate frame for the display of all five participants.⁵⁹ Occasionally, a figure, even a protagonist, is missing, though at times Hermes is ready to shake hands with a missing Paris,⁶⁰ a whim deriving from the previous generation's legacy, which continued in black-figure to its end. At times, even two protagonists are excluded – Paris and one of the goddesses – because of lack of space.⁶¹

Vase-painters employ both iconographical schemes: Paris the prince and Paris the shepherd. When they stick to the older one, Paris is either standing in a dignified manner, or else walking away in a composed manner, mostly with sceptre in hand, yet, at times, with his lyre;⁶² but late Athenian black-figure prefers the idyllic surroundings of Ida with Paris seated on a rock with his lyre in hand, a scheme invented by their fathers, further enriched. Noteworthy are two interesting late lekythoi, of about 510–500 BC: an unattributed one (Fig. 5),⁶³ and another connected with the Class of Athens 581 (Fig. 6);⁶⁴ on both Paris holds his lyre in one hand and his sceptre in the other, thus combining his two functions, as prince and shepherd.



Fig. 5. *Lekythos*, Basel Art Market. Photo: after LIMC VII, 179 no. 34b pl. 112.

A few interesting divergencies from the established motifs in late black-figure can be singled out, which basically fall into three categories: namely, Paris's youthful looks, the more regular absence of certain figures, and confusions or conflations with other themes.

The new ideal for the male figure is applied to the depiction of Paris. He is often portrayed as a cleanshaven, beardless youth, according to the new concept for most heroes of Greek mythology which was invented and gradually established by the red-figure Pioneers and the coroplasts before the end of the sixth century. A youthful Paris with an elegant krobylos appears on a lekythos attributed to the Diosphos Painter of about 510 BC, perhaps one of the earliest examples (Fig. 7).⁶⁵ On an unattributed hydria of the same date all the figures are named.⁶⁶ This type continues, though not always, to the end of black-figure and becomes normal in red-figure.⁶⁷

More often than before, one of the protagonists is missing; either one of the three divinities, or Paris,⁶⁸ or Hermes or both. In the latter case, when the three goddesses are alone, they could be mistaken for other famous triads, were it not for Athena's distinctive attire (Fig. 3).⁶⁹

Confusions and conflations from other subjects, whether of specific elements, figures or animals, are not unusual in late black-figure. In fact they are quite numerous and include:

1. The ubiquitous decorative ivy or vine branches taken from Dionysiac scenery,⁷⁰ which now flood the background in all kind of scenes, yet unexpectedly are not so common in the Judgement.

2. Dionysos bringing up the rear of the procession is perhaps due to confusion with a Dionysiac scene very common at that time, but foreign to the Judgement.⁷¹

3. Apollo playing his kithara heads the procession on a hydria of 510–500 BC.⁷² Could he be encouraging the ladies with his music? Hermes turns his head back in surprise, evidently not expecting his company.

4. Iris identified by her caduceus leads the procession⁷³ in a manner recalling the C Painter's exaleiptron⁷⁴ some sixty years earlier.

5. On two lekythoi⁷⁵ a lion walks behind Athena recalling the one behind Hermes on the seventh-century Parian crateroid-amphora. It cannot, in my opinion, be merely decorative or just a substitute for a dog or deer. It may either signify Athena's superiority and prowess, or it may equally well be the result of confusion with other themes. On the other hand, the lion often becomes an attribute of Hera, mainly in red-figure,⁷⁶ but very rarely in blackfigure.⁷⁷ Two impressive examples of a conflation of the Judgement with other themes are depicted on lekythoi of the last decade of the sixth and the early fifth century: on the former,⁷⁸ Hermes holds his caduceus and simultaneously a lyre,

evidently a conflation with Paris's attribute, and leads Aphrodite and Hera to Paris holding a wand. On the latter, attributed to the Theseus Painter (Fig. 8),⁷⁹ Hermes becomes engaged in a deadly struggle with Paris, surely confused with the erotic struggle of Peleus and Thetis. A very similar example of the struggle of the famous couple is explicitly pictured on an alabastron, near the Diosphos Painter⁸⁰ and, although attributed to another vase-painter, both must have been working at close quarters and copying more or less accidentally from one another.



Fig. 6. Lekythos, Palermo, Collection Mormino, inv. no. 97. Photo: after CVA 3 pl. 7,3–5.



Fig. 7. *Lekythos*, Laon, inv. no. 37.894. Photo: after CVA 1 pl. 16,1–3.

An even more impressive divergency is found once depicted on a red-figure pinax from the Acropolis of about 510 BC. Paris has his lyre, Hermes a sword (!), and they are accompanied by Athena, Aphrodite and a flying figure. This must indicate a unique attitude for Hermes, perhaps preparing to act fiercely against Paris, the judge. Apart from Hermes's sword, the retinue is directed to the left.⁸¹

The West Frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi

The Judgement of Paris was recognized by the French excavators and scholars on the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, a building datable, according to Herodotos, to a little before 525 BC.⁸² The representation of the theme with the goddesses in chariots, one of them, evidently Athena, leaving in anger and the other, evidently Aphrodite, arriving with the dainty self-confidence of the victor, has no parallel in the leading centres of Archaic Greece, especially Corinth and Athens. This version is depicted for the first time on the treasury's entrance and is considered to be unique. To a certain extent the length of the frieze, of almost 5 meters, could explain this arrangement, but it is more likely that it reflects the East Greek approach to the subject, and the iconography which shows the goddesses in chariots, seems to be appropriate to Ionia, at least to the northern centres, most probably Klazomenai.⁸³

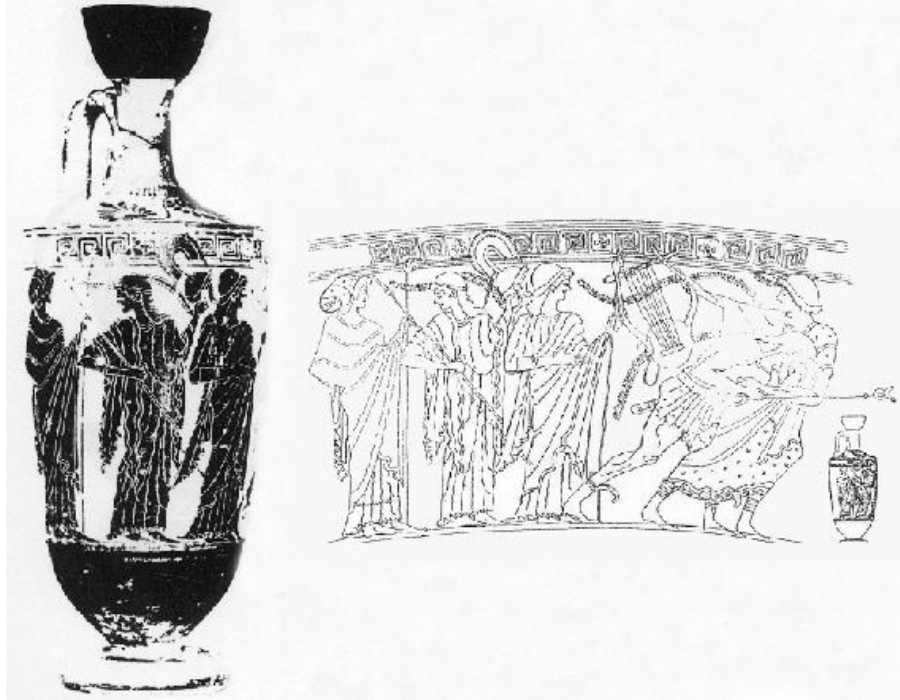


Fig. 8. Lekythos, once Berlin F 2005. Photo: after AZ 1882, pl. 11.

This extremely original rendering of the scene might have had an impact on Athenians familiar with the treasury and it is tempting to suggest that they tried to translate it into their own art. A few late Athenian lekythoi dated to the first quarter of the fifth century depict a chariot with a mounting female figure, evidently a goddess, led by Hermes with head turned backwards. They are at times accompanied by one or two standing figures playing a stringed instrument, a kithara or a lyre. An extempore list is here presented:

1. White-ground lekythos, Athens, National Museum 595 (CC 968), attributed to the Sappho Painter.⁸⁴ A goddess mounts a chariot with winged horses reminiscent of Athena's winged chariot on the Siphnian Treasury, while the sacrifice scene next to it must be separate and unrelated.
2. Lekythos, Athens, National Museum 463 (CC985), attributed to the Diosphos Painter (Fig. 9).⁸⁵ A goddess mounts a chariot with Hermes standing in front but with head turned backwards.
3. Lekythos, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Boston 98.922 (Fig. 10).⁸⁶ A goddess mounts a chariot with Hermes standing in front but with head turned backwards.
4. Lekythos, Leiden RO Ic 14, attributed to the manner of the Haimon Painter.⁸⁷ A goddess mounts a chariot with Hermes standing in

front but with head turned backwards. An indistinct figure behind the chariot is playing a stringed instrument.

5. Lekythos, Bucharest, Collection Gheorghe Adock, attributed to the Manner of the Haimon Painter.⁸⁸ A goddess mounts a chariot with Hermes standing in front but with head turned backwards; two figures behind the chariot, one of them playing a stringed instrument.

6 and 7. Two lekythoi, Paris, Musée National Rodin TC 854 and TC 855 – with identical subjects.⁸⁹

Might not these particular scenes be considered as excerpts of a Judgement scene influenced by the impressive rendering on the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury and accordingly adjusted to the available space of a late black-figure lekythos?



Fig. 9. Lekythos, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 463 (CC 985). Photo: Courtesy Museum.



Fig. 10. *Lekythos*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 98.922. Photo: Courtesy Museum.

Interpretation of the Iconography

The evolution of the artistic treatment of the Judgement of Paris which I am attempting to interpret demonstrates that in early and mature Athenian black-figure, from 580 to about 530 BC, vase-painters chose to depict Paris as the prince of Troy.⁹⁰ From the 520's, however, the main iconographical theme concentrates on Paris as the shepherd on Ida. That is where the *Kypria* must have initially placed him, since Proklos's summary explicitly refers to it, as quoted at the beginning of this paper,⁹¹ although the artists adopt this version rather late. However, if one recalls Anchises's and Aineas's roles as shepherds, it seems that herding was not excluded from the duties of royalty, at least in the realm of Troy.⁹²

The impetus for the change of the iconography of the Judgement, in my opinion, was most probably the dominant oral tradition, where stories from the epics were sung on mothers' knees or at recitations in the Agora and at the Panathenaia. The possibility that a wall-painting, or any sort of painting in large scale existed, is highly hypothetical

and should be excluded. It seems sounder to attribute the innovation to an inventive vase-painter, perhaps the Antimenes Painter or one in his milieu, as I have argued, who sets the seeds for a new concept and execution of the story in his humble art.

Early literary sources are silent on whether the goddesses were informed of Paris's abandonment in the mountain or why they accepted to be judged by a shepherd; if, however, they had already been informed by Zeus, their divine husband and father, the story of the prophecy and abandonment may have been a later addition to the legend, inspired explicitly from Paris's agrarian role, although this distinction and the honour to judge divinities remain a little obscure.⁹³

Paris's tragic fate is fully encapsulated in Attic drama, especially in Euripides's tragedies. And as Stinton⁹⁴ states closing his erudite paper on Euripides's treatment of the Judgement: "...the tragedian perhaps saw through to a wider significance: that man is helpless against the designs of gods, and that the glittering prizes they offer, which he cannot refuse, may exalt him for a time to their level, but in the end destroy him".

Parody

The story's value extends also to its comic aspect. As early as the fifth century both in literature and in iconography, and more specifically in late Athenian black-figure, the story is ridiculed.

Indeed, the absurd elements were stressed by Euripides in his *Trojan Women*, staged in 415 BC. Hekabe rejects Helen's justification and proclaims that the Judgement never took place. She ridicules Helen's claims about the two pro-Achaian deities declaring that for Hera: πότερον ἀμείνον' ὥς λάβηι Διὸς πόσιν⁹⁵ and that Athena had entreated her father for chastity to avoid marriage: ἢ γάμον Ἀθάνα θεῶν τινος θηρωμένη, ἢ παρθένειαν πατρός ἐξηιτήσατο φεύγουσα λέκτρα;⁹⁶

A little earlier, in 430/429 BC, the Judgement was caricatured by the comic poet Kratinos in his *Dionysalexandros*, where Dionysos, i.e. Perikles, took the place of Alexandros in the Judgement, proclaimed his judgement, and abducted Helen, thus causing the war; however, when he learned that the Achaians had arrived to take revenge, he hid Helen in a basket and in order to save himself was transformed into a ram. This comic play, so far as can be deduced from its fragmentary state, provides information for the first time of the bribes offered to Paris: Hera tempted him with power (τυραννίς), Athena with success in battle (ἀνδρείη) and Aphrodite with manly good looks and attraction.⁹⁷ The latter's offer recalls the verse in the *Iliad*, which was referred to at the beginning of this paper: τὴν δ' ἦλινθ' ἣ οἱ πόρε

μαχλοσύνην ἀλεγεινήν.⁹⁸

Iconographically, however, the subject's parody is attested much earlier. On a late white-ground Athenian black-figure lekythos of about 470 BC⁹⁹ the three seated goddesses hold animals – Hera a lion, Athena a hare and Aphrodite a deer – and receive a satyr, who drags a youth from a cave in order to present him to them. The three seated women have also been interpreted as maenads who each hold an animal,¹⁰⁰ but it seems more likely that the Judgement of Paris is alluded to,¹⁰¹ the scene inspired by a lost satyr play which presented a parody of the Judgement.¹⁰²

Epilogue

In conclusion, it can be argued that the Judgement of Paris in Athenian black-figure imagery is imaginative and inventive, and offers four different iconographical schemes:

1. The well-established one, with Paris fleeing or trying to run away from his burden, is mainly found in early and mature black-figure from 580 to about 520 BC. The tradition, however, continues sporadically until the end of the second quarter of the fifth century.
2. In late black-figure three more iconographical schemes are invented, according to the spirit and the prevailing novelties of the times. In the 520's the fundamental change occurs with Paris assuming his shepherd's role, which is employed by the most eminent vasepainters, and is used to the end of Attic red-figure. The divergencies from this I have singled out above.
3. Another iconographical type emerges on a Leagran shoulder-hydria of the last decade of the sixth century with the seated goddesses. This type reappears on the Tübingen lekythos with the Judgement's travesty.
4. If my analysis is correct, a fourth iconographical scheme appears on a few late lekythoi presenting the motif of a goddess mounting a chariot which is led by Hermes, a scheme influenced by the original East Greek composition on the Siphnian Treasury.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to P. Zappeiropoulou for permission to reproduce the color photograph and discussion on the iconography of the Parian crateroid-amphora; I thank the authorities of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the National Museum in Copenhagen for photographs and permissions to illustrate them.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in addition to those of the AA 1997, 611–627:

- ABH.E. Haspels, Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi (1936).
Burdorff, Der Antimenesmaler (1989).
Chambers, Das Parisurteil in der antike Kunst (1951).
LIMC I (1981) 494–529, s.v. Alexandros (R. Hampe).
LIMC II (1981) 2–151, s.v. Aphrodite 2–151 (A. Delivorrias with G. Berger-Doer – A. Kossatz Deissmann).
LIMC III (1984) 955–1044, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).
LIMC IV (1990) 285–387, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert).
LIMC VII (1994) 176–188, s.v. Paridis Judicium (A. Kossatz – Deissmann).
Rahab, Zu den Darstellungen des Parisurteils in der griechischen Kunst (1972).
Tiverios, Προβλήματα της Μελανόμορφης Κεραμικής (1981).

Notes

- 1K. Schefold, Götter-und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst (1978) 185 with n. 449.
2Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric, The Loeb Classical Library (ed. G.P. Goold 1914, reprinted 1982, translated by H.G. Evelyn-White) 488–491.
324. 28–30: “...because of the folly of Alexander, who had insulted those goddesses when they came to his farmstead and praised her who furthered his grievous lustfulness”, The Loeb Classical Library, (ed. G.P. Goold, translated by A.T. Murray, revised by W.F. Wyatt, 1999). See also M. Davies, JHS 101, 1981, 56–62 on Aphrodite’s gift to Paris.
43. 340–447, where the duel between Menelaos and Paris takes place. Aphrodite intervenes protecting Paris with a misty cloud (ἐκάλυψε δ’ ἄρ’ ἥερι πολλῇι) and leads him to Helen’s chamber.
54. 20ff. for an excellent example amongst many others.
6Rome, Villa Guilia 22679, CVA 1 pls 1–4, especially 4;3; LIMC I 499 no. 5 pl. 376; for color photographs of the whole vase see M. Robertson, Greek Painting (1959) 48–49; E. Simon, Die griechischen Vasen (1976) pl. VII; M.A. Tiverios, Ελληνική Τέχνη. Αρχαία Αγγεία (1996) pls 9–10.
7Athens, National Museum 16368, E.L. Marangou, Lakonische Elfenbein-und Beinschnitzereien (1969) 97–98. 107–110 pl. 78a; LIMC I 499 no. 6 pl. 376.
8P. Zappeiropoulou, Adelt 38, 1983, Chr. 348 pl. 141; eadem, in J. de la Genière (ed.), Necropoles et Sociétés antiques. Actes du Colloque International de Lille, 2–8 XII 1991 (1994) 139. 141 pl. 20. Zappeiropoulou hesitantly accepts a “Judgement of Paris” scene, because of the peculiarities singled out here and thinks that the snail’s tail points to a chimaera, which might be reasonable. However, although available space exists, there are no traces of a goat’s head springing from the creature’s back. Note also that the beast is three-legged, the only explanation for which is that the painter had forgotten to draw its front hindleg which should overlap the first goddess’s dress.
9P. Zappeiropoulou, Προβλήματα της μυλιακής αγγειογραφίας (1985) 37 no. 1

- (87); 65 pl. 84 and now P. Zaphiropoulou, *Exploration archéologique de Délos, La céramique mélienne* 41 (2003) 185 no. 80 pls LXIII–LXIV fig. IX,1. See also D. Papastamos, *Melische Amphoren* (1970) 52–53 with n. 143.
- 10Zaphiropoulou 1985 (supra n. 9) 31 no. 1 (63); 64 pls 59–60 and now Zaphiropoulou 2003 (supra n. 9) 178 (56) pls XLII–XLIII fig. X,7.
- 11E. Simantoni-Bournia, *La Céramique grecque à reliefs. Ateliers insulaires du VIIIe au VIe siècle avant J.-C.* (2004) 90. 93–94 pl. 48 fig.118. For winged figures on the Tenian pithos with the Birth of Athena, eadem 83 pl. 39 fig. 97 and for more recent fragments with the same theme 84 n.137.
- 12See G. Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art. Representation and Interpretation* (1992) 51 fig. 71.
- 13See E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (1962) 128 pl. 114 (for the relief with the procession) and *The Museum of Anatolian Civilizations*. Ankara (no date) fig. 240 (with both reliefs). Lion pedestals supporting statues of gods are better known in the traditional Hittite style of 1050–850 BC, as e.g. Akurgal (supra) pl. 109.
- 14The earliest monuments are Corinthian and Laconian, and many other shapes, themes and motives are transmitted from the influential Peloponnesian centres.
- 15New Jersey, private on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: J.D. Beazley in *Para 14,2* quater attributed it to the Group of the Dresden Lekanis; E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (1979) fig. 22; LIMC V, 457.
- 16By Vermeule (supra n. 15) 64–65.
- 17A.A. Lemos, *Archaic Pottery of Chios. The Decorated Styles* (1991) 96–98 no. 795 pls 105–107 for the fragmentary chalice from the Aphaia Temple on Aigina and no. 737 fig. 51 color plate III pl. 96 for the fragmentary chalice from Naukratis, BM 1888.6–1.513.
- 18N. Spivey, *Etruscan Art* (1997) 89–91 figs 72–73. For a color plate see L. Burn, *Greek and Roman Art* (1991) 166–167 fig. 141.
- 19J. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (1984) 185 thinks that stylistically Chian vase-painting, obviously the Polychrome style, is an “ancestor of the Boccanera slabs”. See also Lemos (supra n. 17) 116.
- 20Tiverios 1981, 23 n. 36 thinks that the scene is dubious and on 24 n. 40 prefers to consider the female figures as Nymphs or Charites/Graces, but at this time both are shown in groups, the figures mostly overlapping one other.
- 21Berlin, *Antikensammlung* 3987, ABV 25,16; BAdd² 7; J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* (rev. ed. by D. von Bothmer and M.B. Moore, 1986) 19 pl. 16,4.
- 22Lists in Clairmont 1951 and more complete in Raab 1972, 61–68 with the fleeing Paris; the entries in the articles of LIMC add new material but are necessarily selective. The Beazley Archive catalogues about 150 Athenian blackfigure vases with the scene.
- 23Two by the C Painter: Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts 763, ABV 681,122bis; LIMC VII, 178 no. 5 pl. 106; Tiverios 1981, 21 n. 28 and Louvre Ca 616, ABV 58,122; BAdd² 16; LIMC VII, 178 no. 6 pl. 106. T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (1993) 569, thinks that the female figure between Hermes and Paris might be Oinone, the latter’s lover. And one by the Painter of London B 76: Brussels, Musée Royale A 3, ABV 87,21; LIMC VII, 178 no. 8 pl. 106.
- 24A. Lioutas, *Attische schwarzfigurige Lekanai und Lekanides* (1987) 152–155 collects and discusses three probable, fragmentary lekanides, figs 33–35 pl. 19,1.
- 25A fragment from the tondo of a Siana cup (Corinth C 65–453, H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups I and Komast Cups* [1983] 214 no. 296 pl. 60b) may preferably be interpreted as the Charites/Graces or the Horai, since the goddesses are not separated and overlap, as is usual at this date also for the exterior of such cups,

- e.g. the cup Basle, AntMus. BS 1953.8, attributed to the Group of Acropolis 1441, ABV 68,1bis; Para 28; BAdd² 18; CVA 1 pl. 25,1–5 or an example picked up at random, the amphora Type B Vatican 39515, attributed to the Ptoon Painter, ABV 84,3; F. Buraneli, *La raccolta Giacinto Guglielmi* (1989) 29 fig. 20; 46 no. 219A.
- 26 Among others, the amphorae Type B Copenhagen, National Museum 13440, ABV 86,13; Para 32; CVA 8 pl. 315,1a. c; LIMC VII, 178 no. 7 pl. 106 (here Fig. 2) and Louvre Cp 10586, Para 33,16bis; BAdd² 24; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, ABV 87,16; LIMC V, 324 no. 454b pl. 238. The hydria Basel, Art Market, near the Painter of London B 76, LIMC V, 324 no. 454c pl. 238; LIMC VII, 179 no. 31. For the subject in mature black-figure see K. Schauenburg, *Aachener Kunstblätter* 44, 1973, 22–29 and n. 27.
- 27 For Lydos and his circle, mainly the Painter of Louvre F6, see M.A. Tiverios, *Ο Λυδός και το έργο του* (1976) 25. 36. 41. 77 and Tiverios 1981, 18–39, where, on the occasion of the publication of the column-krater in Polygyros, attributed to the Painter of Louvre F 6 and with a Judgement scene, discussion concentrates on all the then known vases and fragments from the second quarter of the sixth century.
- 28 As, for example, on the Tyrrhenian amphora, Malibu, Getty Museum 86. AE. 53, once Bareiss Collection, H.A. Shapiro, in: *Greek Vases in The J. Paul Getty Museum, Occasional Papers on Antiquities* 4 (1989) 25–30 fig. 2a; LIMC VII, 179 no. 32.
- 29 As on the amphora Type B, Louvre F 13, CVA 3 pl. 11,4. 7.
- 30 5.19.5: “Ερμείας ὅδ’ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δείκνυσι διαιτηὴν τοῦ εἵδους Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθάναν καὶ Ἀφροδίταν” (“This is Hermes: he is showing Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite to Alexander, to judge their beauty”), Pausanias’s *Description of Greece*, translated with commentary by J.G. Frazer, vol. 1 (1913) 266.
- 31 3.18.12: “Ερμῆς δὲ παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρον κριθησομένης ἄγει τὰς θεάς” (“And Hermes is leading the goddesses to Alexander to be judged”), *supra* n. 30, 163.
- 32 M. Pipili, *Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C.* (1987) 81–82.
- 33 J. de la Genière, *Mon Piot* 63, 1980, 37. 44–56. See also Raab 1972, 23–27 with discussion on the literary sources for the fleeing Paris.
- 34 By E. Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) 97 no. 115 pl. 119b; ABV 308,65. 693; BAdd² 82; LIMC VII, 178 no. 13 pl. 107.
- 35 Clairmont 1951, 102–104 considers dubious the appearance of the apple, contrary to Raab 1972, 49–60, who quotes this and other examples. Add now, a late lekythos, Kerameikos 1488, attributed to the Diosphos Painter, of about 500, which shows Hera holding the apple: E. Kunze-Götte – K. Tancke – K. Vierneisel, *Die Nekropole von der Mitte des 6. bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts*. *Die Beigaben*, Kerameikos VII,2 (1999) 81 no. 278,5 pl. 53,3.
- 36 The apple is encountered more often on vases of the Early Classical period, about 470 BC, e.g. the hydria London, British Museum E 178, attributed to the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, ARV² 503,20; BAdd² 251; LIMC VII, 180 no. 38 pl. 113; or the amphora London, British Museum E 289, attributed to the Charmides Painter, ARV² 653,6; CVA 5 pl. 48,1a; 51,2; LIMC VII, 178–180 no. 37 pl. 113; or the amphora London, British Museum E 257, ARV² 604,50; BAdd² 267; Raab 1972, pl.4.
- 37 Paris appears sporadically with his lyre starting around the middle of the sixth century, as on a Tyrrhenian amphora, attributed by Bothmer to the Castellani Painter, in Havana, Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Para 39; R. Olmos, *Vasos griegos de la Colección Condes de Lagunillas* (1990) 24–25 no. 8; LIMC VII, 178 no. 9 pl. 107.
- 38 By A. Kossatz-Deissmann in LIMC VII.
- 39 As for example on Vatican 399, ABV 395,7 and Copenhagen, National Museum

- CHRVIII 321, ABV 394,1; CVA 3 85 pl. 106,1a-b, both attributed to the Group of Copenhagen 114, near the Painter of Munich 1519 (attributed to the painter himself in ARV² 152,5).
- 40Vases attributed to the painter himself are: 1. Neckamphora, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 57,9, Burow 1989, 83 no. 39 pl. 39. 2. Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 1895, Burow 1989, 86 no. 63 pl. 63. 3. Neck-amphora, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 60.27, Burow 1989, 89 no. 84 pl. 85. 4. Neckamphora, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum L 186, Burow 1989, 90 no. 95 pls 95. 160g. 5. Neck-amphora, Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale, Burow 1989, 90 no. 99 pl. 98. 6. Hydria, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1722, Burow 1989, 92 no. 111 pl. 109b; LIMC I, 499 no. 8 pl. 377. 7. Hydria, Basel BS 434, Burow 1989, 92 no. 115 pl. 114. 8. Neck-amphora, London Market (Spink), ABV 691,78bis. In the Manner of the Painter: 1. Neck-amphora, Florence, Museo Archeologico 3856, LIMC V, 325 no. 456c pl. 239; 2. Hydria, New York, McCabe, once Castle Ashby, Northampton, CVA 1 pl. 21,1-4. 3. Hydria, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 1894, LIMC II, 136 no. 1424 pl. 140 and LIMC VII, 179 no. 33 pl. 111. To the Circle of the Painter: 1. Neck-amphora, New York, ex. Gallatin, CVA Cambridge (MA), Fogg Museum and Gallatin Collections 1 pl. 37,2a-b. Art of the Painter: 1. Neck-amphora, Munich, Antikensammlungen J 107, LIMC VII, 177 no. 1 pl. 105. 2. Amphora Type B, Munich Antikensammlungen 1392, CVA Munich 1 pl. 27,4; LIMC I, 499 no. 9.
- 41As, for example, on the neck-amphora, New York, Gallatin and the hydria, Berlin F 1894 (supra n. 40 for both).
- 42E.g. amphora Type B, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum 49, CVA 1 pls 1,1; 3,1a; 3,3; neck-amphora, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V 510, CVA 3 pls 12,1-2; 13,1-2; oinochoe, Copenhagen 1220, CVA 3 99-100 pl. 122,1; neck-amphora, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 1960.790, CVA 1 pl. 45,1; LIMC VII, 177 no. 2 pl. 105; the cup, Münster Market, recalling the Haimon Painter and dating about 460 BC, ABV 565; Clairmont 1951, pl. 30a, which is one of the latest vases bearing the subject in black-figure.
- 43Hydriai, Basel BS 434 and Munich, Antikensammlungen 1722 (supra n. 40); also the amphora Type B, Copenhagen CHRVII 321 (supra n. 39) (here Fig. 3). The deer, the usual attribute of Artemis, which appears on scenes with the goddess, is also an animal hinting at rural surroundings, as on scenes with women at the fountain, e.g. kalpis, Rome, Villa Giulia 47457, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter and dating to about 510 BC, P.E. Arias – M. Hirmer – B.B. Shefton, *A History of Greek Vase Painting* (1962) pl. XXIII.
- 44On the neck-amphora, London, British Museum B 238, attributed to the Nikoxenos Painter, dating about 510-500 BC, ABV 392,9; Para 172; LIMC V, 325 no. 462 pl. 239, where four animals are mistakenly described. For the animals accompanying the goddesses see R. Hampe, in: R. Lullies (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Bernhard Schweitzer* (1954) 77-86.
- 45Hydria, Würzburg L 309, Burow 1989, 8. 60-62 no. 128 pl. 126.
- 46Copenhagen, National Museum 1937, CVA 3 88 pl. 110.1ab (here Fig. 4).
- 47Athens, National Museum 12626, M. Pipili, CVA 4 44-45 pls 33,1-4; 34,3-4; LIMC IV (1988) 799 no. 1336 pl. 532, s.v. Herakles (S. Woodford) for the sacrifice scene on the other side, which is not related to the Judgement.
- 48As for example on the cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2536, attributed to the Painter of Berlin F 2536, ARV² 1287,1; Para 473; BAdd² 358; LIMC II, s.v. Aphrodite, 136-137 no. 1428 pl. 140; LIMC VII, 180 no. 39 pl. 113.
- 49On amphorae of Type B: 1. Munich, Antikensammlungen 1392, near the Antimenes Painter, dating about 510 BC, LIMC V, 326 no. 471a; LIMC VII, 179

- no. 34a pl. 111. 2. London BM 171, unattributed, dating about 510 BC, CVA 3, pl. 31, a-b. 3. On side A of Louvre F 251, attributed to the Group of Würzburg 221, ABV 401,1; CVA 4, pl. 51,2-4; LIMC V, 326 no. 471b pl. 240. One of the latest black-figure vases with this iconographical scheme is the white-ground lekythos Athens, National Museum 17755, attributed to near the Pholos Painter of the Haimon Group, ABV 572,5; Clairmont 1951, pls 27-29.
- 50For rural scenery with animals see *supra* ns 42-44.
- 51E.g. cups Louvre G 151, attributed to the Briseis Painter, dating about 480, and Berlin F 2291, signed by Hieron, attributed to Makron and of the same date, LIMC VII, 179 nos. 35 pl. 112 and 36 respectively.
- 52Chicago, Art Institute 1889.15 (C 37964), ABV 673; Para 164,18bis; BAdd² 148.
- 53As for example on London, British Museum B 312, CVA 6 5 pl. 81,3; LIMC II, s.v. Athena, 992 no. 407 pl. 750 and perhaps, as Clairmont 1951, 141, suggested for Brunswick 678, attributed to Painter S of the Leagros Group, ABV 365,63; CVA pl. 8,6, although too little remains to allow certainty.
- 54By Clairmont 1951, 141, which is wholly untenable, since a winged Hermes is completely unknown to Athenian imagery.
- 55E. Simon, in: N. Zappeiropoulos, V. Lambrinoudakis et al. (eds) Στήλη. Τόμος εις Μνήμην Νικολάου Κοντολέοντος (1980) 144-146 pl. 47.
- 56Kerameikos VII,2 (*supra* n. 35) 242, 8 pl. 40,2. 4.
- 57Paris, Antiquity Market; Oxford, Beazley Archive no. 22990.
- 58Two scenes, one on side B of the body and another on the stand, are mixed up with seated domestic figures, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, CVA 1 10-11 pls 8,8-9; 9,1-4.
- 59A representative lekythos is Kerameikos 1488 (*supra* n. 35), where Hermes tries to restrain Paris, who, holding his lyre, calmly walks away.
- 60On the lekythos, Syracuse, Museo Regionale 2345 from Megara Hyblaia, attributed to the Phanyllis Painter, ABL 200,19; F. Giudice, *I pittori della classe di Phanyllis* (1983) 57 no. 34 pl. 5,1-4.
- 61On the amphora, London, British Museum 1842.3-14.2 (B 239), attributed to the Leagros Group, dating about 510-500 BC, ABV 371,147, CVA 4 pl. 58,3a; LIMC V, 325 no. 463 or on the amphora, London, British Museum B 238 (*supra* n. 44).
- 62For the former see the neck-amphorae Munich, Antikensammlungen 1545, attributed to the Leagros Group, CVA 8 85-86 pl. 427,1; LIMC I, 499 no. 7 pl. 376; and Oxford V 510, attributed to the Group of Würzburg 199, ABV 290,2; CVA 3 5 pls 12,1-2; 13,1-2. For the latter, Paris with sceptre, see side A of amphora Type B, London, British Museum B 236, attributed to the Group of Würzburg 179, ABV 290,2; Para 126; CVA 4 pl. 57,a-b and for Paris with a lyre see the lekythos, Agrigento C 846 (*infra* n. 75).
- 63Basel art market, LIMC VII, 179 no. 34b pl. 112.
- 64Palermo, Collection Mormino 97, CVA 3 pl. 7,3-5; F. Giudice - S. Tusa - V. Tusa (eds), *La collezione archeologica del Banco di Sicilia* (1992) D 60.
- 65Laon 37.894, with a mock inscription, ABV 703,15bis attributed by Bothmer; Para 249; J. de la Gèniere, CVA 1 pl. 16,1-3. Very rarely, on early black-figure a beardless Paris appears as on one side of the amphora Type B, Louvre F 13, CVA 3 pl. 11,4. 7, which must be owed to the painter's carelessness.
- 66Louvre F 287, CVA 6 48-49 pl. 69,4.
- 67The type is regular on all scenes; for a few examples in red-figure of a beardless Paris, among many others, see the cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 2291, attributed to Makron, ARV² 459,4; Para 377; LIMC VII, 179 no. 36 pl. 112; hydria London, British Museum E 178, attributed to the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, dating about 470 BC, ARV² 503,20; BAdd² 251; LIMC VII, 180 no. 38 pl. 113; cup Berlin F 2536 (*supra* n. 48); white-ground pyxis New York, Metropolitan Museum

- of Art 07.286.36, attributed to the Pentesilea Painter, ARV² 890,173; Para 428; BAdd² 302; LIMC VII, 180 no. 46 pl. 116.
- 68As e.g. on the amphora Type B Brussels R 306, attributed to the Class of Louvre F 215bis, Para 138; CVA 1 pl. 11,2a-b; oinochoe Munich, Antikensammlungen J 716, attributed to the Class of London B 495, CVA 12 pls 14,4; 15,1–2; oinochoe Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (R.S.) 37.8, attributed to the Athena Painter, dating about 490–480 BC, ABV 526,1; CVA 2 pl. 2,3; LIMC V, 325 no. 464a; lekythos Athens, British School at Athens, A433, ex Ure Collection, related to the Group of Vatican G 52, Para 203; T.J. Smith, BSA 98, 2003, 365 no. 55 pl. 69a-b, perhaps Euboean.
- 69As on the neck-amphorae Copenhagen CHRVIII 321 and Vatican 399 (supra n. 39).
- 70Ivy or vine branches are to be seen mostly on late lekythoi, such as Leiden, Rijksmuseum XV 82, ABV 522,3; LIMC V, 325 no. 464c pl. 239 and Geneva Market, Collection Hirsch, ABV 522,2; LIMC V, 325 no. 464b, both attributed to the Athena Painter of 500–480 BC. However, they also decorate late skyphoi, such as Cabinet des Médailles 338, CVA 2 pl. 70,4. 6–8; Rome, Villa Giulia 3551, attributed to the Painter of Rodin 1000, near the Theseus Painter, ABV 253,9; S. Fritzilas, *O Ζωγράφος του Θησέα. Η αττική αγγειογραφία στην εποχή της νεοσοδοτατικής αθηναϊκής δημοκρατίας* (2006) 265 P4. They can also appear on late small oinochoai, such as Brussels R 281, CVA 1 pls 5,2a; 6,5, and on small neckamphorae, such as Copenhagen CHRVIII 321 and Vatican 399, both attributed to the Group of Copenhagen 114, near the Painter of Munich 1519 (supra n. 39).
- 71See for example, the hydria Berlin F 1894, attributed to the Antimenes Painter (supra n. 40) and the late skyphos in the Cabinet des Médailles 338 (see previous note), where on side B Dionysos holds a drinking horn and brings up the rear.
- 72Auckland, New Zealand, War Memorial Museum 12964, attributed to the Group of Faina 75, Para 144. 192; BAdd² 88; CVA 1 pl. 16,1–5; D.C. Kurtz, OJA 1, 1982, 158 fig. 24.
- 73On the hydria, Berlin F 1895, attributed to the Antimenes Painter (supra n. 40). On a very late skyphos Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 338 (supra n. 70) there is a fourth female figure, possibly a goddess, in the retinue, most probably due to the clumsiness of rough drawing.
- 74Louvre CA 616, LIMC V, 324 no. 453, where G. Siebert calls her a female figure, whereas A. Kossatz-Deissmann in LIMC VII, 178 no. 6 pl. 106 wonders whether she could be a Nymph, Iris or Eris. See also Tiverios 1981, 21 ns. 27–28.
- 75Agrigento C 846, ABL 233,18 pl. 36,4; CVA 1 pl. 71,3–4; LIMC V, 325 no. 458; and Laon 37.894 (supra n. 65).
- 76See, for example, the cup Belin F 2536 (supra n. 48).
- 77On the lekythos Tübingen, University S 10.1294 (infra n. 99).
- 78White-ground lekythos in Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection, attributed to the Edinburgh Painter, dating about 510 BC, Para 218; Oxford, Beazley Archive, no. 380863.
- 79Once Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2005, attributed by Haspels to the Theseus Painter, early fifth century, ABL 252,67 pl. 44,1; LIMC VII, 178 no. 17 pl. 109; S. Fritzilas (supra n. 70) 157 no. 243 fig. 66 pl. 82.
- 80Naples 86383, CVA 5 pl. 76. For the two vases, the lekythos once Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2005 and the alabastron Naples 86383 see E. Hatzivassiliou, *Athenian Black-figure Iconography between 510 and 475 B.C.* (diss. Oxford University, 2006) 362–363 nos. 374; 389 pl. 10.
- 81B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen 2* (1909–1933) 94 no. 1042 pl. 82; B. Philippaki, *Vases of the National Archaeological*

- Museum (no date) 74 fig. 31; LIMC VII, 178 no. 19.
- 823.57. The downdating of the Siphnian Treasury by Vickers, though convenient to our argument, does not concern us here.
- 83A.A. Lemos, *Archaïognosia* 10, 1999–2000, 11–50 for an overview of the subject with previous bibliography.
- 84By Haspels, ABL 226,8 pl. 33,1a–b. Also LIMC IV (1988) 858 no. 119, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi).
- 85By Haspels, ABL 100. 233,34 pl. 38,2a–b. Also LIMC IV (1988) 858 no. 120, s.v. Demeter (L. Beschi).
- 86Unattributed, see ABL 230,2 pl. 40,4a–b, with an inscription: HO ΠΑΙΣ (retrograde) ΚΑΛΟΣ ΕΜΟΙ ΔΟΚΕΙ.
- 87M.F. Vos, CVA Leiden 2 69 pl. 106,1–3. The figure behind the chariot is not clearly male or female. Vos wonders whether it could be Apollo playing the kithara, but it could equally well be Paris and the stringed instrument a lyre. Apollo's presence, which seems to be out of place, is clearly attested on the hydria Auckland, New Zealand (supra n. 72).
- 88By P. Alexandrescu, CVA Bucharest 2 42 pl. 41,1. 4–6.
- 89N. Plaoutine and J. Roger, CVA Paris, Musée Rodin pl. 18,8–9 respectively for the two lekythoi.
- 90An all-encompassing analysis of the subject for early and mature Athenian black-figure is Tiverios 1981; see recently A. Kossatz-Deissmann in LIMC VII for the entire subject.
- 91See n. 2.
- 92T.C.W. Stinton, Euripides and the Judgement of Paris, *The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*, Supplement Paper no. 11 (1965) 51–63 and especially 61–62 and Gantz (supra n. 23) 570.
- 93Gantz (supra n. 23) 567–571.
- 94Stinton (supra n. 92) 63.
- 95“For why should Hera long to be a beauty To win a husband better than Zeus?” (Lines 977–978, translated by Stinton [supra n. 92] 37).
- 96“Was it some god, you think, Pallas was chasing, Who begged her father let her stay a virgin, And shrank from marriage? Gods are not such fools;” (Lines 979–981, translated by Stinton [supra n. 92] 37). See also Stinton's remarks (supra n. 92, 37–39) on this particular passage.
- 97R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, vol. 4 (1983) 140–141.
- 9824.30: “[Paris] praised her [Aphrodite] who furthered his grievous lustfulness” (supra n. 3).
- 99Tübingen, University Collection S 10.1294, LIMC VII, 186 no. 108 pl. 127. For parodies of the Judgement on Boeotian Kabeirion vases, see LIMC VII, 186 nos. 109–110 pl. 127.
- 100By Haspels, ABL 117. Maenads, however, are depicted standing or dancing in ecstasy, and when seated are usually either on a mule or a bull, or in a Dionysiac context: see S. Moraw, *Die Mänade in der attischen Vasenmalerei des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Rezeptionsästhetische Analyse eines antiken Weiblichkeitsentwurfs* (1998) 43–52; see also LIMC VIII (1997) 780–802, s.v. Mainades (I. Krauskopf and E. Simon).
- 101The iconographical scheme with the goddesses seated is depicted on the shoulder of the Leagran hydria Chicago, Art Institute 1889.15 (C 37964) (supra ns. 52. 55).
- 102Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* (1924) 33 D 68 pl. 15 (with a beautiful drawing). Watzinger thinks the last goddess is Artemis, as she holds a deer, but deer are found in the Judgement scenes, either as additions to the landscape or as companions of Athena (supra ns 43–44).

15 Wheel without Chariot – A Motif in Attic Vase-Painting

Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter

Introduction

The wheel, this ingenious thing, cannot be imagined without the horse (Fig. 1): as symbols of beauty, velocity, and freedom, but also as symbols of fragility, unruliness, and sudden change. Each can be without the other, but the other is always secretly present. Together they are a strong team, but the slightest incident can break them up. The result of bringing horse and wheel together is the chariot that goes back to the third millennium in the Near East, and was present, it goes without saying, in Greek culture and mythology right from the beginning. We know chariot-drivers from Mycenaean as well as Geometric and Protoattic pottery.¹

This contribution looks at depictions of the four-spoked wheel as a single unit, detached from chariot and narrative context.² A single wheel does not occur often, frequently in unexpected places, and yet it gives a surprisingly full picture. It does not alter its appearance, but it changes its meanings during the course of the late Archaic and Classical periods.

The Wheel as episema and Crest-holder

Still imbedded in the world of warfare and charioteers, the individual wheel makes its appearance as an episema on warriors' shields. It lasts roughly from a Protoattic forerunner down to the middle of the fifth century BC. At the beginning it was displayed by warriors in the middle of battle, mythological or not, with or without chariots present; with the turn of the century we find it on shields worn by warriors calmly sitting at a game of dice (Fig. 2a) or saying good-bye to their kin; sometimes their wife or mother holds the shield.³

Normally episemata are shaped naturalistically to allude to strength,

swiftness, terror or victory, to name but a few of the possibilities; on the other hand there exist whirligigs, rosettes, and starbursts which look like mere ornament, although they are not – they too hint at strength and swiftness in an abstract way, as well as serving the purpose of an *apotropaion*. The wheel as an episema should not be mingled with them. In one instance, wheel and starburst are combined on a much later pyxis lid (Fig. 4d); each symbol reinforces the other, marking an explosively quick attack, on a pyxis lid maybe in a double sense. A star-burst is later the preferred choice and can be replaced by a wheel, but not, in all instances, the other way round.⁴

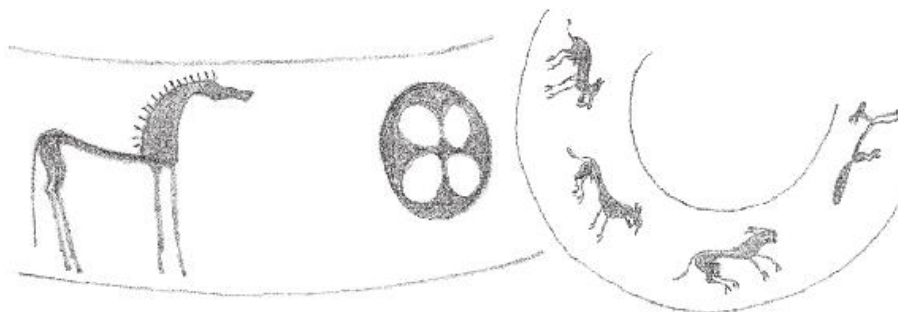


Fig. 1. Geometric oinochoe, Athens, NM 17457: after CVA 2 pl. 14.

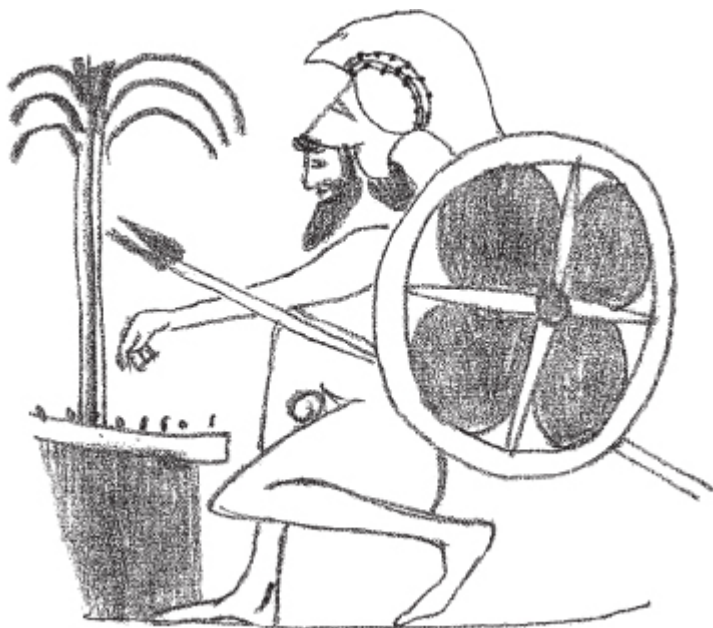


Fig. 2a. White-ground lekythos, Paris, Louvre MNB 911: after D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1975) pl. 59,4.

A comparison with Athenian coins showing a wheel on one side,

which were read as *Wappenmünzen*, has led to the assumption that those hoplites fighting ‘under the wheel’ are to be seen as members of an aristocratic family. This idea still lingers today and might be a justifiable explanation in some cases.⁵ If, however, we consider the fact that the wheel also occurs on shields worn by mythic warriors and by Amazons, such a conclusion becomes less likely.

Moreover, the wheel is incorporated as a crest-holder on the helmets of Amazons and other mythological figures (e.g. Geryon in Fig. 2b). On a black-figure dinos from the Athenian Akropolis two heroes with very similar wheelshaped crest-holders are seen to fight on opposing sides, and a horseman wears a helmet with a wheel (but without crest) on a famous black-figure amphora in Berlin, which shows three mimetic horses carrying three young warriors in a chorus-like performance accompanied by the music of a flute-player. It represents a moment of mockery that is here taken for granted; as a coat of arms the wheel seems to have changed its original meaning.⁶

The Wheel as a Sign of Speed

On one Amazon’s shield the wheel has four wings, as if the wheel were the hub and the wings the four spokes (Fig. 4a). This combination is telling: a wheel must be fast, as if carried by wings, the ultimate horsepower of the ancients. Although a convincing image, it seems to be the only example.⁷

The wings lead us to Hermes. In his role as the god of harnessing, he is connected with the wheel. In one instance the (rarely shown) wings on his petasos were replaced with a painted wheel (Fig. 3a), signifying clearly ‘swiftness’, much as the wheel on the Amazon’s shield. Here the wheel is being ‘completed’ with the pole and the floor of the chariot’s box. The painter must have realized just in time that an entire chariot on Hermes’s petasos would be beside the point, and he let it stay as it was. By this slip, if it is one, we know for sure that the wheel we are looking at is meant to be from a (war-) chariot.⁸

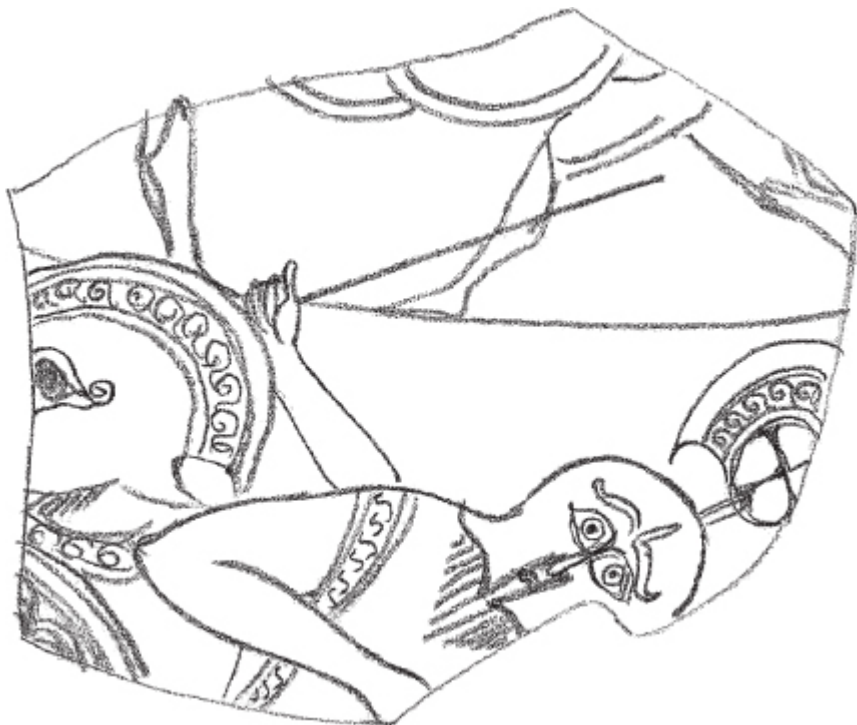


Fig. 2b. Black-figure hydria, Paris, Louvre CA 7400, Painter of Akropolis 606: after *MetrMusJ* 41, 2006, 47 fig. 20.

On a number of occasions, the lower section of the finial of Hermes's *kerykeion* incorporates a wheel. He, who almost never stands in the box of a chariot, must have been given this symbol as a sign of his ability to move at lightning speed.⁹ On an early red-figure cup in Vienna Hermes looks a bit odd (Fig. 3b). He stands with a 'fox hound' in front of an altar, his wand being of the standard type; behind him, however, hang a sponge, a strigil, and an aryballos decorated with a wheel. Hermes, certainly, does not use such things for his own purposes, but the little wheel leads to another sphere. Hermes must be imagined as standing on the threshold of a *palaistra*.¹⁰ In comparison with a cup by the Hegesiboulos Painter in whose tondo a notorious pimp with another 'fox hound' is portrayed, I should like to see Hermes as the master of this locality in which amorous encounters take place – here with an ironic touch as he and his big watchdog are on patrol. As opposed to the Vienna cup where the god is depicted in person, Hermes is usually present in such public spaces in the form of a herm, set up next to an altar.¹¹

Makron painted a scene of Agamemnon taking away from Achilles the fair Briseis, his booty from a raid on Lesbos. Since Talthybios, the Greek herald, carries a *kerykeion* incorporating a wheel (Fig. 3c), it is

obvious that the wheel in this story has not only a component of speed but also has an erotic undertone: Briseis as the plaything between the two heroes.¹²

Another way a vase-painter could symbolize velocity is given on the psykter in New York by Oltos. Six warriors ride dolphins (*epidelphinoi*), and must be figures from an early comedy. Three of them carry shields with episemata referring to the *symposion*; three shields signal swiftness. One of these has four dolphins afixed to the spokes of a wheel, the animals composing the wheel itself (Fig. 4b). To those who have witnessed a school of dolphins ploughing through the waves, the combination is self-evident, all the more so when the psykter was floating in a krater full of wine. The warriors ride on the dolphins as if on fast (water-) horses.¹³

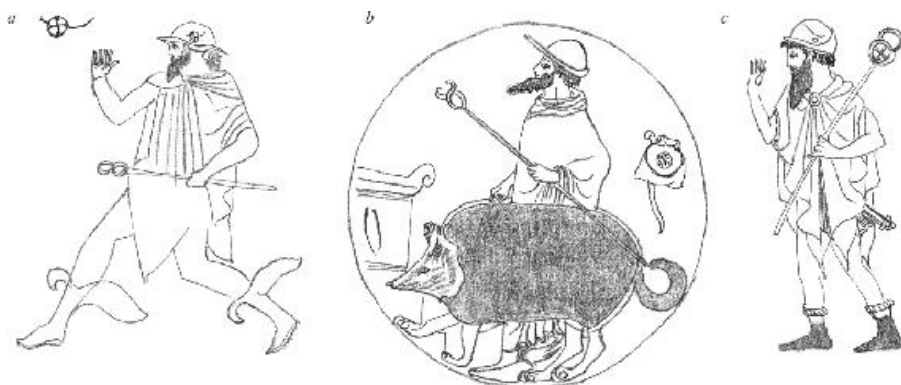


Fig. 3a. Red-figure psykter, private: after photo by author; b: Red-figure cup, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3691, Epidromos Painter: after H.A. Shapiro, *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens* (1989) pl. 50a; c: Skyphos, Paris, Louvre G 146, Makron: after N. Kunisch, *Makron* (1997) pl. 110.

Velocity is also made visible in a tondo of a late fifth-century stemless cup formerly at Charterhouse (Fig. 4c) where two dogs chase a hare around a wheel. The dog was an Athenian citizen's best friend and the hare a popular gift to one's lover (see Fig. 6a). The hunt and wheel, therefore, hint at the quick conquest of the person desired, a metaphor for an imminent act of love-making.¹⁴

The Wheel as Ornament on an Aryballos

That Athena, in her appearance as the martial goddess of the *polis*, sports a wheel-shield is only logical, since she is depicted with that episema on a Panathenaic amphora, a prize given to winners of various (equestrian) races. On the one in London the wheel on her shield has diminished to half of its diameter to leave, quite

unexpectedly, space for a *kalos*-inscription: *Euphiletos kalos* (Fig. 5a).¹⁵ On a cup in Montauban the wheel is reduced even further to a small circle in the centre of a shield carried by an ephebe, who, with others, trains horses, to become *hippeis* in the near future (Fig. 5b).¹⁶

On some Late Archaic vases, mostly cups, an alabastron, and a mug, we find such a small wheel depicted on the side of aryballoi, as we have already met on the interior of the Vienna cup (see Fig. 3a). These vessels hang on the wall together with a sponge and usually a strigil, the young athlete's paraphernalia in the palaistra (Fig. 5c–d).¹⁷ The fact that they are decorated with a wheel on the side, not on the mouth or on the bottom of the vase, does not accord with the aesthetics of Athenian vase-painters. The model was presumably taken from Corinthian aryballoi and was, in its two Athenian versions, in fashion with ephebes before and after 500 BC.¹⁸ One aryballos (Fig. 5d) looks different. In the tondo of a cup by Douris showing an athlete, the aryballos hanging with the sponge has a flat bottom, similar to an aryballos signed by Douris. Next to the side border there is perhaps a wheel. Unfortunately, the other half of the painted vase is lost, although traces of a second wheel may be detected.¹⁹

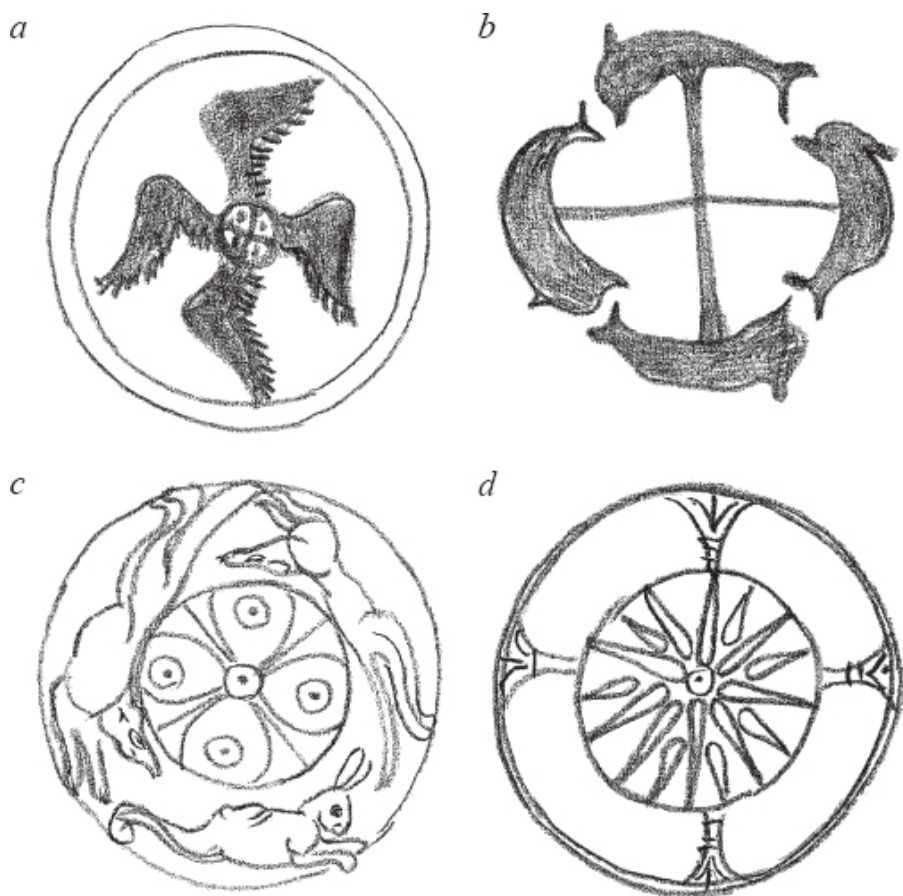


Fig. 4a. Red-figure cup, London BM E 45, Onesimos: after CVA 9 pl. 5a; b: Red-figure psykter, New York, MMA 1989.281.69, Olto: after H. Hoffmann (ed.), *The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (1964) no. 25; c: Red-figure stemless cup, Zurich, Galerie Rhea: after photo by M. Petropoulos; d: Red-figure pyxis, Athens, Agora P 23549: after M.B. Moore, *Attic Red Figured and White-Ground Pottery*, *Agora XXX* (1997) pl. 101, 1059.

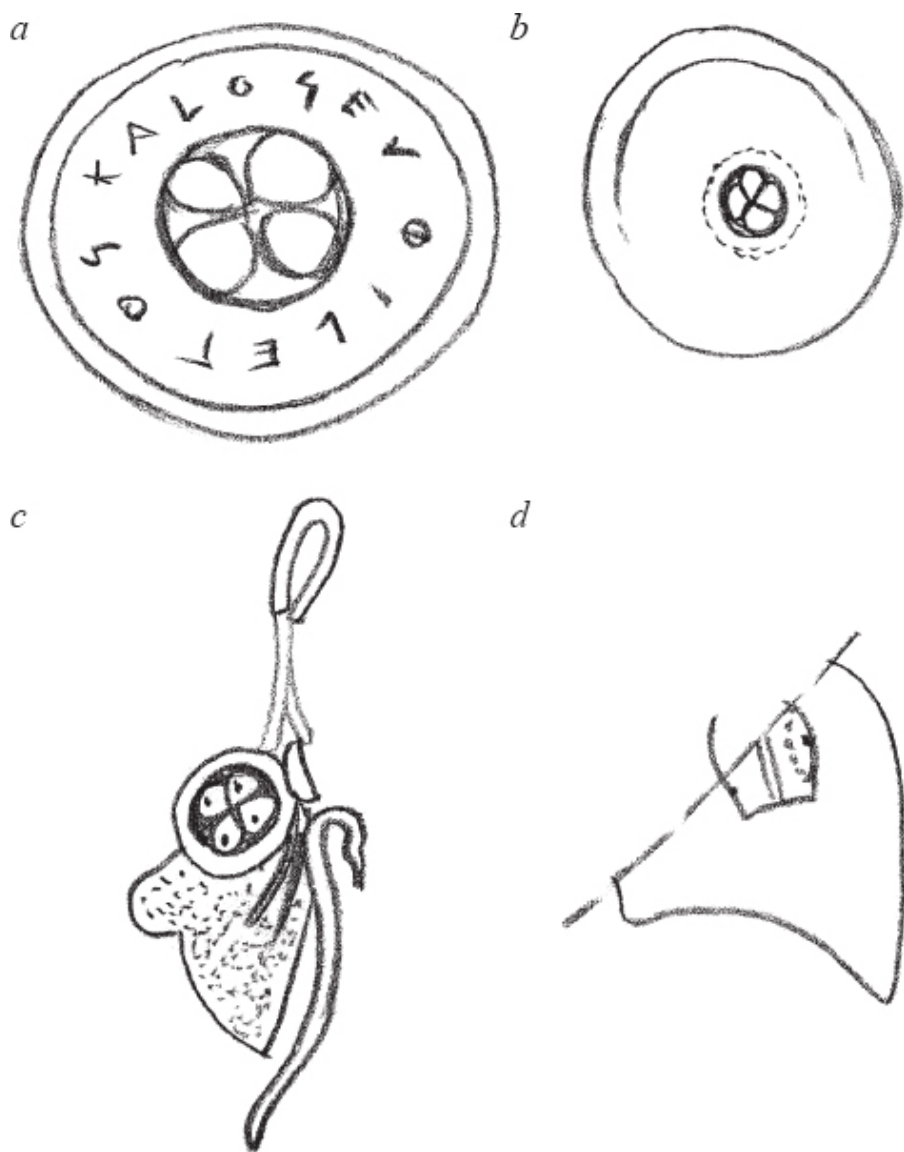


Fig. 5a. Panathenaic amphora, London, BM B 134, Euphiletos Painter: after *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 6 (2000) 72 fig. 12; b: Red-figure cup, Montauban, Musée Ingres 2, Manner Epeleios Painter: after F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier* (1990) 207 fig. 116; c: Red-figure cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2279, Peithinos: after CVA 2 pl. 60, 1; d: Red-figure cup, Centre Island, private, Douris: after D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* (1995) pl. 52 no. 77.

The aryballoi decorated with wheels are depicted hanging in athletic scenes, peopled exclusively with young men, who are beardless, like the ones in the above mentioned cup in Montauban. As the exception, one ephebe lies on a folded cushion with two skyphoi, as if at a symposium. Aryballoi are also shown hanging in the

background of amorous encounters in which bearded Athenian citizens and youths with down on their cheeks court still younger youths. On a cup in Gotha, with a youth courting a boy (Fig. 6a), a dog barks at a hare in a cage – a variation of ‘dog hunting hare’ (see Figs 1. 4c) and doubling the picture’s content.²⁰

The question arises again whether these ‘wheeled aryballoi’ are the belongings of youthful members of a particular family or only a symbolical pattern. The so-called Peithinos cup shows four pairs of *erastai* and *eromenoi* (one older youth is left empty-handed at the corner). Between each pair hang the palaestra-utensils (Fig. 5c). One aryballos of Dourian shape is undecorated; the three others, of Corinthian shape, are decorated with a wheel. As one of the courted boys has brought his own undecorated aryballos along, the ones hanging may belong to the older youths. Would three of them be members of the same family, courting youths at the same time?²¹ Or, is the kalos-inscription on Athena’s shield (see Fig. 5a) a clue to the answer?



Fig. 6a. Red-figure cup, Gotha, Schlossmuseum Ahv 48, Painter of the Gotha Cup: after G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (1983) 82 fig. 17.



Fig. 6b. Red-figure cup, Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum, Triptolemos Painter: after Catalogue Nefer 5 (1987) 10.

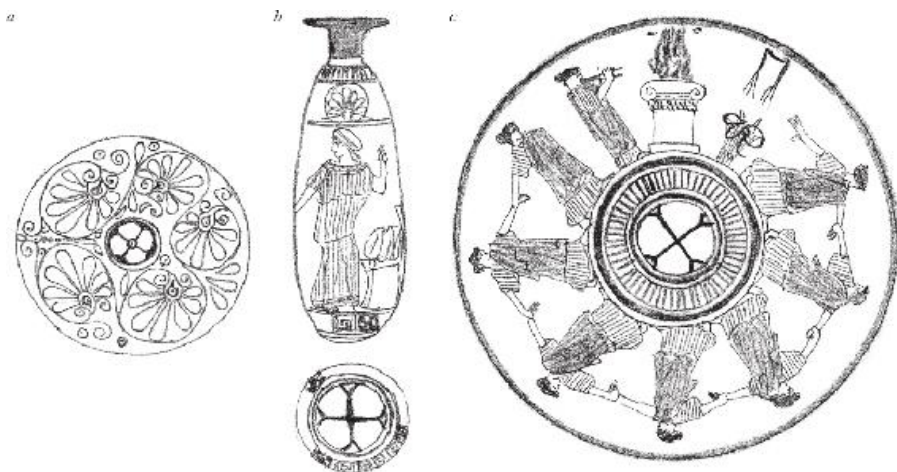


Fig. 7a. Red-figure pyxis, Boston, private: after C. Houser (ed.), *From Myth to Life: Images of Women from the Classical World* (2004) no. 31.; b: Red-figure alabastron, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.271: after CVA 1 pl. 33,6. 9.; c: White-ground phiale, Boston, MFA 65.908, Painter of London D 12: after P. Cartledge, *Kulturgeschichte Griechenlands in der Antike* (2000) 335.

Wheel and Women

A point of contact between the world of the ephebes and that of women is a cup by the Triptolemos Painter, within which a young woman is preparing to bathe. On the wall hangs the now familiar aryballos with the wheel which this time is rendered in dilute glaze and the wheel in reserve (Fig. 6b).²² The woman carrying a bundled-up mantle and wearing a *sakkos* and earrings can only be a *hetaira*. After the bath she will probably perfume herself from the exaleiptron in her hand and not from the aryballos behind her, since this belongs to an ephebe. The aryballos may indicate the age of the ephebe, whose cup it once might have been, and the scene in it may allude to his last ‘adventure’. He himself is called *kalos* in the exergue.

Apart from the solitary depiction on this cup – a male shape – there are only a few examples of wheels on shapes used mainly by women. This time, they do not occur in the pictures themselves but are discretely placed outside the depiction. They are all found on red-figure shapes without handles.²³ On the outside of an early pyxis two men rest with two *hetairai*, while a youth fills their cups; all are naked. On the top of the lid are five palmettes, one for each person, which surround a wheel in the centre (Fig. 7a).²⁴ Is the wheel meant to characterize the men or the women, or just the (rotating) situation on the outside?

A red-figure alabastron in Baltimore has a wheel on its bottom (Fig. 7b).²⁵ The figured scene – mistress and maid it seems – has not the directness of that on the pyxis. The wool basket, however, and the rolled-up mantle on the stool tell us that we are looking at *hetairai* again. In the Athenian iconographic context of entertainments they are present in great number; they were not the wives or daughters of Athenian citizens, nor sisters of Athenian ephebes. From the pyxis to the alabastron their depictions have changed from Archaic directness to Classical nobleness, for on the latter they prepare their clothes and exercise with balls for their appearance at a symposion later in the evening.²⁶

A third example is the white-ground phiale in Boston (Fig. 7c). Seven women holding each other’s hands, dance to the melody of a flute girl towards an altar that is alight with fire. A *kalathos* adorned with strands of wool and a *tainia* hanging on the wall indicate the house in which the ritual takes place. The evenly-spaced figures and

objects look almost like the spokes of a wheel around the wheel on the hub of the phiale, as if metaphorically accelerating the dance.²⁷

Other phialai from this time have depictions of satyrs, erotic pursuits, and the training of dancing girls; on the *omphaloi* in these phialai we see a woman's head, a Nike, or a starburst.²⁸ Starburst and wheel, and as we shall see, also wheel and the woman's head complement each other; the Nike carries a *kanoun* and oinochoe to a sacrifice.

The alabastra with painted bottoms, apart from the black wheel, display palmettes, a satyr, a warrior, or an ephebe, and clearly their figured-friezes indicate that they belong to the world of 'easy' women and desirable youths.²⁹ The frieze on the Boston phiale can be compared with a pyxis lid in black-figure, roughly of the same time, where an *auletris* sits by an altar and five women dance to her music; a sixth stands behind a column, busying herself with pots. The frieze of the pyxis itself leaves no doubts that this vessel must have once belonged to a hetaira.³⁰ Thus, I would like not only to recognize the women on the first two examples – the pyxis and the alabastron – as hetairiai, but also those on the phiale: decently clad the Classical way, performing a ritual as other inhabitants of the city do – the wheel is theirs.



Fig. 8a. Red-figure oon, New York, MMA 1971.258.5, Washing Painter: after photos from the museum and after D. von Bothmer, *Antiquities from New York Private Collections* (1961) pl. 91, no. 246; b: Red-figure oon, Athens, NM St. 332, Washing Painter: after photos by author; c: Red-figure cup, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 63, Elpinikos Painter: after CVA 1 pl. 3,5.

Let us next consider two very special, if not unique vases. They are in the shape of an egg, both by the Washing Painter. They are clearly later than anything we have looked at so far; they are decorated in the dainty Meidian mode which often puts erotic scenes into the realm of Aphrodite. The oon in New York has a frieze with the abduction of a mythical heroine. Aphrodite, crowned like a torch racer, leans on a pillar of a palaistra, and Eros plays a love game with a biconvex disc, the *rhombos*. The top and bottom of this special grave offering were painted. Here, the top is lost, but on the bottom there is a wheel with an egg pattern decorating the spokes and a second wheel serves as the hub of the first (Fig. 8a). On the oon in Athens women play *morra* under the auspices of Eros in order to learn the fate of a young couple. Again, there is a wheel on the bottom and on top are the bust of a woman and a small crescent (Fig. 8b).³¹ During the Rich Style of the late fifth century, vase-painters loved to reprise shapes and themes from earlier times. The egg is an old shape, the wheel an old sign by now, as is the female head in a tondo or on a round omphalos. On a cup-interior by the Elpinikos Painter of about a century earlier, there is the portrait of a beautiful young woman, around whom the inscription reads *Elpinikos kalos* (Fig. 8c).³²

If we look back at the shield of Athena with the Euphiletos kalos-inscription (Fig. 5a), we recognize that the wheel and female head not only can be a pictorial substitute for each other, but can also be interchangeably interpreted. Both elements have the touch of a young man being praised as beautiful (while still an ephebe) and of a young woman who is no less beautiful (though not having the status of a citizen). Both inscriptions praising Euphiletos (well-loved) and Elpinikos (hoping for victory) are quite telling in themselves. In the case of the London Panathenaic amphora, the painter, with a twinkle in his eye, alludes not only to athletic contests in which ephebes participated, but also, indirectly, to complimentary (erotic) physical 'contests' with the opposite sex – an ambiguity frequent in Attic vase-painting.

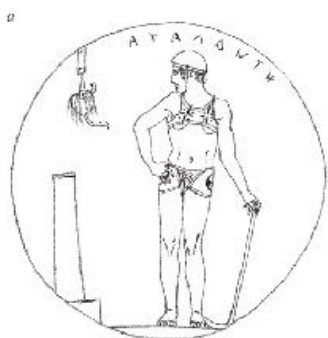


Fig. 9a: Red-figure stemless cup, Paris, Louvre CA 2259, *Euaion Painter*: after V. Paul Zinserling, *Der Jena-Maler und sein Kreis* (1994) pl. 61,2; b: Red-figure dinos, Athens, NM 13027, *Painter of the Athens Dinos*: after N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Agon* (2004) 283 no. 164; c: Red-figure pelike, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University at Atlanta 2008.4.1: after photo from Numisart, Munich.

In the context of an assembly of gods welcoming Herakles on Mount Olympus, another woman's head within a round circle, eccentrically placed under a handle of a cup, has been interpreted as a portrait of the Moon, Selene. This would be a perfectly valid interpretation also for the top of the Athens oon (Fig. 8b) where there is a crescent next to the woman's head. Whether she is Selene or a hetaira, both are full of promises for the night.³³

The 'beautiful head' still continues to be used as the fifth century comes to a close, the erotic flavour never being lost. By looking at ceramics made outside of Athens, we can understand better how 'discretely' Athenian vasepainters handled the topic and why our conclusions are probably valid. For example, a female head-vase from Northern Greece has three wheels on the throat, one in front, two on each side, indicating her status as hetaira. Over a hundred years later, an Apulian red-figure female acrobat wears a *perizoma* decorated with no less than four wheels.³⁴

Wheel as a Sign of Otherness

Starting late in the sixth century, a number of cups are decorated with the *dokimasia*, the yearly inspection of the young hippeus and his horse by the *boulé*. Aristoteles tells us that horses which could not be kept under control were discharged from service by branding the symbol of a wheel on their cheeks.³⁵ No such depiction of a horse has been found yet (but see now the Addendum); the application of a wheel to the short trousers of leather or cloth worn by 'human' figures can be traced in vase-paintings from about 460 to 420 BC in two contexts.

One concerns Atalante in her most endearing representation by the Euaion Painter (Fig. 9a). An aryballos and a strigil on a leather band hang in the background above a turning post. There is no sign of a wheel on the oil flask and she does not appear naked, as do her male competitors. She holds a pick with which to loosen the dirt bedding. Atalante wears a cap to keep her hair in place, a bra with bursting stars in the appropriate places, and a *perizoma* with a palmette set conspicuously and with wheels on the hips.³⁶ Of course they symbolize 'swiftness', but there is more. They are a decoration of the *perizoma*, a loin-cloth which since the sixth century is worn by her and by female dancers and acrobats, and was eventually taken over by performing

satyrs. In the decade before the middle of the fifth century, about fifty years after the first depiction of the dokimasia, the perizoma starts being decorated in this way.³⁷ Branded with wheels, Atalante is the personified, uncontrollable anti-wife, no role-model for an Athenian woman, but certainly alluring to look at.

Some actors, when playing the role of a satyr on stage, wear trunks with wheels, not all that different from those on Atalante (Fig. 9b).³⁸ With satyrs being partly horse and having failed 'civic inspection', this kind of branding becomes possible and is thus made visible. It marks them for what they are – uncontrollable and hence outside the laws of society; they enjoy a freedom any Athenian might only have dreamed about. But why is the sign on the hips, and not on the head? On the hips the message is transmitted more clearly, all the more as the perizoma is supplemented with an erect *phallos*. Sometimes the wheel is set more towards the front, but mostly it sits exactly on the side – as on a horses' cheek.³⁹

Of interest here is a pelike in Atlanta which has on one side a flute-player in a long gown, and on the other an actor in the costume of a bird-man (Fig. 9c), similar to those on the famous calyx-krater formerly at the J. Paul Getty Museum.⁴⁰ They should be dated after 440 BC, at least twenty years earlier than the calyx-krater is normally dated, and this disconnects both depictions from Aristophanes's *Birds* of 414 BC.⁴¹ In contrast to the Getty bird-men, the Atlanta bird-man moves his arms covered with wings as if fluttering. He wears a perizoma not with a horse's but a bird's tail over a tight, spotted overall. The perizoma is marked with a wheel, which on the Getty krater is almost reduced to a black spot and therefore difficult to recognize as such. As is the case with other actors playing satyrs, the bird-man sports a stuffed, erect phallos; he even has one on each heel of his boots – triple virility.

Conclusion

The motif of a wheel outside of a narrative context has several possible interpretations which are connected with the spirit of the time in which it was used. It starts in considerable number around the middle of the sixth century on the shields and helmets of warriors and is probably best interpreted as a sign of martial excellence, whether it derives from a coat of arms or not, whether the warriors are mythical or not, or in a theatrical context. It stands for swiftness on land or water and sometimes is enhanced with added wings, so that it turns almost into an ethereal being. The wheel is a sign of what it originally was: a fast moving item.

With the turn of the century the wheel turns into a symbol for

young Athenians during the phase of the *ephebeia*, a time when they lived outside Athenian society before their passage to fully integrated citizenship. In addition to exercising their bodies and training with horses, they courted boys (of equal social status) and met women whose services they employed. The wheel was an occasional 'secret' pictorial sign of the encounter of the genders during the most attractive phase of both their lives. Hermes and other messengers play a distinctive role in the various relationships.

During the fifth century, in the women's world, wheels are found on vases without handles, stressing the point that a wheel, just as a woman, when not led properly, can quickly spin out of control. The wheel is exclusively used for women outside established society: for hetairai, dancers, and musicians. Hence, it is erotically unstable as well. The wheel and female head (of a hetaira) are interchangeable motifs. When interpreting the head as the goddess of the night, the wheel assumes an aspect of time. In myth it is mostly at home in the realm of Aphrodite. Briseis serves as a mythological paradigm of a woman of good birth forced into sexual compromise. When Amazons are involved, the wheel takes on the flavour of Atalante: 'unruly' women who live outside the agreed-upon norms of society and the mythological counterparts to the mostly foreign women living in Athens who entertained men.

In respect to the dokimasia, the wheel means rejection but at the same time liberation. It then comes as no surprise that Hermes is thought of as father of the satyrs,⁴² to whom the brand used for horses (and his kerykeion) is metaphorically transmitted as well as to other figures of the theatre, marking them as useless for the society that runs the city, but also giving pleasure to those who watch them in this concealing and revealing world in which things can be said and done freely. Under the Dionysian aspect of the theatre, made possible by the mask, the wheel shows still another aspect of man, be he a horse-man or a bird-man. A satyr is the male counterpart of Atalante or an Amazon, the same as an ephebe stands in opposition to a hetaira or a dancer.

In short, the wheel with its fragile construction and extreme springiness can mean two contradictory things – the very top and the very bottom – and it turns swiftly from one to the other. The oinochoe from the Geometric period (Fig. 1) sums up metaphorically one side of the story: at a certain time in the life of a man, horse and wheel come naturally. Dogs chasing a fox (or a hare) remind him of breathtaking runs for quick (sexual) satisfaction. The complimentary aspect is manifested in representations of the city-festivals, when actors put on a mask (and the perizoma) and thereby become the 'other'. Which is the bottom, which is the top?

Acknowledgements

My thanks go to R. Atulla, M. Bentz, E. Böhr, J. Gaunt, J.R. Green, J.R. Guy, M. Iozzo, E.R. Knauer, E. Kunze-Götte, K. Lapatin, E. Manakidou, M. Petropoulos, H.A. Shapiro, E. Simon, I. McPhee, Carina Weiss, and D. Williams for sharing their wisdom with me.

Notes

1See e.g. J.H. Crouwel, *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles* (1981). Protoattic: amphora, Athens, NM 17762: CVA 2 pl. 1,3.

2All the examples presented here have four spokes with the following exceptions: As a shield device wheels with eight spokes: e.g. M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler und seine Werkstatt* (1989) pl. 20; ARV² 608,6. As a cup tondo: Agora P 32421: Hesperia 65, 1996, pl. 75,33. 3. On the bottom of an alabastron: Para 331. See also J. Neils, in: C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases: Images, Contexts and Controversies* (2004) 79. My title excludes chariots drawn by men, Erotes, centaurs, mules, goats, snakes or the like. It does not deal with Triptolemos, nor with the wheel of Nemesis (E. Simon, in: G. Alföldy (ed.), *Römische Lebenskunst. Interdisziplinäres Kolloquium zum 85. Geburtstag von Viktor Pöschl*. Heidelberg, 2.–4. Februar 1995 [1995] 119ff.) or of Kairos (reference due to E.R. Knauer); we leave out an occasional yoyo or ball with a painted wheel. For the wheel as love-oracle see infra n. 31. For Ixion tied to a wheel as a punishment (because he did not behave as expected) see J.H. Oakley, in: A. Alexandri – I. Leventi (eds), *Kallisteuma. Meletes pros timen tes Olgas Tzachou-Alexandri* (2001) 127–132.

3For the Protoattic, supra n. 1. A few examples: black-figure cup-skyphos, Basel, Antikenmuseum and Slg. Ludwig BS 460: CVA 1 pl. 33,5 (*apobatai*). Cup, Malibu 79.AE.127, Oltos: Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2 (1985) 187 (Amazon). White-ground lekythos, Paris, Louvre MNB 911, near the Diosphos Painter: ARV² 301,1; D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1975) pl. 59,4 (Achilles and Ajax throwing dice). Neck-amphora, Basel BS 453, Berlin Painter: ARV² 1634,30bis; CVA 2 pl. 45,1 (a companion of Herakles). White-ground lekythos, Malibu 84.AE. 770, Douris, B. Cohen (ed.), *The Colors of Clay* (2006) no. 58. Stamnos, New York, MMA 41.162.20, Deepdene Painter: ARV² 499,11; CVA 1 pl. 14,2 (warrior's departure). Calyx-krater, Paris, Louvre G 482, Geneva Painter: ARV² 615,1; M. Meyer (ed.), *Besorgte Mütter und sorglose Zecher* (2007) pl. 4,4 (B. Reichart) (Thetis holding a shield with a wheel surrounded by an olive wreath). See also ABV 227; ARV² 199,29; 436,110; 601,23; 610,26.

4R. Atulla, *Schildzeichen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei* (forthcoming). For the whirligig, see the cup interiors e.g. CVA Athens 3 pl. 17,4; a starburst CVA Athens 3 pl. 20,4. The combination: pyxis lid, Agora P 23549, M.B. Moore, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery*, Agora XXX (1997) pl. 101,1059.

5See M. Bentz, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren*, AntK Beiheft 18 (1998) 48. The essay by M. Tiverios, mentioned in n. 246, is now republished in: J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena* (1996) chapter 7. For the Wappenmünzen see C.T. Seltman, *Athens. Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* (1974) 35–36.

6Tyrrhenian amphora, Boston 98.926: ABV 98,46; LIMC I (1981) 588 no. 9 pl. 441, s.v. Amazones (P. Devambez) (Amazon). Paris, Louvre CA 7400, P. of Akropolis 606 [M. Denoyelle]: M.B. Moore, *Hoplites, Horses and Comic Chorus*, *MetrMusJ* 41, 2006, 33–57, esp. 47 fig. 20 (this reference was kindly brought to my attention by E.R. Knauer, and the author kindly supplied an offprint). Dinos, Athens, NM Acropolis 606, Painter of Acropolis 606: ABV 81,1; O. Tzachou-

- Alexandri, in: D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (1991) 190–214; H. Born – S. Hansen, *Frühgriechische Bronzehelme*, Sammlung A. Guttman III (1994) 64–65. Berlin, Staatliche Museum F 1697, Painter of Berlin 1668: ABV 297,17; M. Steinhart, *Die Kunst der Nachahmung* (2004) 11 pl. 2,3; for a better photo of the wheel in question see Moore (supra) 39, fig. 10; see also K.S. Rothwell Jr., *Nature, Culture, and the Origins of Greek Comedy: A Study of Animal Choruses* (2007) 37–41 pl. 1.
- 7Cup, London, BM E 45, Onesimos: ARV² 316,8; CVA 9 pl. 5a.
- 8Psyktēr, New York, private: see F. Lissarrague – F. Thelamon (eds), *Image et céramique grecque. Actes du Colloque de Rouen 1982* (1983) 151. According to G.H. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greek*² (1979) 45, there is a device of wheels and axle of a chariot seen from above, cp. C.H. Smith, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum II* (London 1893) 260 no. B 571. Atulla (supra n. 4) confirmed that there is no episema with an entire chariot.
- 9LIMC VIII (1997) 728–730, s.v. kerykeion (M. Halm-Tisserant – G. Siebert). A kerykeion of this sort on the shaft of a herm: CVA Bonn 1 pl. 34,14. For the kerykeion as the most popular brand for horses, see K. Braun, *AM* 85, 1970, 258–259. See the Addendum on p. 157.
- 10Cup, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Mus. 3691, Epidromos Painter: ARV² 118,8; A. Bernhard-Walcher, *Alltag, Feste, Religion. Antikes Leben auf griechischen Vasen*² (1992) 102 no. 49; 107 – the old interpretation of a dog made up as a pig has to be abandoned, see Heidenreich, below n. 11. For herms, see E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*² (1980) 303–312; LIMC V (1990) 285–387, s.v. Hermes (G. Siebert), esp. 92–172; 402ff. for harnessing scenes.
- 11Cup, New York, MMA 07.286.47: ARV² 175,1; R. Heidenreich, *AA* 1985, 581–586; 581 n. 4 for the Vienna cup (supra n. 10).
- 12Skyphos, Paris, Louvre G 146, Makron: ARV² 458,2; N. Kunisch, *Makron* (1997) 195 no. 331 pl. 110.
- 13Psyktēr, New York, MMA 1989.281.69: ARV² 1622,7bis; O.W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ancient Art. The Norbert Schimmel Collection* (1974) no. 57 (A. Greifenhagen). See also G. Schwarz, *ÖJh* 71, 2002, 251–263 and Rothwell (supra n. 6) 58–71. For a winged dolphin as episema, see supra n. 7, CVA London 9 pl. 4b. E. Manakidou kindly drew my attention to another example of such dolphin wheels: M.B. Moore – M.Z. Pease *Philippides, Attic Black-Figured Pottery, Agora XXIII* (1986) pl. 121, no. 1900 (P 15390): Moore leaves the shape (narrow neck) and the sex of the painted figures open. The two figures in short chiton and hair bound in a bun can be men (E. Kunze-Götte) or perhaps young girls (Manakidou). They are dancing with a dolphin-wheel in each hand (made of metal?).
- 14Stemless cup, Zurich, Galerie Rhea: Sotheby's (London) Auction 11 May 2002, lot no. 49; C. Schneider, *JdI* 115, 2000, 1–36; G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (1983) passim, especially 76–89.
- 15London, BM B 134, Euphiletos Painter: ABV 322,1; Bentz (supra n. 5) pl. 17,6.059. It seems to be the only known kalos-inscription on a Panathenaia amphora.
- 16Montauban, Musée Ingres 2, Manner of the Epeleios Painter: ARV² 149,22, F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier* (1990) 207 fig. 116. See also Lissarrague 205–210 for ephebes as athletes and as horsemen; *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997) 1072–1075, s.v. Ephebeia (H.-J. Gehrke). Hippolytos on the Sarpedon krater by Euphronios wears a similar shield: Euphronios der Maler: eine Ausstellung in der Sonderausstellungshalle der Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem 20.3.–26. 5.1991 (1991) no. 4.
- 17Wheel'-aryballoi in athletic context: e.g. cup, Munich, *Antikensammlungen inv.* 2613, Poseidon Painter: ARV² 136,3; R. Wünsche – F. Knauss (eds), *Lockender*

- Lorbeer. Sport und Spiel in der Antike (2004) 132. 217 no. 43 (young athletes at *pentathlon*, *hoplitodromoi*). Cup, Leipzig, Antikenmuseum T 516, Antiphon Painter: ARV² 336,1; CVA 3 pl. 27,1 (*hoplitodromos*). Cup, Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 79,2, Douris: BAdd² 393–394; D. Buitron-Oliver, Douris (1995) 73 no. 15 pl. 10 (wrestling) and *passim*. Alabastron, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum HA 469, Onesimos: Wünsche – Knauss (*supra*) 110 fig. 13,18 (discus-thrower). Mug, Münzen und Medaillen AG Basel, Auction 40, 1969, no. 89 (youth reclining).
- 18For Corinthian aryballoi see D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* III (1988) pl. 63,2b, where already the (eight-spoked) wheel is combined with a woman's head. Amyx (*supra*) pl. 63,1b has two such ladies painted on the bottoms, see *infra* ns. 31–32. Amyx (*supra*) 443 deals with the late aryballoi with quatrefoil patterns which might have inspired the Attic ones, at least its positioning (reference due to I. McPhee). In BSA 29, 1927–28, 187–215, J.D. Beazley gives a list of aryballoi: for his no. 12 (ARV² 264,57: I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgrundige Keramik* [1983] pl. 44,3–4. Man leading horse, man courting youth) and no. 16 (late fifth century: Münzen und Medaillen AG Basel, Auction 22, 1961, pl. 61, no. 182. Eros playing ball with a boy, two boys with a chart and a cock) he notes a wheel on the bottom of each vessel, inspired by alabastra (see *infra* ns. 25. 29). To my knowledge, no aryballos with a wheel on the side has been found so far – did the painters display it there to make the symbol not to be overlooked? With aryballoi, the wheel can also be replaced by a starburst, cp. Moore (*supra* n. 4) pl. 96,987 (late fifth century, youth by stele). I not consider here the problem of aryballoi possibly made of leather. The wheel certainly is not a mark of skin; if there is such a mark it is rather shown as circle with an occasional dot which could also be a brand, cp. e.g. K. Kübler, *Die Nekropole des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts*, *Kerameikos* V,1, pl. 144 (reference thanks to C. Weiss). See A. Heinemann, CVA Germany, Beiheft 4, forthcoming.
- 19Cup, Centre Island, private, Douris: BAdd² 393; Buitron (*supra* n. 17) 77 no. 77 pl. 52. It might be one of the first examples of its depiction seen from the side. Flat-bottomed aryballos, Athens, NM 15375, Douris: ARV² 447,274; Buitron (*supra* n. 17) 78 no. 85 pl. 56 (two Erotes chasing a youth).
- 20Cup, Gotha, Schlossmuseum Ahv 48, Painter of the Gotha Cup: ARV² 20; Koch-Harnack (*supra* n. 14) 82 fig. 17. A more accurate drawing of the aryballos is in BSA 29, 1927–28, 218, fig. 2ζ. Cup, St. Petersburg, Ermitage 664, Epidromos Painter: ARV² 117,4; Koch-Harnack (*supra* n. 14) 88 fig. 23 (erastes with dog and hare). Cup, Malibu, Getty Villa 83.AE 217, Douris: Buitron (*supra* n. 17) 75 no. 38 pl. 24 (erastes and eromenos). Cup, Vatican H 550, Brygos Painter: ARV² 375,68; Koch-Harnack (*supra* n. 14) 72 fig. 9 (men and youths, with dogs and hare).
- 21Cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2279, Peithinos: ARV² 115,2; CVA 2 pl. 60,1–2; E. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora. Women in Classical Greece* (1996) 341–343. H.A. Shapiro kindly tells me, after checking with A. Lear, that this situation is rather unlikely. Furthermore, the wheel serves as a kind of lock: to fasten a chlamys (Moore [*supra* n. 6] fig. 3) or to close a sack that is to be taken on a campaign (LIMC I [1981] 697 no. 26 pl. 559, s.v. *Amphiaraos* [I. Krauskopf]), or a quiver (B. Andreae [ed.], *Odysseus. Mythos und Erinnerung* [1999] 91 fig. 27). To hang a shield by its straps to a wall (P. Ducrey, *Guerre et guerriers dans la Grèce antique* [1985] 218 fig. 147) and others. All are in a 'martial' context.
- 22Cup, Jerusalem, Bible Lands Museum 4647: G.M. Bernheimer, *Glories of Ancient Greece. Vases and Jewelry from the Borowski Collection* (2001) 57 no. 66; F. Colivicchi, in: F.-H. Massa-Pairault (ed.), *L'image antique et son interpretation* (2006) 278 fig. 1; 277–300, who discusses the indecorous use of the strigils by

- women – a topic similar to ours.
- 23E.g. plate?, Athens, Agora P 4122/P27395: Moore (supra n. 4) pl. 157,1680 (wheel drawn with all the technical details); in the late fifth century stemmed plates were much in favour for export to the West, e.g. to Spina, e.g. CVA Ferrara 1 pl. 42,2. Pls 43–44 of the same fascicle show stemmed plates, but on them the wheel is replaced by a bust of a young man or woman.
- 24Pyxis, Cambridge, Mass., Gilbert collection, Bryn Mawr Painter [J.R. Guy]: ARV² 145 middle; C. Hauser (ed.), *From Myth to Life: Images of Women from the Classical World* (2004) 79–81 no. 31 (A. Ertzner).
- 25Alabastron, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 48.271, related to the Group of the Paidikos Alabastra [J.H. Oakley]; CVA 1 pl. 33,6–10 and p. 31 with a list of alabastra having wheels on the bottom.
- 26The bibliography on hetairai has grown vastly, often tinted with feminism. For a traditional view (followed here) see e.g. J. Neils, in: B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal* (2000) 203–226; for another view: U. Kreilinger, *Anständige Nacktheit* (2007).
- 27Phiale, Boston, MFA 65.908, Painter of London D 12 [P. Truitt?]. None of the newer publications of this extraordinary phiale mentions the wheel, e.g. J. Neils – J.H. Oakley, *Coming of Age* (2003) 156 fig. 17 nor J.B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess* (2007) pl. 31 fig. 2,1 pl. 1; the same with the two aryballoi mentioned in n. 18.
- 28Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2310, Telephos Painter: ARV² 819,50; C. Schettino Nobile, *Il Pittore di Telefo* (1969) pl. 40. Boston, MFA 97.371, Phiale Painter: ARV² 1023,146; J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (1990) 90 no. 146 pl. 120a–b. Kiel, Kunsthalle B 651: B. Freyer-Schauenburg, in: E. Böhr – W. Martini (eds), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei* (1986) 115–120 (the first on her list, p. 116 [head of Apollo], seems to be a lid of a type C pyxis). All the themes, in the friezes and on the *omphaloi*, compliment each other, as on the alabastra; see the following ns.
- 29Supra n. 25 and ARV² 101,4; P. Badinou, *La laine et le parfum* (2003) pl. 76,A 127 (warrior). ARV² 1626,32; Badinou (supra) pl. 79,A 132 (youth). ARV² 104,18; Badinou (supra) A 122, CVA Hoppin and Gallatin Collections 1 pl. 27,6. 8 (satyr). ARV² 100,15; Badinou (supra) pl. 70,A 109 (palmette). Satyr, warrior, youth, palmette, all belong to the same ‘other’ world.
- 30Pyxis, Athens, NM 14909: S. Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen* (2005) 116–117 fig. 56. For sacrificing ‘hetairai’ see, e.g. S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman* (2002) 103 fig. 3,9 (naked woman putting a wreath on a flaming altar); Badinou (supra n. 30) pl. 73,A 112 (two clad women sacrificing over an altar).
- 31New York, MMA 1971.258.3, Near the Eretria Painter: ARV² 1256,1; A. Lezzi-Hafter in *Der Eretria-Maler* (1988) 5 assigns the two eggs tentatively to the Washing Painter, an attribution accepted by V. Sabetai, *The Washing Painter* (diss. University of Cincinnati, 1993) 90–91; D. von Bothmer, *Antiquities from New York Private Collections* (1961) 62–63 no. 246 pls 91–92. Athens, NM Stathatou 332: ARV² 1257,2; Mon Piot 40, 1944, pl. 7. For love oracles see, e.g., *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999) 120, s.v. Jynx (M. Haase).
- 32For black-figure eggs, see B.A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.*, *Agora XII* (1970) 181 n. 1. Cup, Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 63, Elpinikos Painter: ARV² 119,1 (interpreted as Selene); CVA 1 pl. 3,5 (interpreted as a young woman by A. Greifenhagen), undecorated outside.
- 33Cup, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 2278, Sosias Painter: ARV² 21,1, given to the Kleophrades Painter by M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* (1992) 59; E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976) pls 118–119. In this

- picture, the 'Moon' holds her closed hand with outstretched forefinger in front of the chin – a gesture already seen on the black-figure cup by the Kallis Painter in Naples: ABV 203,1 (the bust of a young woman, among others, with Dionysos); C. Isler-Kerényi calls her a *nymphe*, a woman attending a symposion without a male companion, who at the same time is a woman not yet having given birth. The gesture in a Dionysian context recalls the Mysteries: AA 1999, 553–566 (the Naples cup 564, fig. 9) and lecture Dec. 15, 1998, in Zurich; on the Berlin cup the gesture presumably refers to the silence of the nocturnal goddess:
- 34E.g. squat lekythos, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 4982: CVA 2 pl. 28,5–6 (female head, hair in sakkos, wheel on bun, hand in front of mouth!). Lid of a pyxis, London market: Charles Ede Ltd, 2006, no. 25; Meidian (frieze: Eros sacrificing at an altar to which six women, two of them musicians, proceed; two women with Eros and birds between palmettes. In the centre, female head and the four circles indicating the empty spaces between the spokes; see Fig 4c). Lid of lekaneis, London 1866.4–15.40: ARV² 1501,4; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases, Classical Period* (1989) fig. 401 (two pairs of female heads in sakkoi confronting each other); on the reserved knob four black dots. Head-vase from Aiani, Western Macedonia: G. Karamitrou-Mentesidi, Aiani (1996) cover. Apulian red-figure pelike, Berlin, Staatliche Museen F 3444: B. Scholz, in: B. Schmaltz – M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext. Symposium Kiel 2001* (2003) 99–101 pl. 18,1 (acrobat). The interchanging of the wheel and female head in the world of dancers, acrobats and hetairai is confirmed by a shield-device (female head) in the hand of an armed girl: kalpis, Florence, Museo Archeologico 4014, Group of Polygntos: ARV² 1060,144; A. Schäfer, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion* (1997) pl. 40,1.
- 35Athenian Constitution 49,1. H.A. Cahn, RA 1973, 3–22; see also E. Simon, *Pferde in Mythos und Kunst der Antike* (2006) 35. For brands see M.B. Moore, *Horses on Black-Figured Greek Vases of the Archaic Period* (diss. New York University, 1976) 378–381; this tradition must have older roots than the time of Aristotle – the place of branding may also have changed. See also supra n. 18.
- 36Once Paris, Louvre CA 2259 (stolen): ARV² 797,137. For Atalante see, among others, C. Bérard, *Annali archeologia e storia antica* 8, 1986, 195–202; fig. 62,3 is the Louvre cup.
- 37A. Kossatz-Deissmann, JdI 97, 1982, 65–90. Atalante by Oltos (ARV² 65,113), with a panther on her hips: LIMC II (1984) 945 no. 72 pl. 697, s.v. Atalante (J. Boardman). On a dancer (wheel): Musi i Maski, exhibition catalogue, St. Petersburg (2005) no. 26 (ARV² 1278,33). A hunter wearing a perizoma or a tight chitoniskos (rosette with four dots on the hip) may be an early black-figure forerunner: CVA Altenburg 1, pl. 24,3. Here, also, the star will replace the wheel: see the Pronomos-krater: ARV² 1336,1, infra n. 38. For the duality, citizen-satyr, see F. Lissarrague, in: J.J. Winkler – F.I. Zeitlin (eds), *Nothing to do with Dionysos?* (1990) 228–236.
- 38See R. Krumeich – N. Pechstein – B. Seidensticker, *Das griechische Satyrspiel* (1999), the introduction by Krumeich 41–73 pl. 5b (oinochoe from Thorikos), pl. 6a–b (bell-krater in Bonn and dinos in Athens), pls 8–9 (the Pronomos-krater), pl. 28a (calyx-krater in Vienna). Steinhart (supra n. 6) 135–139 gives an updated list of vase-paintings connected with satyr-play. This kind of perizoma has its Apulian counterpart too: S. Moraw – E. Nölle (eds), *Die Geburt des Theaters in der griechischen Antike* (2002) 84 fig. 111 (bell-krater in Sydney).
- 39E.g. the bell-krater fragments Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1216.183/354–7, Painter of the Athens Dinosaurs: ARV² 1180,3; Krumeich et al. (supra n. 38) pl. 6a. But cp. the wheels on the throat, supra n. 34 (Aiani).
- 40Pelike, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University at Atlanta 2008.4.1: The

- Burlington Magazine 150 (no. 1258), Jan. 2008, unnumbered page. I thank Numisart Munich for photographs. Calyx-krater, presently in Rome, Palazzo Poli and formerly J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83: J.R. Green, in: Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum 2 (1985) 95–118, esp. figs 3. 22; L. Godart – S. De Caru (eds), *Nostoi. Capolavori ritrovati*, Exhibition cat. Rome, Palazzo del Quirinale (2008) no. 31. H. Froning argues convincingly that the krater is connected with a satyr play rather than a comedy, see CVA Germany Beihefte 4 (forthcoming).
- 41The calyx-krater is more correctly dated in Krumeich et al. (supra n. 38) pl. 2b, than in other publications. That these bird-men are not connected with Aristophanes's *Birds* has been already noted: e.g. O. Taplin, *Comic Angels* (1993) 101–104 fig. 24,28; E. Csapo – W.J. Slater, *The Context of Ancient Drama*⁴ (1998) no. 132 pl. 5; Steinhart (supra n. 40) 22 and n. 191.
- 42Hermes and satyrs, see M.B. Moore, *AntK* 49, 2006, 17–28, esp. 25.

Addendum to ns 9 and 35 and p. 153

Heide Mommsen draws my attention to a black-figure oinochoe in the Allard Pierson Museum 13.310 (Fig. 10, CVA Amsterdam 5, pl. 276, 1 and p. 69) on which two onlookers frame a horseman, whose nervous mount is being calmed by a man in front. In the rear a young man raises one hand in the air and has a spear, as does the horseman who is dressed as a civilian, not as a warrior or a man leaving town. The horse's hip is marked with a wheel painted in white, the only occurrence of a wheel on a horse's rump known so far. We probably do see the earliest depiction of the *Dokimasia*: a young hippeus has presented himself, his horse and his two spears for inspection – and has failed, at least with the horse. That the wheel is branded on the animal's hip, not jaw, as mentioned much later by Aristotle, goes perfectly together with the wheel on the theatrical perizomata. By the late fourth century BC, the time of the written source, such direct sexual allusions may have changed for more subtle bodily places.



Fig. 10. CVA Amsterdam 5, pl. 276, 1 and p. 69

16 Erotic Images on Attic Vases: Markets and Meanings

Kathleen M. Lynch

Who used Greek vases and when? How did the context of their use, that is, when and where they were used, affect the meaning of the imagery on the vases? Is there a connection between the choice of image and the intended audience and context of use? How much did the painter take into consideration the consumer of the vases, be they Athenian or foreign, as he made his choice of images? Calling for contextual studies for vases may be naïve when so many of the vases do not come from known provenances. In fact, answers to many of our questions are constrained by the inability to associate a user, let alone a place of use with vases now on display in museums.¹ It is figural decorated pottery from archaeological excavations that is the key to establishing patterns of image distribution and contexts of viewing. It has been stated that the imagery on vases with known provenances does not reveal any geographic pattern of image preference, and thus Attic painters did not make their choice of images with a particular consumer in mind.² Such statements, however, may be a product of the diffuse way questions are being asked.³ This paper will limit the discussion to a well-defined group of images with a welldefined question in order to discern a clearer pattern.⁴

Figured pottery excavated since 1968 at the Agora excavations, the terminal date of find for the material in Mary Moore's monumental *Agora XXIII* (blackfigure) and *Agora XXX* (red-figure) from the Athenian Agora excavations,⁵ confirms a pattern clear in Moore's publications: we still have no graphic erotic scenes on figured pottery from the Agora excavations. This paper will explore both the significance of the absence of erotic images for the contexts of use associated with the Agora and its domestic environs, and review some of the scholarly theories regarding the relationship between painter and his audience in the Archaic and Classical periods by using the

distribution pattern of erotic images as a prompt. Old data complemented by some new data will be presented, and finally some cultural analogies that might help us re-imagine the three-dimensional relationship between painter, image, and viewer will be offered. I will argue that more attention must be paid to both contexts of use and chronology when assessing the intentions of the painter. In the end, I will propose that there is no one model or theory that accounts for every pattern of image distribution.

The Case-Study

The case-study for this paper considers only images of heterosexual intercourse, specifically, images that clearly show the act of intercourse (Fig. 1).⁶ Thus, other types of scenes with distinctly erotic overtones including chase scenes and courting scenes, as well as scenes of homosexual intercourse are eliminated. The choice to focus on scenes of heterosexual intercourse emphasizes the difference between erotic implications (courting, love gifts) and consummation. As it will be seen, heterosexual intercourse rarely appears on the vases in Athenian houses, but the more subtle, precursors to the act are very common on figured pottery from Athenian domestic contexts. This distinction seems significant, and this paper argues that refinement of our questions – not just looking for “erotic” scenes, but specifically “intercourse” – will lead to a better understanding of the relationship of images and cultural values.⁷ The subject of heterosexual intercourse provides a well-defined and recognizable test case; but, to anticipate the conclusion of this paper, every type of image should be examined to understand how its distribution may inform its cultural meaning. For example, the conclusions reached here do not apply to scenes of homosexual intercourse.

Scenes of heterosexual intercourse reached their most popular level at the end of the sixth century and beginning of the fifth century BC, but still there are only about 150 such scenes.⁸ The images begin in limited numbers in black-figure in the mid-sixth century, and all but disappear by the mid-fifth century, although most dating is stylistic, and few actually come from externally datable archaeological contexts. There is evidence for the popularity of heterosexual scenes on mid-sixth-century black-figured cup fragments from the Athenian Agora and the Acropolis,⁹ but I will focus on the peak of their production at ca. 500 BC in red-figure. Characteristics of the scenes include a man and a woman engaged in intercourse, sometimes from the rear, other times face to face, often in acrobatic positions (Fig. 1). These are not scenes of satyrs and maenads; these are images firmly set in the human world. Robert Sutton has described the sometimes

sadistic, heterosexual erotic scenes as having, "...an emphasis on male self-expression...which provided both images to emulate and social catharsis for their male viewers and creators."¹⁰ The scenes are common in the tondo of cups, presenting a kind of titillating revelation for the drinker as he drained his wine. Group orgies do occur with the emphasis on a variety of acts of intercourse.¹¹



Fig. 1. Tondo of a cup attributed to the Briseis Painter, Ashmolean Museum 1967.305 (Detail), Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Photo: Museum.

Martin Kilmer, in his very useful study, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases*, collected a great many of the scenes of heterosexual intercourse. Kilmer organized the erotic scenes by manner of intercourse, and he uses the images to explore Athenian sexual customs.¹² Kilmer's assumption that all Attic vases present Athenian

sexual values aimed at an Athenian male audience,¹³ combined with my observation that these erotic scenes seem to be absent from Athens, begs a more thorough consideration of the audience and context of viewing for these images. If not Athenians, then who? And is there something non-Attic about their message?

A large body of pottery dating from the height of production of erotic heterosexual images exists in Athens. Pottery associated with the clean-up following the Persian destruction of Athens in 479 BC provides as much of a snapshot as we can get of Late Archaic Athenian household assemblages. The excavations of the Athenian Agora include the domestic zone encircling the public square, and they have revealed 22 deposits associated with the clean-up following the Persian sack of the city. Not all the Persian destruction deposits are from households, since some contain fragments of public architecture and some contain pottery from sales shops.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it is likely that much of the pottery originated “in the cupboards of Athenian houses.”¹⁵ Kilmer, among others, has argued that the reason we have so few erotic images of any type from Greece proper is that preservation of pottery from sites is so poor. In fact, that argument is negated by the wealth of pottery from the Persian destruction deposits, which, fortuitously, coincide with the height of the production of erotic images. Among the some one hundred pieces of red-figured pottery from the Persian destruction clean-up, there are no examples of scenes of heterosexual intercourse. There are some scenes with erotic overtones among the Persian destruction pottery, including images of *hetairai*, courting, and even more tangentially erotic references, such as a hetaira with dwarf (Fig. 2).¹⁶ In addition to the thorough publication of the red-figured pottery by Moore, and the discussion of the Persian destruction deposits by T. Leslie Shear, Jr.,¹⁷ I have also reviewed the published and unpublished figured pottery for all Persian destruction deposits. There remains no example of an erotic image lurking unpublished in the storerooms of the Stoa of Attalos.

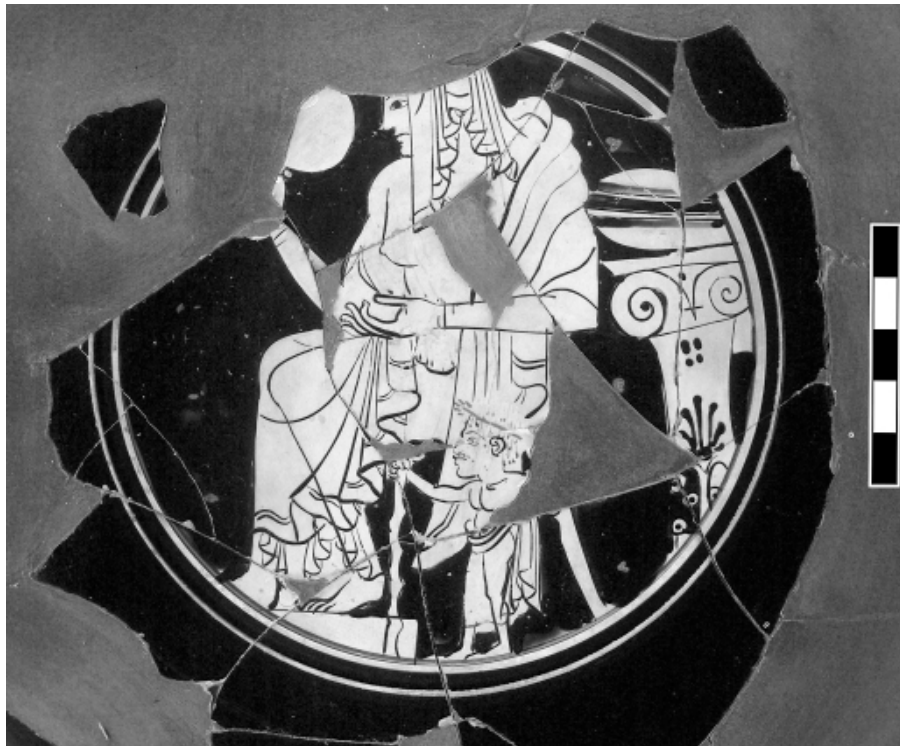


Fig. 2. Tondo of a cup with a hetaira and dwarf, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, P 2574. Photo: courtesy Excavations of the Athenian Agora.

It is useful to consider what types of images do occur on the red-figure from the Agora Persian destruction deposits. The images are types usually classified as “genre” or everyday scenes. These include a boy with meat (Fig. 3); sympotic scenes, including a symposiast playing kottabos; and a man on his way to a symposium.¹⁸ Also absent, along with graphic sexual scenes, are elaborate mythological tales. There are non-narrative references to myth, especially the ubiquitous Dionysos, but surprisingly few images that need be associated with a particular mythological story, with the exception of a handful of oft-repeated deeds of Herakles.¹⁹

In sum, imagery on the pottery from households of Late Archaic Athens shows no preference for erotic heterosexual images at the peak of their production in the Attic ceramic workshops. Where are the pots with erotic images found? Returning to Kilmer’s lists, the few vases that do have provenances come from Tarquinia, Orvieto, Florence, and Adria. Two do have non-domestic Athenian provenances: a plaque from the Acropolis and an askos from the Kerameikos, which will be discussed below. If one applies the rule of thumb that complete or nearly complete vases in European museums are likely to have come from Italy, and good preservation may indicate a tomb context, this

would account for most of the 43 examples that Kilmer lists in his chapter on heterosexual intercourse.

What does the Pattern of Distribution Mean?

What does this pattern of distribution of images with scenes of heterosexual intercourse tell us about the relationship between the painter and the viewer of the vase? Can knowledge of the viewer and the context of use help us? Is the pattern for erotic heterosexual images paralleled by other types of images?

In order to unlock the larger cultural meaning of the pattern, it is useful to consider some of the models proposed by scholars to characterize the relationship between Athenian painter and foreign audience. Summarized here are some plausible models for the relationship between painter and consumer, which will then be applied to the evidence for images of heterosexual intercourse. Since the few known findspots for the images are Etruscan, I will present the models with an Etruscan consumer in mind. First, a characterization of the relationship between painter and consumer from the painters' perspective:

- At one extreme: the Attic painter paints what he knows, and has no consideration for consumer, intended context of use, or viewer. Some pots stay at home, some go abroad, but there is no systematic selection for either market.²⁰ Variations on this view include that the painter is working with only an Athenian viewer in mind, and that subsequent export of the vase is inconsequential to his iconographic choices. This view includes T.B.L. Webster's "secondhand market" theory.²¹
- In the middle: the painter may know that the vase is destined for export, and selects particular images from his overall repertoire that he has heard do well abroad (this may include tailoring imagery for particular geographic areas). An example of such tailoring includes the work of the Perizoma group, to be discussed in a moment.
- At the other extreme: the painter makes the choice to modify imagery or create new images or shapes to satisfy the export market. Modifications may be based on information about what sells well to the consumer group, or the modifications may be based on stories he has heard about non-Attic consumers, and so he tries to appeal to sensibilities that are not Athenian. Often cited examples are the non-Attic sensibilities expressed on the black-figure Tyrrhenian amphorai and the non-Attic shape of Nikosthenic amphorai, among others.

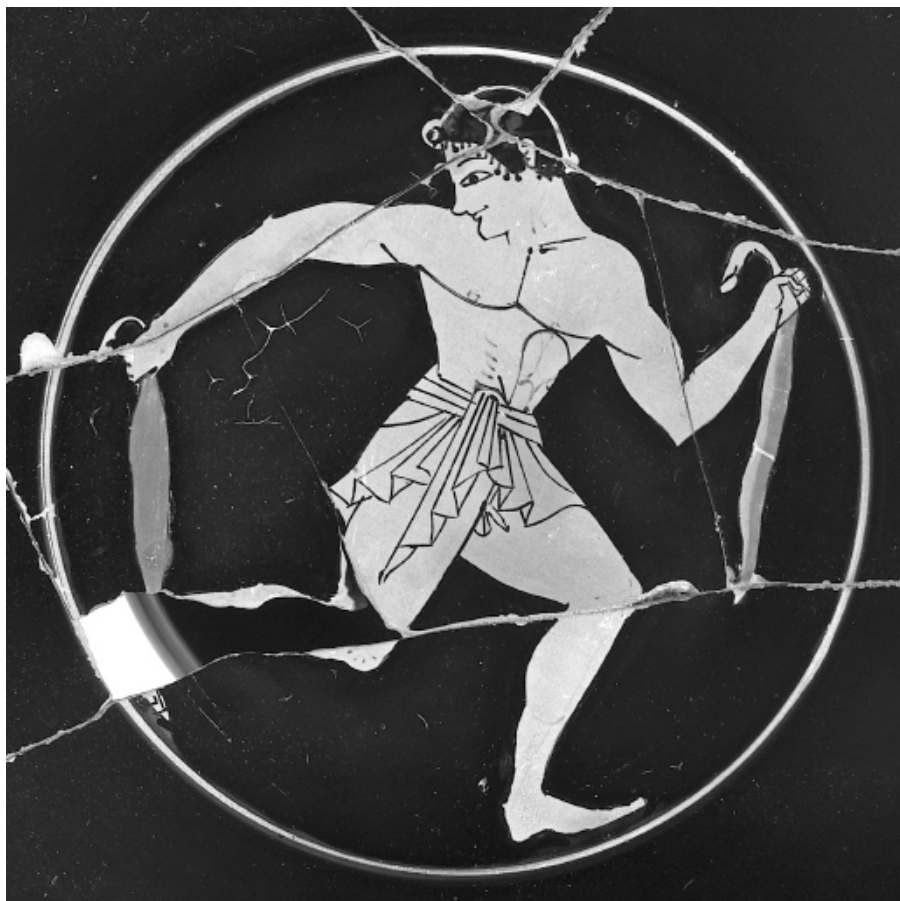


Fig. 3. Tondo of a cup with boy carrying meat, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, P 32417. Photo: courtesy Excavations of the Athenian Agora.

Second, a characterization of the Etruscan consumer's side of the equation:

- At one extreme: the consumer buys whatever comes his way, regardless of shape or decoration. He is just happy to have something Athenian.²²
- In the middle: the consumer buys Attic shapes that appeal, regardless of imagery. Certain sites or areas desired a particular shape, and wanted lots of decoration, regardless of what it was.²³
- The Etruscan consumer may also prefer images that can be assimilated easily to his worldview. Greek gods and heroes were popular because they could be equated with local characters; the symposium could be equated with funerary banquets; athletes with funeral games, etc.
- Finally, a more subtle view, the Etruscan consumer wants images that reflect what he thinks Attic culture was like, even if that view

was itself distorted.

The reality is likely to be all of the above, some of the time. For example, most scholars now agree that certain shapes created in Athens were designed to emulate foreign forms, and had no market at home. The Nikosthenic amphorai and kyathoi follow the model of painter and potter catering directly to the foreign consumer's taste.²⁴ As mentioned above, the Tyrrhenian amphorai and vases by the Perizoma Group also seem to cater directly to the market with both their shapes and modified iconography.²⁵ This direct effect model, however, does not account for every pattern of distribution. In other cases, for example the vast number of generic hoplite warrior scenes, the painter may have had no idea of the pots' final destinations; some stayed at home, some were sold abroad. The Etruscan consumer may have valued the warrior scenes not because of the cultural implications of the hoplite warrior, but because it spoke to particular martial aspects of his local culture.²⁶ Indeed, the same image has different meanings in different cultural and use contexts. Of course the Attic vases, regardless of their images, held the cachet of imported, Greek goods in the social context of Etruria; nonetheless, pottery had functions in Etruscan culture, and thus, only functionally useful forms would be welcomed.²⁷

The statement mentioned above, that there is no discernible pattern of distribution of Attic vase iconography, must also be re-evaluated. The statement that "all scenes on Attic pots from Athens can be found in export contexts,"²⁸ holds true with some caveats, but the opposite, "all scenes on Attic pots found in export contexts can be found in Athens," requires a finer resolution so as not to obscure important distinctions. In fact, all scenes on Attic pots in export contexts cannot be found in the Athenian Agora, that is, in domestic contexts of Athens. This observation underscores the fact that even within Athens there is a distinction between contexts of use for figured wares. Elaborate mythological scenes are found on the Acropolis, but are almost non-existent in the houses near the Agora. There are, indeed, erotic scenes in black-figure from the Acropolis dating to the mid-sixth century BC.²⁹ Within the time frame of the present study are a Late Archaic red-figure askos from the Kerameikos and a lekythos from a grave discovered by the Metro excavations.³⁰ What was deemed occasionally appropriate as a votive offering – to the gods or for the dead – was not representative of imagery Athenians had in their own homes.³¹ Recognizing meaningful patterns in the evidence requires the right resolution of analysis. Too general of a comparison such as Attica vs. Etruria misses important subtleties that reflect cultural use of figured wares.³²

The potting industry at Athens was a commercial endeavor. The aim

of the workshop or owner – or however the pottery business was organized – was to sell pots. We do not fully understand the mechanisms of pottery trade, although we certainly have the evidence to confirm that Attic pottery was intentionally and commercially exported, not informally carried in small quantities by individuals. Regardless of how sales' feedback reached the potters and painters in Athens, the production of Attic versions of foreign shapes indicates that some sales' feedback did exist. If, as Robin Osborne has argued, the non-Greek consumers would have been happy with whatever the trader happened to have on his boat when it docked at the local harbor, then we would not have the distinctive patterns of shape distributions that Christoph Reusser has demonstrated for Attic pottery imported to Etruscan sites.³³

The heterosexual erotic scenes seem to belong to the category of manipulated images, and to one of the more complicated relationship models. Alan Shapiro's recent discussion of the Perizoma Group's Etruscanizing vases offers some useful parallels for the erotic scenes as products purposely directed toward a foreign audience.³⁴ In both the erotic scenes and the various scenes by the Perizoma Group, we see types of images that look convincingly Greek, but with some unusual features. On the vases from the Perizoma Group, the features include the added loincloth where nudity would be expected in a Greek viewing context. In the erotic scenes, we have convincing sympotic settings, but views of sexual activity that are normally not presented on vases. We cannot be sure what the Late Archaic Greek painters thought about the Etruscans, since as Shapiro points out, Greek literary sources that describe the Etruscans as odd, especially in reference to their "barbaric" sexual practices, including wanting to sleep with their wives, are up to two hundred years later than the peak of the vase trade to Etruria. The sources are also very much in the *topos* of descriptions of barbarians that reflect Greek fascination, repulsion, and sometimes titillation by the other. In the absence of Late Archaic literary sources, the Perizoma Group along with vases with erotic imagery may be an indication of a Greek opinion about the Etruscans already taking hold. Shapiro comments about the Perizoma Group's depictions: "To a large extent [the images] involve the same conventional Greek *topoi* about barbarians in general and Etruscans in particular that we find in later literary sources from Herodotos to the Hellenistic historians."³⁵ The heterosexual erotic images may also be voicing the same *topoi* and characterization of the sexuality of the Etruscans.

However, to be my own devil's advocate, let me introduce another hypothesis: what if the erotic images appealed to the Etruscans not because the images faithfully represented Etruscan views on sexuality,

but instead the images appealed because it is what the Etruscans thought about the Greeks?³⁶ It is then Greek sexuality that becomes the titillation, not the Etruscans.’ There is no firm evidence to support this proposition, but I make it to underscore the potential complexity of the meanings of images.

I close with two more modern cultural analogies that may help us to understand how complex and complicated the relationship between producer and consumer of images can become in a commercial market. First, the early modern trade in Chinese pottery for export may help us understand production for a foreign market. When Europe became interested in Chinese pottery in the seventeenth century AD, European traders brought back pottery comparable to that which actual Chinese (of a high status) would have used themselves. As European demand for Chinese pottery expanded, however, a sophisticated relationship between consumer and producer resulted in Chinese production of shapes that had no cultural meaning within China, such as punch bowls, and decoration that was unmistakably “Chinese” in style, but with elements exaggerated to appeal to the western consumer (Fig. 4).³⁷ The export pottery assumed shapes and decoration that would never have been found in a Chinese household. It is possible that the Etruscan market similarly affected production so that some “Attic-style” pottery was never intended for use by an Athenian, but still featured “Greek-inspired” imagery. The foreign consumer did not want to see himself on the pottery, but the “other.” This analogy works for the shapes and iconography that appeal more directly to the Etruscans, such as the Nikosthenic amphorai.



Fig. 4. Chinese export jugs: Late Kangxi or Yongzheng (1723 – 1735). Shape and decoration based on Dutch Delftware. Photo: courtesy R&G McPherson Antiques, London.



*Fig. 5. French postcard with Algerian woman. Photo: after M. Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (1986) 123.*

Finally, I end with an analogy for the speculative view proposed above that the erotic imagery on Attic vases actually reflects what the Etruscans thought about the Attic “other.”³⁸ Postcards produced around the turn of the twentieth century for the French market reflect

the allure of Orientalism and the construction of exotic sexuality of women from the French colonial world.³⁹ Imagery of a woman from Algeria produced for the domestic French audience (Fig. 5) plays to the expectations of the French viewers. This is what the French viewers wanted to think went on in the harem; however, the image presents a fiction and does not reflect real behavior of Islamic women in Algeria. In the same way, the Attic erotic imagery may play to the expectations of the non-Attic, Etruscan viewer. It is what the Etruscans wanted to imagine happened in the symposium, and the crafty Attic potters and painters were more than happy to oblige for the sales.

This paper began by giving the conclusion: there are no new erotic scenes from the Agora excavations. This paper explored various models for the relationship between Attic painters and their home and foreign markets in order to understand the significance of the pattern of distribution of heterosexual erotic images in particular. The discussion underscored that the market was multi-faceted, and that some models work for some parts of trade, but not all. We also need to recognize that to find meaningful patterns of distribution, we need to ask more subtle questions. So the statement, “scenes found abroad can be found in Athens,” may be true, but misses the subtle distinction of chronological developments and contexts of use even within Athens. Not all imagery found on vases in Etruria has parallels from the houses of Athens. But for some images: athletics, warriors, symposia, the statement is true. If we are interested in what images Athenians chose for use in their own houses, for their own symposia, we need to be more careful about our questions. In order to understand the significance of image choices, it is essential to achieve the right resolution for data analysis. In the end, the absence of erotic images from Athenian houses is significant, but I cannot explain why graphic heterosexual images did not appeal to homeowners in the city of Athens in the Late Archaic to Early Classical periods. Recognizing the pattern is the first step towards understanding it.

Notes

¹These issues are well-explored by V. Stissi, in: J.P. Crielaard – V. Stissi – G. Jan van Wijngaarden (eds), *The Complex Past of Pottery* (1999) 83–133.

²For example: R. Osborne, *World Archaeology* 33, 2001, 277–295; J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* (2001) 55. 226. 236–239; A. Steiner, *Reading Greek Vases* (2007) 235.

³Stissi (supra n. 1) 98.

⁴Similar approaches to the questions posed here can be found in S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman: An Iconographic Handbook* (2002); S. Lewis, in: J. Wilkins – E. Herring (eds), *Inhabiting Symbols: Symbol and Image in the Ancient Mediterranean* (2003) 175–192; J. de La Genière, in: J. de La Genière (ed.) *Les Clients de la céramique grecque* (2006) 9–15.

- 5M.B. Moore – M.Z. Pease Philipides, Attic Black-Figured Pottery, The Athenian Agora XXIII (1986); M.B. Moore, Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery, The Athenian Agora XXX (1997); hereafter Agora XXIII and Agora XXX.
- 6Lewis (2002, supra n. 4) 116–129 has also focused on the reception of erotic images in Etruria.
- 7For example, the keyword “erotic” appears in the Beazley Archive Database for images of courting as well as intercourse.
- 8R. Sutton, in: A. Richlin (ed.) Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome (1992) 7.
- 9Acropolis: see A. Lemos, in: J. Oakley – W. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds) Athenian Potters and Painters (1997) 461. 466 fig. 8. Agora: Agora XXIII no. 1723 pl. 112; no. 1724 (not illustrated); no. 1822 pl. 117.
- 10Sutton (supra n. 8) 32.
- 11See, for example, the tondo of a cup by the Thalia Painter, Berlin, Antikensammlung 3251; ARV² 113,7; 1592. 1626; Para 332; BAdd² 173; CVA Berlin 2 pls 56,4; 57–59.
- 12M. Kilmer, Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases (1993) vii. The subject of erotic imagery, both visual and poetic, constitutes a vast bibliography. For example, see: J. Boardman – E. La Rocca, Eros in Greece (1978); E. Keuls, The Reign of the Phallus (1985); D. Halperin – J.J. Winkler – F.I. Zeitlin (eds), Before Sexuality, The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World (1990); A. Dierichs, Erotik in der Kunst Griechenlands (1993); M. Nussbaum – J. Sihvola (eds), The Sleep of Reason: Erotic Experience and Sexual Ethics in Ancient Greece and Rome (2002).
- 13On female viewers see E. Cantarella, Bisexuality in the Ancient World (2002); N. Rabinowitz, in: N.S. Rabinowitz – L. Auanger (eds), Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World (2002) 106–166; Lewis (2002, supra n. 4).
- 14T.L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 62, 1993, 383–482.
- 15Shear (supra n. 14).
- 16Tondo of the Gorgias cup with a boy holding a hare, Agora XXX no. 1407 pl. 130; nude woman with shoes, Agora XXX no. 1554 pl. 146; fragmentary tondo preserving feet of a homosexual couple indicating a face-to-face embrace, Manner of Euphronios, Agora XXX no. 1556 pl. 147; hetaira with dwarf, Agora XXX no. 1411 pl. 132.
- 17Agora XXX; Shear (supra n. 14).
- 18Boy with meat, P 32417, J. Camp, *Hesperia* 65, 1996, 248 no. 29 fig. 8 pl. 74; kottabos player, Agora XXX no. 1572 pl. 148; man on way to symposium, P 32420, Camp (supra) 248 no. 28 fig. 8 pl. 74. Note that there are no multi-person sympotic scenes set in *andrones* such as the kind the Brygos Painter or Douris depict.
- 19For example, sides A and B of the Gorgias cup, Agora XXX no. 1407: side A features an unlabeled battle of Achilles and Memnon; side B Dionysos, satyrs and maenads. Herakles and Dionysos appear more frequently on the late black-figured objects from the Persian destruction debris. For example, a cup-skyphos with Herakles wrestling the Nemean lion: Agora XXIII no. 1519 pl. 103. This composition is reproduced frequently on both cups and lekythoi, see Agora XXIII no. 897 pl. 80.
- 20Steiner (supra n. 2) 235; K. Arafat – C. Morgan, in: I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece* (1994).
- 21T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1972) 272.
- 22R. Osborne, in: C. Marconi (ed.), *Greek Vases, Images, Contexts and Controversies* (2004) 49.

- 23C. Scheffer, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (eds), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (1988) 544; C. Reusser, *Vasen für Etrurien* (2002); H.H. Blinkenberg, in: M.-C. Villanueva-Puig – F. Lissarague – P. Rouillard – A. Rouveret (eds), *Céramique et peinture grecques: Modes d'emploi* (1999) 439–444.
- 24There are extensive discussions of the Nikosthenic amphorai. See: M.v. Mehren, in: C. Scheffer (ed.), *Ceramics in Context* (2001) 45–53; V. Tosto, *The Blackfigure Pottery signed NIKOSTHENESEPOIESEN* (1999); T. Rasmussen – N. Spivey, in: T. Rasmussen – N. Spivey (eds), *Looking at Greek Vases* (1991) 131–150.
- 25H.A. Shapiro, in: B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (2000) 315–337.
- 26C. Marconi, in: Marconi (supra n. 22) 27–40.
- 27The cultural use of Attic pottery in Etruria also has a vast bibliography. See Scheffer (supra n. 23); Reusser (supra n. 22); L. Hannestad, *ActaArch* 59, 1988, 113–130; A. Nillsson, *AnalRom* 26, 1999, 7–23.
- 28See, for example, Steiner (supra n. 2) 235.
- 29Discussed above, see note 9 (A. Lemos).
- 30Askos, Kerameikos 1063: Kilmer (supra n. 12) no. R1184 pl. at 146; lekythos, Athens Metro excavations, Kerameikos area, A 15418: L. Parlama – N.C. Stampolides, *City Beneath the City: Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations* (2000) 299 no. 289 fig.
- 31It is possible that the erotic images had apotropaic qualities in these contexts and/or relate to ritual. See also Lewis 2002 (supra n. 4) 117.
- 32Osborne (supra n. 2) 282 recognizes that there are differences between the imagery found on the Acropolis and in the Agora, but does not consider how the different contexts may have affected the choice of image.
- 33R. Osborne, in: S. Keay – S. Moser (eds), *Greek Art in View* (2004) 78–94; Reusser (supra n. 23).
- 34Shapiro (supra n. 23) 315–337.
- 35Shapiro (supra n. 23) 337. S. Lewis (2003, supra n. 4) also sees vase imagery as reflecting Greek stereotypes of Etruscans.
- 36Interestingly, Etruscan-made, Greek-style vases for the local Italian markets do not feature erotic scenes: C. Scheffer, in: H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (1984) 229–233. When the Etruscans made vases for themselves, they chose scenes that related to their lives and concerns. Erotic images were not among them.
- 37J. Emerson – J. Chen – M. Gates, *Porcelain Stories: From China to Europe* (2000) 252. At the height of the market, European artists sometimes created design templates for production in China. It is worth considering if such a relationship between artist and producer may explain other aspects of the Attic vase trade, including the presence of Etruscanizing shapes.
- 38Lewis 2002 (supra n. 4) 118. 120 and Lewis 2003 (supra n. 4) proposes a similar reflexive view. She argues that the erotic scenes were not viewed as hetairai and their customers by the Etruscans, but rather as images of husbands and wives.
- 39M. Alloula, *The Colonial Harem* (1986). Although Alloula's study is post-colonial in its analysis of the postcards, the manipulation and construction of commercial postcard images to suit the viewer's/consumer's perspective are universal. The analogy of the general tourist postcard may be less culturally encumbered by post-colonial passions. Tourist postcards present to the viewer (the tourist) ideal or embellished views of their own holiday experience. Attic vase imagery may be created in a similar way: the Attic painters are aiming at the ideal as conceived by their audience, whether true or not. The conceit of the postcard is alive and well in Athens today. Cute, clean kittens stare out from every postcard rack, while dirty, mangy cats tread the real streets of Athens.

17 Nikosthenic Pyxides between Etruria and Greece

Claire L. Lyons

Eclecticism was a hallmark of the pottery workshop established in Athens by the entrepreneur Nikosthenes. In addition to his eponymous amphorae and kyathoi, as well as pioneering experiments with white-ground and Six's technique, Nikosthenes is credited with the introduction of a distinctive pyxis in the second half of the sixth century BC. A pleasing vessel that over the centuries served as a container for precious and delectable items, the lidded chalice is scarce in Greek ceramics. Because two examples bear his epoiesen-signature, the shape is conventionally termed a "Nikosthenic pyxis." Based on a working list of 88 vases (see Appendix), this paper surveys the shape's development and the archaeological contexts in which it occurs. Tracing its distribution reveals patterns of use and iconographic preferences that differ notably between the eastern Mediterranean and the west. Because the shape comprises a distinct class that served ceremonial and ritual purposes, considering it from the vantage of owners and the circumstances in which they used it, brings into focus a question of some currency, the reception of Attic figured vases in Etruria.

Exceptional features that distinguish this shape are evident on a large but fragmentary pyxis in the Getty Villa in Malibu (No. 6). It has been attributed to an associate of Nikosthenes, the BMN Painter, whose painted gigantomachy scene is a *tour-de-force* of epic narrative (Fig. 1).¹ Inscriptions name the protagonists in the battle between the gods and giants on Olympos. Bow in hand, Herakles strides alongside Athena as she races forward in Zeus's quadriga. Shields raised, the giants Porphyryon and Enkelados face down the onslaught. Poseidon joins the battle, shouldering the island-rock Nisyros to crush a third foe, Polybotes. Pitched fighting spills over the pictorial frame, bordered below by an ornate frieze of nested chevrons and lotus bud

chain. The finesse of the potting is witnessed by the sharply-articulated flange with a tooled groove and raised fillet beneath. Grand in inspiration, the vase was a prized showpiece depicting a foundational Athenian legend. Athena's defeat of the giants is the aition of the Panathenaic festival, and her alliance with Herakles was a pivotal episode in the hero's ascent to the pantheon. Reaching a maximum width of 25 centimeters, the Malibu pyxis is one of the largest and most elaborately decorated pyxides of its kind.

Shape

By the time the pyxis in Malibu was created, the shape had been established for nearly two decades. It first turns up in eastern Mediterranean sanctuaries at Naukratis and on Samos, as well as in the Etruscan necropolis at Chiusi by 560–550 BC. Nikosthenic pyxides take the form of a deep calyx-shaped bowl on a high stem (Fig. 2), with an exterior flange projecting beneath the rim to receive a domed lid. Some have a groove or fillet under the flange, and often a ridge sets off the figural register from subsidiary ornament on the lower bowl. Similar to a small krater, the upper wall may be slightly concave or convex. A raised ring divides bowl from stem, which rests on a thick disc foot with a concave or torus profile.²

Between the earliest intact examples of 550 BC and the latest ones dating to shortly after 500 BC, a gradual evolution of the shape is apparent. At first compact with a high conical lid, the vessel becomes proportionately taller with a flaring wall, and finally assumes a broad, bellshaped profile. Enrico Paribeni sketched its development, comparing two initial examples from the Casuccini collection (Nos. 1–2) with the signed Villa Giulia pyxis (No. 14), and a pair of CHC Group pyxides from Orvieto (Nos. 42–43). Rim fragments from the Samian Heraion offer a dated sequence spanning five decades. Here the profile of the bowl evolves more or less in tandem with the Italian series, but displays a variety of flange forms, some slight and others more jutting.³ Eleusis has produced a pyxis with a carinated bowl and moulded foot ring which, although attributed by Beazley to Painter N, is otherwise unparalleled (No. 11). An angular floral pyxis in Karlsruhe on an awkward, truncated conical stem (No. 80) was compared by Beazley to a second pyxis from Eleusis, but is otherwise unrelated to the others.⁴ At the end of the series, two pyxides from Orvieto are wide bowls resting directly on a ring foot (Nos. 39–40; Fig. 2). Ceramic versions of the lidded chalice terminate abruptly at the beginning of the fifth century and were mostly replaced by other, functionally similar shapes: type A pyxides, lekanides, and plemochoai.



*Fig. 1. J. Paul Getty Museum, 86.AE.143, 86.AE.46, attributed to the BMN Painter.
Photo: Museum.*

Variations in the type of flange, foot profiles, and proportions point to origins in more than one workshop. Many pyxides are poorly preserved, however, frequently lacking the base and misleadingly restored, and so attributions to recognizable potters and painters remain to be proposed in many cases.⁵ In light of the shape's early chronology, a question arises as to whether Nikosthenes should rightly be considered its inventor. Heading the series are the pyxides from Chiusi (Nos. 1–2), with stylistic traits akin to the KY Painter in the komos on a lid in Lugano. From the first generation are fragments found in Phocaea and attributed to the Tyrrhenian Archippe Group, examples from the Heraion on Samos by the Amasis Painter (No. 59), and a pyxis from the nearby Artemis sanctuary signed by his workshop companion Taleides (No. 56). That the shape was made by ceramic artists both prior to and outside of the Nikosthenic ambit can be inferred from painters near Group E, Sakonides, and the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, who were not obviously connected with Nikosthenes. Pyxides painted by Lydos or his circle, on the other hand, may tie several early specimens to the workshop, since Lydos decorated a band cup signed by Nikosthenes around 545 BC.⁶ Vincent Tosto has taken a minimalist view of the Nikosthenic workshop's role, but a more inclusive approach is warranted by pyxides that are generally related in terms of potting and decorative format.⁷ Because the standard profile of the two signed pyxides (Nos. 7. 14) is reflected on a significant percentage of the class, Nikosthenes evidently had a

strong hand in their dissemination to overseas markets, primarily in Etruria, and so it makes sense to retain the Nikosthenic designation.

Greater attention has been devoted to the question of origins. On the analogy of several Italic shapes adapted by the Nikosthenic workshop, a bucchero forerunner has long been sought among late seventh-century stemmed chalices that abound in Etruscan habitations and graves. Impasto chalices with a continuous impressed frieze of figures, or – less convincingly – bronze chalices with strap handles from rim to base, echo the Nikosthenic profile.⁸ *Bucchero pesante* footed bowls with convex knobbed lids, occurring in the region of Chiusi, offer a plausible comparison. Known as *holkia*, they are usually decorated with relief figures around the bowl. *Holkia* are associated with a set of miniature vases and implements pertaining to cosmetics, for instance, inside a bucchero *focolare* in the British Museum.⁹ But the *holkion* is hardly ubiquitous and cannot claim a long ancestry in Etruscan Iron Age and Orientalizing ceramics, as is the case for the workshop's reinventions of the spiral-amphora and kyathos.

If Nikosthenic-type pyxides were, in fact, an innovation introduced by another potter, there is no need to insist that Nikosthenes appropriated an Italic form. Since the best bucchero parallels are more or less contemporary with the Greek pyxides, they are more aptly seen not as prototypes, but as versions of an Orientalizing shape that served a similar purpose. Later on, influence travelled the other way. As interest waned among potters in the Kerameikos at the turn of the sixth to the fifth century, an Etruscan potter copied the Nikosthenic type. A small group of black-figured pyxides, known as the “Chiusi Pyxis Group,” was collected in the nineteenth century from an unknown site, possibly Orvieto. They replicate the Attic shape and the regular scenes of horse-racing and bacchic revelry, but introduce deer and rabbit-hunts, as well as the three-horse chariot race, typical of the Etruscan visual idiom (Nos. 82–88).¹⁰



Fig. 2. Chicago 1889-13, from Orvieto. Photo: Museum.

The refinements of the potting, together with the early appearance of votives at eastern Mediterranean sites, suggest that the derivation of the shape lies elsewhere. Wood, ivory, or alabaster containers have been proposed as hypothetical models for the “lathe-turned” appearance of the flange, grooved fillet, and offset ridge midway down the bowl. Similar to the Nikosthenic type are elaborately profiled vessels held by women attending graves on Athenian white lekythoi, which are identified as Parian marble pyxides.¹¹ Affinities with other calyx-shaped cups in East Greek ceramics, such as the Chiot chalice, and Corinthian stemmed pyxis have also been observed. Goblets in alabaster and faience from Egypt are relatives, sharing the graceful lotiform profile of a flaring bowl that blossoms from a delicate stem. They were used as funerary offerings and when covered by a flat lid, held cosmetics and unguents. Complementary shapes are associated with aromatic substances and feminine *kosmos*, and so sources of inspiration are better sought in the east, the origin of

luxurious fragrances that – as I argue – pyxides were intended to hold.¹²

Contexts

The search for antecedents in Etruscan pottery was motivated in part by the distribution, which seems to mirror the export of Nikosthenic products to preferred markets such as Cerveteri and Vulci. Pyxides discovered in Italy are associated exclusively with Etruscan burials. None to date are attested in habitations or sanctuaries, nor have any been located in Magna Graecia or Sicily. Of the 81 pyxides catalogued here, two can be traced back to their original find spot in Chiusi (Nos. 1–2) and a third was excavated at Cerveteri (No. 14). Two Campana pyxides in the Louvre may also have been found at this site (Nos. 24–25), which was the main source for most (but not all) vases in the Campana collection. Formerly in the Canino collection, a lid in the British Museum (No. 4) is presumed to be from Vulci. At least fourteen pyxides and five lids, however, were recovered from burials at Orvieto (Nos. 7. 28–40. 42–43), a concentration that has been accepted as evidence for a deliberate marketing strategy to reach customers in the Etruscan hinterlands.¹³

In Greece and the eastern Aegean, by contrast, the pattern of circulation is very different. Pyxides have been excavated almost entirely from votive deposits in sanctuaries of female divinities, such as the Athenian Acropolis (No. 3), the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (No. 22), and the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis (Nos. 11–13). The only Peloponnesian locale that has produced the type so far is the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth (No. 9), where several fragments were found near room J, a venue associated with banqueting. Because it is relatively intact and preserves its lid, the Sappho Painter's pyxis from Kalyvia Kouvara (Attica) is the only Greek example that is likely to have been associated with a burial, perhaps from one of the Archaic period tumuli that were recorded in this area.¹⁴ Sections of the vase and lid exhibit visibly discolored glaze, apparently from burning.

At the margins of the Mediterranean, temenoi consecrated to Hera and Aphrodite at Naukratis have yielded several fragments dating to the mid-sixth century (Nos. 19. 20. 26). In Phocaea, sections of a pyxis with the Birth of Athena, attributed to the Tyrrhenian Archippe Group, were recovered from excavations of a house in the Archaic settlement (No. 46).¹⁵ This sector produced many black-figure symposium vessels including kraters, dinoi, and cups; the pyxis was associated with fragments of a Tyrrhenian volute-krater, the earliest occurrence of this shape in Attic pottery. Thanks to a comprehensive

analysis of the pottery from Samos, this island religious center now counts the largest quantity of pyxides from a single locale.¹⁶ Exceptional for their size, pyxides from the Agros N. Karmiri property on Samos were recovered from a votive dump near the Early Christian basilica of Panayitsa, in association with dedicatory inscriptions for Artemis (Nos. 52–56). In this precinct were also found a quantity of Laconian chalices ornamented with procession scenes, which Maria Pipili compares to the Nikosthenic form in terms of general morphology and iconography.¹⁷ Fragments from over twenty distinct pyxides were found in the Heraion (Nos. 58–77). Their iconography – predominantly (wedding?) processions in chariots and women who share a single mantle – is appropriate to the cult of goddesses who governed coming of age and marriage.



Fig. 3. “Ruines de Chiusi (Tombeaux Étrusque)”, lithograph of Tomba a Poggio Gaiella. Photo: after A. Durand – A. De Sainson, *La Toscane. Album pittoresque et archéologique* (1862/63) pl. 100.

Returning to the west, several pyxides can now be reconnected to specific burials in Etruscan chamber tombs. Known for many years only from drawings at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, two pyxides discovered in Chiusi in 1838–40 are the first instances of the shape in Attic pottery. A massive tumulus in the Poggio Gaiella necropolis, once believed to be the “Tomb of Lars Porsenna,” was re-excavated in 1994 (Fig. 3). In a lateral burial chamber along the

dromos of the circular chamber tomb 3 (designated tomb 19), forgotten fragments were found that belong to the Moretti pyxis (No. 2), as Michalis Tiverios recognized;¹⁸ another piece joins the lid of its mate in Palermo (No. 1), indicating that the two were deposited as a pair. Closely connected with the circle of Lydos or the Painter of Vatican 309, the pyxides accompanied other banquet vases by Lydos and precious metal artifacts. A princely funerary monument erected for a prominent *gens* in Archaic Chiusi, Poggio Gaiella is one of the largest tumuli in Etruria, encompassing multiple burial chambers within its 300-meter diameter. Images of funerary games – a footrace of five youths and a paidotribes (judge) – decorated a painted wall within the tumulus, which was probably surmounted by a relief with banquets and horse-races.¹⁹ Echoes of this imagery appear on the pyxides: four mounted youths racing toward a turning-post, men and women cavorting in a komos, the union of Menelaos and Helen, and a triumphant encounter of Herakles and Athena – themes that fit comfortably into a visual repertoire of funeral display and aristocratic clan identity.

Signed by Nikosthenes and attributed to the Nikosthenes Painter, a unique red-figured pyxis was part of an equally elite setting (No. 14). It was found in tumulus 2 in Cerveteri's Banditaccia necropolis, in the central room of the so-called "Tomba dei vasi attici." A profusion of Attic symposion vases was deposited on the floor, including two Nikosthenic amphorae and two kyathoi.²⁰ Hoplites (apobates?) sprint alongside quadrigae around the lid, and on the body a trainer supervises athletes who practice to the tunes of a youth playing flutes, including a jumper holding halteres, an akontist, discobolus, and foot-racer. In an Etruscan setting, scenes of Greek athletics in the palaestra and at Panathenaic festivals would have struck a familiar chord in connection with funeral games in honor of the deceased. The sheer quantity of finds – some 95 Attic vases dating from about 575 BC to the early fifth century – signals an elite investment in lavish display. Masculine iconography notwithstanding, sporting and drinking subjects do not demand a male gendered identity for the Nikosthenic pyxis.²¹ Ten other banqueting vases in this tomb have inscriptions indicating that the vases were owned by females, including the two Nikosthenic amphorae, two olpai, and six black-glazed plates, which bear the words "mi Culnaial" (I belong to Culna) and "Mi atial" (I belong to mother). Unlike their Greek counterparts, Etruscan women were infamously visible participants at banquets. The gender-identity of the pyxis was less important than its presence among a set of banquet vessels, some obtained from the same workshop, which had an ideological function in social ceremonies that strengthened family and clan ties.



Fig. 4. Florence 76931 and University of Pennsylvania Museum MS 3439A. Photo: after drawing in: Luigi Adriano Milani, *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo archeologico di Firenze* (1905) pl. 1.

Archival digging has turned up new information on the pyxis in Florence signed by Nikosthenes as potter (No. 7), which was found in 1896 in Orvieto's Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis. Its precise location in Tomb 1, a large double-chambered tomb some distance to the west of the main cemetery, was documented by Luigi Milani, who reported that this pyxis and two others (Nos. 32. 33) were reconstructed from sherds massed in a tomb on the Mancini property (Fig. 4). Nearly seven meters in length, Tomb 1 is the largest recorded chamber tomb in Orvieto. In addition to gold earrings, a silver sheet bearing the male name "Laris Murcnas," a small silver lion's head, an iron spear blade, and a terracotta spindle whorl, the grave group comprised a number of imposing Attic black-figured symposium vessels.²² Nineteenth-century correspondence confirms that in addition to the three noted by Milani, at least two more Nikosthenic pyxides and five lids – the set brought to the University of Pennsylvania Museum by A.L. Frothingham (Nos. 31–38) – were excavated from the same chamber. Described in contemporary records as coming from a burnt layer, all had been reduced to fragments and show visible damage from fire.²³

Though missing its foot, the signature piece in Florence bears no

obvious signs of burning. More meticulous than most, Nikosthenes put his name to a vase that was finely potted and illustrated with an assembly of the Olympian deities. Athena joins Herakles at the place of honor beside Zeus and Hera, who holds a remarkable, compound lotus flower; seated with them on low thrones are Hermes and Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis, Nike, and Ariadne and Dionysos entwined in a fruitful vine. Each goddess carries branches and floral tendrils as if to a festival, in celebration of the hero's apotheosis. Combats on the lid reiterate the heroic qualities of valor and courage. Painted in a hasty style and somewhat later than Nikosthenes's vase, a second apotheosis scene unfolds on one of the Penn pyxides, where a winged goddess escorts Herakles to greet Hebe and Hera, who share a low throne. As the object of cult in Etruria, Herakles represented the warrior ideal, and his ascent to divine status and marriage to Hebe (a symbol of eternal youth) is evoked to honor and elevate the deceased.

All the Orvieto examples were found in the Crocifisso del Tufo cemetery. As at Chiusi, there is a preference for offering matched pairs: two of the Penn pyxides are nearly identical as are the CHC Group pyxides (Nos. 42. 43) which come from a nearby tomb.²⁴ Toward the late sixth century, pyxides were associated with more modest, single-chamber tombs in a sector of the main cemetery known as Mancini scavi A (Nos. 28–30). Unprecedented at other burial sites, the five pyxides that furnished the wealthy Tomb 1 signal a distinct usage by one of Orvieto's elite families. Discriminating choices were made in accordance with local ceremonial needs, for which the imagery of heroic apotheosis, dancing, processions, horseraces, and mock-combats were *a propos*.

Iconography

Commonplace themes drawn from myth and aristocratic lifestyles triggered meaningful associations among viewers of Greek vases. Though decorated by and large with routine figural scenes, Nikosthenic pyxides registered in culturally specific ways. A strong case for reading iconography through the cultural prism of owners has recently been advanced, in order to evaluate the resonance of Attic vases in Etruscan visual culture.²⁵ Approaches to this question entail statistical surveys of preferred myths and investigations of anomalous iconological details. Methodologically, some studies are limited by a lack of attention to precise archaeological contexts and an overreliance on attributed vases. Given that 82% of pyxides can be associated with a known location, often a specific site or tomb group, and were deliberately chosen to fulfill a specific ritual function, they offer a valuable opportunity to consider alternative or complementary

readings from the viewpoints of makers and users.

Factoring in the find-spots, there is a clear divergence in imagery between east and west. Pyxides from Etruscan contexts are oriented toward a masculine sphere of heroic *agones*, athletic contests, and battles. Subjects that appeal to feminine sensibilities – marriage, childbirth, and religious processions – are predominant in Greek and eastern Mediterranean religious precincts. Notwithstanding finds of these vases in tombs and votive deposits, isolated from their everyday functions, pictures of pyxides painted on pyxides locate the shape in the feminine ambience of the *oikos*. A vase-painter stylistically close to the Lysippides Painter (No. 73) portrayed elegantly clad women working wool on a pyxis from the Samian Heraion: one veiled female is seated on a throne, and between a spinning pair is a tall lidded pyxis. Part of an inscription naming a figure is preserved, hinting that the scene transpires in a mythical sphere. On the lid of the Vlastou-Serpieri pyxis from Kalyvia Kouvara (Attica) by the Painter of the Oxford Amphora (No. 41), a lidded Nikosthenic pyxis stands behind a woman holding a child, in a group of females carding, spinning, or lifting wool from a kalathos. Two groups of four spinners flank an enthroned female. On the opposite side, the mother and child stand before a bearded man sitting on a diphros and holding a knotty staff; long-tailed birds, perhaps peacocks, walk among the assembled spinners. In the main scene on the body, Peleus and Thetis celebrate their nuptials amid an entourage of Olympian divinities.

Identified as a conventional family gathering in the *oikos*, the richly attired spinners could be seen as Aphrodite among her retinue of Charites and Horai, mythological counterparts of the mortal *Frauengemach*.²⁶ Although the purpose of pyxides in connection with wool-working is not evident, the Charites and Horai wove Aphrodite's *peplos ambrosios*, which was "dyed with the flowers of spring...and scented with all the seasons."²⁷ As a container of perfumed balms or aromatics, the pyxis would not be out of place in the *kosmos* of the goddess of seduction. The center of attention, however, is on the child being presented to the regal seated man. Could this episode refer to Achilles's asylum on Skyros with King Lykomedes and his daughters? This period of the hero's childhood is not well attested in classical art, but we can speculate that the woman and her pyxis allude to Thetis's anointing of the infant Achilles with ambrosia to assure his immortality.

Gatherings of women engaged in wool-working are infrequent in black-figure. A third group of spinners appears on a lid from the cult area associated with Artemis on Samos. Eleven women standing or seated on diphroi and stools prepare the wool (No. 55), but no enthroned female is visible, unless she was painted where a sherd has

been lost. Found in an indeterminate context under a modern house, the lid may belong to one of three pyxides from the Artemis precinct (Nos. 52–53. 56), which show an assembly of Olympian gods, a convoy of chariots (for a wedding?), and a procession (Judgment of Paris?) led by a winged daimon of the sort often drawn by Amasis. Chariot processions recur on other Samian fragments (Nos. 66. 67. 70) and likely belong to wedding marches, the Judgment of Paris, and the like. Marriage and spinning are further connected on a fourth pyxis in Bochum of unknown provenance, which illustrates the exemplary union of Dionysos and Ariadne (a weaver *par excellence*), presiding over women who spin and card wool assisted by servants or children (No. 8). A festive occasion, one woman holds up a wreath, and garlands festoon the upper margin of the scene.

Athena is the focus of attention on a number of pyxides from early in the series. Her birth from the head of Zeus is shown (or implied) twice, on the Levy-White pyxis (No. 23) and on the Tyrrhenian fragments from Phocaea (No. 46). Among the mythological episodes, Athena joins Herakles in the Gigantomachy (No. 6) and is in attendance at his reception on Olympos (Nos. 7. 31). A crowd of citizens on the Moretti pyxis looks on as goddess and hero confront one another with club and shield raised (No. 2). Their encounter may be an excerpt from a triumphal greeting scene, enacted to mark the victory over the giants.²⁸ An overt reference to the worship of Athena is figured on the pyxis found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. Horsemen, women, and ephebes holding spears approach a large seated figure of the goddess (No. 9), in what may be a gathering of athletes at the Panathenaic festival (No. 9).²⁹ On the Vienna pyxis, groups of singers and musicians perform on platforms, one of which bears the inscription *Nikosthenes kalos*, which must be more than a coincidence (No. 27). Opinion is divided about whether these are musical lessons emulating contests – note the man who admonishes a boy with a sandal – or actual choral performances in which youths competed at tribal or religious festivals, such as the Panathenaia or the Pythia.³⁰



Fig. 5. Paris, Louvre F149 (ex coll. Campana). Photo: © 1990 Musée du Louvre (Patrick Lebaube).

Files of draped women and men parade at a stately pace around many of these vases (No. 11? 16. 17. 18. 21. 22. 24. 25. 29. 33. 34. 39. 47? 51). Moving in step, they form a procession in which participants turn to converse or gesticulate in high spirits (Fig. 5). Usually categorized as generic “departure for war” scenes, family members seem not to bid farewell to a son arming for battle, despite two vignettes of a youth who bends to adjust his greave. Different age groups and ranks are represented, and the marchers are accompanied by hoplites, youths on horseback, and warriors mounting a chariot or quadriga. The crowd calls to mind the expanded Panathenaic festival, when community members proceeded on foot and in chariots to the Acropolis, although here no musicians accompany them.³¹ Birds overhead signal movement through the countryside: a crane takes flight over a procession in which a nude male proffers a hare to an

unidentified figure (No. 11). Wreaths or garlands sometimes hang from the frame of the figural frieze. Copious nonsense and mock inscriptions – acoustical ornaments visualizing the crowd's chatter and paeans? – enliven the festive mood.³² Ceremonial processions, of course, were conducted by both Greeks and Etruscans, but as most of the procession scenes come from Etruria, it may be more productive to read them in connection with files of figures in stamped relief friezes that commonly ornament bucchero chalices and architectural terracottas.



Fig. 6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 347, close to the Group of Leningrad 1469. Photo: Museum C69178.

Pairs of women wrapped in a single mantle sometimes take part in these parades. Featured in wedding processions on Corinthian black-figured vases, they appear on the François Vase and the dinos by Sophilos in London, where we see goddesses, Muses, and Horai sharing a mantle (or *pharos*) at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis.³³ Rather than a private leave-taking, the occasion is public and celebratory. Female couples promenade under a flowery mantle on at least nine pyxides (Nos. 3. 17. 18. 22. 61. 62. 66. 69. 71), either in pairs or as a triad. In the midst of the crowd they face one another

with hands raised or held in front of their chins in an emotive gesture (No. 3). Occasioning much speculation in the literature, the implications of the shared *pharos* have ranged from the erotic to the sacred.³⁴ In the present cases, the image seems to be connected with a ritual offering of a mantle elaborately woven with floral motifs, either as part of the conjugal ceremony or as a dedication. Most were found in the Greek sanctuaries, such as the Athenian Acropolis and especially in the Samian Heraion. Women sharing a cloak hold branches and flowers on a black-figured pyxis with a tall narrow stem and flat lid. The vase is close in style and subject matter to three Nikosthenic types (Nos. 16–18) attributed to the Princeton Group.³⁵ Other examples were found near the temple at Brauron (No. 22), together with dedications of epinetra. Women share a floral cloak as well on two pyxides from Etruria (Nos. 17–18; Fig. 6). Presentations of rich robes find a recognizable cognate in matrimonies depicted on Etruscan funerary reliefs, when bride and groom are covered with a cloth, and the *pharos* processions may have been perceived in this light.³⁶

Feats of heroism predominate on specimens of the shape that were exported to Etruscan cities. Episodes of the labors of Herakles, such as his fights with Antaios and with the Nemean Lion, appear on two lids (Nos. 1. 4), and Theseus wrestles with the Minotaur (Nos. 4. 23), or combats centaurs together with Kaineus (No. 5) on three pyxides. Episodes involving the Lapith Kaineus in the centauromachy and Herakles found great favor with Etruscan audiences.³⁷ In western cemeteries, human festivities are preferred. In addition to the horse-races mentioned above, athletic competitions such as boxing, wrestling, javelin, running, and cavalry exercises are conducted under the watchful eye of trainers or judges (Nos. 1. 10. 14. 28. 30. 31. 49). Armed duels are waged, but some are enacted for the entertainment of onlookers, which implies mock battles (Nos. 29. 35) or games rather than actual warfare (Nos. 37. 45).



Fig. 7. Orvieto, Museo Etrusco Faina 2488, from Orvieto. Photo: Max Hutzel Collection 317, Getty Research Institute.

Contests were feature events in Archaic religious and deme festivals, in which participants competed in musical performance, sports, and cavalry manoeuvres. Competitive events and myths of special relevance to Athens's foundation recur with notable frequency on Nikosthenic pyxides. They may refer indirectly to the Peisistratid reorganization of the Panathenaic festival, when prizes were awarded to the victors of tribal events testing athletic and, above all, military prowess. In addition to sports and mock battles, a race of apobates (No. 14) and boats (No. 76?) may reflect contemporary Athenian events. In the setting of aristocratic Etruscan burials, athletic contests were organized during funeral ceremonies, and scenes of sport spectacles frequently decorate tomb walls (Fig. 7).

Dancing figures comprise a final group of festivity scenes, all of which come from Etruria. Satyrs and maenads join together in a Dionysian revel (Nos. 32. 82), men and women dance energetically in a komos (No. 2), and a youth capers in a row of bystanders (Nos. 33–34). Women dance to the tunes of female musicians playing the flutes and lyre on three CHC Group pyxides (Nos. 42–44: Fig 8). Their celebration recalls the ring dance performed on the shoulder of a lekythos by the Amasis Painter, which illustrates a wedding procession

on the body below.³⁸ An early photograph of No. 43 presents an iconographic puzzle: prior to restoration, fourteen women danced on either side of a column to which a Dionysos mask was affixed, but this section of the vase is no longer extant. On the assumption that the Dionysos vignette pertained, Claudio Bizzarri proposed that the dancing women on the lid (No. 43) represent the twelve *gerarai*, the priestesses who assisted in the *hieros gamos* of Basilinna and Dionysos. They are joined by a woman playing flutes and a figure who is seen as Basilinna herself holding a flower, a ritual related to the Anthesteria.³⁹ Another favored story in the Etruscan mythological repertoire, Dionysos's marriage to Ariadne, is represented on several other pyxides (Nos. 7. 8. 31? 32), most of them from Orvieto.



Fig. 8. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, V.I.3229, from Orvieto.
CHC Group. Photo: Museum (R. Mai).

Conclusion

From the foregoing overview, Nikosthenes's role in creating a novel shape destined for Etruscan clients can be assessed more realistically. Beyond scattered fragments in a handful of sanctuaries in Attica, the shape is scarcely represented on the Greek mainland, but won great popularity in the eastern Aegean, on Samos, as well as in Etruria between 560 and 500 BC. The earliest examples precede Nikosthenes's

main production, but his workshop fulfilled occasional demand for this specialized form on the part of elite consumers in several Etruscan cities. Italic precedents usually cited for the form fail to persuade, and more likely the shape was developed with wood or stone containers in mind, probably originating in the Levant or Egypt. To judge from the predominant imagery and contexts, Nikosthenic pyxides were used during festivities that accompanied rites of passage. More specifically, their contents were considered appropriate on ceremonial occasions, including banquets, both funeral and domestic, weddings, and religious devotions. Certain iconographic themes were preferred in sanctuaries associated with goddesses who presided over marriage and childbirth: mythological couples, processions in chariots, the shared mantle motif, and festivals with a decided Athenian connection. In Etruscan cemeteries, on the other hand, heroic agones, sports spectacles, battles, and apotheosis better suited local burial rituals and self-conceptions.

Similar themes occurring in both eastern and western contexts, however, call for readings that are weighted toward the viewing culture. Had the Malibu pyxis with the Gigantomachy story been found in Attica, it could plausibly be linked to Peisistratid political interests in promoting Athenian foundation myths. If, for the sake of argument, it was originally buried in an Etruscan chamber tomb or a sanctuary of Hercle, the valence of the object would shift to the hero's successful achievement of immortality. Finds from tombs in Etruria reveal patterns of note: a fondness for matched pairs, and an inclination toward themes in which personal *kleos* is assimilated with exemplary heroes and their divine mentors. Orvieto represents an informative anomaly. The reductionist conclusion that the site mainly offered a fresh market niche exploited by the Nikosthenic workshop falls short of explaining the cluster of pyxides in the Crocifisso del Tufo. One elite family buried half a dozen pyxides, some of which were evidently consumed on a pyre along with other costly symposium vessels. Closer to the end of the sixth century, several neighbors, who utilized modest single-chamber tombs in a section of the necropolis that served a multi-ethnic middle class, followed suit.

Precisely what the chalice-shaped pyxides held remains hypothetical, short of conducting residue analysis. As containers of a valuable commodity, we can surmise that their role in burials and as dedications involved aromatic substances. Scents are rich metaphors that infused social ceremonies with sensory experience. An appurtenance of elite lifestyle that was pleasing to the gods, perfume was a frequent offering in graves and sanctuaries.⁴⁰ Burnt incense was an extravagant offering to the deceased, and as Pliny observed, functioned also to mask the odors of cremation. Appearing in

aristocratic burials furnished with the accoutrements of the banquet, one must suppose that this vessel was also present during feasts, when – as literary sources attest – heavy incense perfumed the air during the diners' repast. Aphrodite proffers a pyxis, for example, to her lover Ares, who reclines at a divine banquet on the Codrus Painter's famous cup.⁴¹

Two illustrations pointedly locate the shape in the feminine realm, beside spinning women who take part in a divine *Frauengemach* or *hieros gamos*. Calling to mind the robes "scented with all the seasons" that the Charites and Horai wove for Aphrodite, these scenes have suggested to some scholars that the pyxis was a wedding gift. Seductive perfumes were integral to nuptial celebrations. Sappho describes the marriage cortege of Hector and Andromache, when bowls and chalices (kraters and phialai) were carried and "myrrh and cassia and frankincense were mixed."⁴² The open Nikosthenic shape would not have been appropriate for perfumed oils, a precious commodity better held in petite closed forms such as aryballoi and alabastra, but could have conveniently stored solid resins and spices, herbal pot-pourris, or other ambrosial balms. Incense fulfils the ritual functions to which the painted scenes allude, for weddings divine and mortal, religious processions, and festival and funeral games.

Etruscan communities had long been in direct contact with purveyors of luxury goods from Corinth and the Near East. Nikosthenes seized the chance to distribute an elegant ceramic container for a desirable substance, which continued to be successful outside of Athens even as Athenians turned to other types of pyxides and plemochoi for the female toilette. Echoes of the shape linger in the marble chalices, brought by women to the graveside, occasionally depicted on white lekythoi. Some Etruscans acquired, commissioned, or received in gift exchange both the package and the product, using it to mark the journey of a family member to a blessed afterlife.

While the chamber tombs described above are far from unspoiled archaeological contexts, they underscore what is to be gained – and what is irretrievable – by regarding individual objects in specific cultural settings. The Etruscan–Athenian rapport mediated by painted vases encourages a rethinking of the Greek and eastern Mediterranean contexts, which are not a *fait accompli*. That votive pyxides decorated with sympathetic subject matter were dedicated to titular goddesses of female *rites de passage* raises further questions. How did votive chalices of various forms, with their eastern flavor, function in sanctuaries situated at cultural crossroads, like Naukratis and Samos, where Egyptian dedications were pervasive? Were these vases made to order for local ritual? If so, what did "foreign" vase-painters like Amasis, Lydos, and Taleides contribute to creating an elegant ceramic

container? Short-lived, the lidded pyxis was a successful experiment in wedding form to function. With its graceful tulip form, surmounted by an acorn or lotus-bud knob, Nikosthenic pyxides manifested their exotic contents through an elegantly analogous floral shape.

Appendix: Catalogue of Nikosthenic-type Pyxides

A. Attic black- and red-figured pyxides (unless otherwise noted, all examples listed below are black-figured)

1Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale, N.I. 2884. Pyxis and lid, from Chiusi, Poggio Gaiella Tomb 19 (ex. coll. Casuccini). Circle of Lydos, ca. 550 BC. Lid: Herakles and the Nemean Lion, horserace with four dogs chasing a hare below [lid likely belongs to no. 2]. Pyxis: Menelaos and Helen, warriors (the Dioskouroi?), draped men holding spears, women holding wreaths, youths wearing a chlamys, horse and rider; inscriptions. D. Barbagli – M. Iozzo (eds), *Etruschi. Chiusi Siena Palermo. La Collezione Bonci Casuccini* (2007) 146–151. Oxford, Beazley Archive 9018030.

1Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Lid fragment with horses, from Chiusi, Poggio Gaiella Tomb 19. Joins the lid (no. 1). Barbagli – Iozzo (supra no. 1) 148.

2Once Athos Moretti, Lugano. Pyxis and lid, from Chiusi, Poggio Gaiella necropolis, tomb 19 (ex coll. Casuccini; formerly Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale 1452). Circle of Lydos, ca. 550 BC. Lid: Komast scene with eight pairs of men and women dancing [lid likely belongs to no. 1]; Pyxis: Athena and Herakles, flanked by draped men holding spears, youths wearing a chlamys, men leading rampant horses, warriors, and women holding wreaths; nonsense (?) inscriptions. M. Tiverios, *AM* 115, 2000, 73–81. Oxford, Beazley Archive 4562.

2Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Pyxis fragments, Chiusi, Poggio Gaiella necropolis, tomb 19. Four fragments belonging to pyxis (no. 2). Barbagli – Iozzo (supra no. 1) 149.

3Athens, National Museum 1.2187, A-P1254, A-P2347. Pyxis and lid fragments, from the Athenian Acropolis and Well E, North Slope. Lydos, 550–540 BC. Pyxis: two women sharing a mantle, man; lid: two women sharing a mantle, woman; nonsense inscriptions. *ABV* 111,4; C. Roebuck, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, 158–159 fig. 11. Oxford, Beazley Archive 310190.

4London, British Museum B 596. Lid, from Vulci (ex colls. Canino, Beugnot), ca. 550 BC. Wrestlers (Herakles and Antaios?) approached by a running man brandishing a sandal, with trainer and draped man looking on; Theseus and Minotaur flanked by five draped men and two “penguin” women. *LIMC* I (1981) 808 no. 70 pl. 656, s.v.

- Antaios 1 (R. Olmos – L.J. Balmaseda).
- 5Rome, Musei Capitolini 1531 (13 MAI). Pyxis (ex coll. Castellani). Near Group E (Iozzo), 540–530 BC. Pyxis: Centauromachy with Kaineus (twice) and a youth (Theseus?); nonsense inscriptions. M. Iozzo, *Ceramica attica a figure nere. La collezione Astarita nel Museo Gregoriano Etrusco*, pt. 2,1 (2002) 112. Oxford, Beazley Archive 20234.
- 6Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.143 (+ L.88. AE.46, 90.AE.15, 82.AE.26). Pyxis fragments (ex coll. Bareiss 351). BMN Painter [Bothmer], ca. 540 BC. Gigantomachy, with Herakles, Athena, Porphyryon, Enkelados, Poseidon and Polybotes; inscriptions. CVA Malibu 2 pl. 72. Oxford, Beazley Archive 10148. Fig. 1.
- 7Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 76931. Pyxis and lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo, scavi Riccardo Mancini “B”, 1896, tomb 1. Signed by Nikosthenes as potter, 525–520 BC. Lid: battles of hoplites and cavalry; Pyxis: Athena and Herakles seated with Zeus, Hera, Hermes, Aphrodite, Apollo, Artemis, Nike, Ariadne and Dionysos. A.M. Esposito – G. Tommaso (eds), *Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Vasi Attici* (1993) 37 fig. 43. Oxford, Beazley Archive 201951. Fig. 4.
- 8Bochum, Ruhr-Universität S1212. Pyxis and lid (ex coll. Jacques Chamay, Geneva). 530–520 BC. Pyxis: Dionysos and Ariadne flanked by satyrs, and women spinning, assisted by servants; Lid: concentric bands of lotus buds, meander. N. Kunisch, *Erläuterungen zur griechischen Vasenmalerei* (1996) 112–116.
- 9Corinth. Pyxis fragments, from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, near room J. Compare with Eleusis 1576 by Painter N; 550–525 BC. Athena with horses, youths, and women (Panathenaia scene?). E. Pemberton, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Greek Pottery. Corinth 18,1* (1989) 142 no. 328 pl. 36.
- 1Montauban, Musée Ingres 87.4.27. Lid (ex coll. Dominique Ingres, acquired in Rome 1837–41). Painter N [Bothmer], ca. 525 BC. Youths on horseback, leading a void horse, draped youths, draped male spectators seated on diphroi. P. Picard-Cajan (ed.), *Ingres & l’Antique. L’Illusion grecque* (2006) 276. 395 no. 130; ABV 690,59bis; Oxford, Beazley Archive 306580.
- 1Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 2536. Pyxis, from Eleusis. Painter N. Rider, nude youth holding out a hare, small boy, draped woman, male?, with a crane flying above. Para 106; V. Tosto, *The Blackfigure Pottery Signed NIKOSTHENESEPIOESEN* (1999) 128 pl. 58 fig. 126. Oxford, Beazley Archive 340409.
- 1Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 847 (now in Athens?). Pyxis, from Eleusis. “Similar in shape to Karlsruhe B235”: J.D. Beazley – H.G.G. Payne, *JHS* 49, 1929, 265.

- 1Bleusis, Archaeological Museum 1009 (now in Athens?). Pyxis, from Eleusis. Beazley – Payne (supra no. 12) 265.
- 1Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia 21049. Redfigured pyxis and lid, from Cerveteri, Banditaccia necropolis, tomb 2 (“Tomba dei vasi attici”). Signed by Nikosthenes as potter; Nikosthenes Painter, ca. 530–520 BC. Lid: hoplites running in front of quadrigae; Pyxis: athletic contests: akontist, discusthrower, long-jumper, trainer, and youth playing flutes. J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases* (1975) fig. 97. Oxford, Beazley Archive 201058.
- 1Centre Island, New York. Red-figured lid fragments, with lotus buds and a palmette frieze around the rim. CVA Malibu 2 21.
- 1Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR 4.1937. Pyxis. Princeton Group, Group of Leningrad 1469. Pyxis: procession of women, youths, and warriors. CVA Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 2 53 pl. 1,1a–c; ABV 302,692. Oxford, Beazley Archive 301466.
- 1Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 347. Pyxis (ex coll. Opperman). Princeton Group, Group of Leningrad 1469. Pyxis: draped men with spears, youths wearing a chlamys, warriors, bird, and women sharing a mantle. CVA Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 1 34 pl. 46,10–12; ABV 302,1. Oxford, Beazley Archive 301467. Fig. 6.
- 1Once London market. Pyxis (ex colls Segredakis, Edouard des Courières, Paris). Princeton Group, Group of Leningrad 1469. Groups of men, youths, and women sharing a mantle. ABV 692; Christie’s London, Oct 25, 2006, 138 lot 215 fig. 215.
- 1Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G 137.32. Lid (?) fragment, from Naukratis, with a draped female and the leg of a man; nonsense inscription. 550–525 BC. CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 2 97 pl. 3 no. 25.
- 2London, British Museum B 601.9. Pyxis fragment, from Naukratis, with two draped figures, one male; inscription: ...]bis kalos. 550–540 BC. Beazley – Payne (supra no. 12) 263 no. 35 pl. 15,25; ABV 676.
- 2London, British Museum B366. Pyxis, from Etruria (ex coll. Pizzati, Florence, 1849). Procession of men, women and warriors; 540–520 BC. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (1893) 207.
- 2Brauron. Pyxis fragments, from Brauron, west of the stoa. Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, ca. 530 BC. Two women sharing a mantle and men holding spears, mock inscriptions, wreath. L. Kahil, in: *Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland*, AntK Beiheft 1 (1963) 10–11 pl. 3,4–5. Para 196.
- 2New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection. Pyxis. Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, ca. 540 BC. Birth of Athena?, with Zeus, a small running figure under his throne, Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, Poseidon,

- Amphitrite, Hephaistos, Artemis, and Apollo; Theseus killing the Minotaur, with boys and girls looking on. D. von Bothmer, *Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* (1990) 137–138.
- 2Paris, Louvre F150 (inv. CP3229). Pyxis, from Etruria (ex coll. Campana). Sakonides, ca. 530 BC. Procession of men, women, warriors, and horsemen, nonsense inscriptions. ABV 172; Oxford, Beazley Archive 301104.
- 2Paris, Louvre F149 (inv. CP3243). Pyxis, from Etruria (ex coll. Campana). 550–525 BC. Procession of chariots, hoplites, cavalry, and draped men and women, and below an animal frieze (swan, panther, siren, ram, draped man). E. Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite*, vol. 3 (1906) 772–773. Fig. 5.
- 2London, British Museum B600.19. Pyxis fragment, from Naukratis, sanctuary of Hera or Aphrodite, with a frontal quadriga; below, a lion attacking a bull. 530–520 BC. Beazley – Payne (supra no. 12) 265.
- 2Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 318 (IV 1870). Pyxis, with scenes of music lessons or contests. 520–510 BC. H.A. Shapiro, in: J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (1992) 53–75 fig. 32. Oxford, Beazley Archive 306451.
- 2Orvieto, Museo Claudio Faina 2488. Pyxis from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini A, with horserace, mock inscriptions. 520–510 BC. M.R. Wójcik, *Museo Claudio Faina di Orvieto. Ceramica attica a figure nere* (1989) 134–136. Oxford, Beazley Archive 9705. Fig. 7.
- 2Orvieto, Museo Claudio Faina 2491. Lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini A, fights between warriors holding shields, with men and women looking on. 530–520 BC. Wójcik (supra no. 28) 137–138.
- 3Orvieto, Museo Claudio Faina 2492. Lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini A. Horserace with five youths on horseback and a tripod. 530–520 BC. Wójcik (supra no. 28) 139–140.
- 3Philadelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 4868. Pyxis, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Pyxis: Divine assembly, with a goddess, Ariadne and Dionysos (?), Nike escorting Herakles to greet Hebe and Hera, Zeus, Ares, Demeter and Persephone (?), Hermes, Aphrodite, and Eros; mock inscriptions. Belongs to lid no. 38 below. 520–515 BC. E.H. Dohan, *Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania Museum) 6, 1915, 173–179 fig. 98. Oxford, Beazley Archive 9018031.
- 3Philadelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 3438. Pyxis, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Marriage

- of Dionysos (with Ariadne?), satyrs and maenads. 525–515 BC. Belongs to lid no. 36 below. J.M. Turfa, *Catalogue of the Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum* (2005) 227–228 no. 244. Oxford, Beazley Archive 9018032.
- 3Bhiladelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 3439A. Pyxis, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Ca. 510 BC. Pyxis: Women, men, youths, and a youth dancing. Dohan (supra no. 31) 173–179 fig. 94.
- 3Bhiladelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 3437. Pyxis, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Ca. 510 BC. Men, women, youths, and a youth dancing. Dohan (supra no. 31) 173–179.
- 3Bhiladelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 4844. Lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Warriors fighting, women and seated men looking on, and youths on horseback; mock inscriptions. Dohan (supra no. 31) 173–179 fig. 97.
- 3Bhiladelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 4865B. Lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Seated bearded god approached by a procession of men, women, warrior holding shield, youths carrying spear, and youths on horseback, and a woman lifting her veil. Mock inscriptions. Belongs to pyxis no. 32 above. Turfa (supra no. 32) 228 no. 245.
- 3Bhiladelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 4846. Lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Combats between hoplites and men on horseback; mock inscriptions. Dohan (supra no. 31) 173–179 figs 94. 96.
- 3Bhiladelphia, Univ. of Penn. Museum MS 4845. Lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Mancini B, Tomb 1. Horserace with eight mounted riders; mock inscriptions. Belongs to pyxis no. 31 above. Dohan (supra no. 31) 173–179.
- 3Chicago, Art Institute 1889–13. Pyxis, from Orvieto (ex coll. Augusto Mele, Naples), with a seated man (god?) approached by a procession of men, women, youth on horseback, and warriors holding spears; mock inscriptions. 500 BC. Fig. 2.
- 4Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Karl Marx Universität T414. Pyxis, from Orvieto (ex coll. Friedrich Hauser, 1897). Group of Rhodes 12264, late sixth century BC. Amazonomachy, youth riding a horse, nonsense inscriptions. CVA Leipzig 2 30–31 pl. 29,1–2; S. Pfisterer-Haas, Wenn der Topf aber nun ein Loch hat, Restaurierung griechischer Keramik, in: *Antike und Neuzeit* (1998) 20 figs 3,5A–B. Oxford, Beazley Archive 350766.
- 4Athens, National Museum (ex coll. Vlastou-Serpieri). Pyxis and lid, from Kalyvia Kouvara, Attica. Painter of the Oxford Amphora [Bothmer], 500–490 BC. Lid: spinning scene; pyxis: wedding of

- Peleus and Thetis, with Demeter (?), Hermes, Athena, Zeus, and three kanephoroi; mock and nonsense inscriptions. J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1974) fig. 267. Oxford, Beazley Archive 2563.
- 42Perugia, Soprintendenza per i Beni archeologici dell'Umbria (formerly Orvieto, Opera del Duomo 1041). Pyxis and lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Lorenzo Corseri. CHC Group, Heron Class, 500–490 BC. Lid: six pairs of women and youths, seated facing each other, and a woman running; pyxis: women dancing with two seated women playing the flutes and a lyre. ABV 622,125; B. Klakowicz, *La necropoli anulare di Orvieto*, vol. 1 (1972) 58 nos. 16–17; 329. Oxford, Beazley Archive 306337.
- 4Berugia, Soprintendenza per i Beni archeologici dell'Umbria (formerly Orvieto, Opera del Duomo 268). Pyxis and lid, from Orvieto, Crocifisso del Tufo necropolis, Fondo Lorenzo Corseri. CHC Group, Heron Class, 500–490 BC. Lid: twelve dancing women, woman playing flutes and a woman holding a flower (a fragment once showing a column with a Dionysos mask is now lacking); pyxis: women dancing and playing flutes. ABV 623,126. Klakowicz (supra no. 42) 58 nos. 16–17; 329. Oxford, Beazley Archive 306338
- 4Berlin, Antikenmuseum V.I. 3229 (lost). Pyxis and lid, from Etruria. CHC Group, Heron Class, 500–490 BC. Dancing women and women playing auloi. ABV 623,127; Oxford, Beazley Archive 306339 (not a skyphos). Fig. 8.
- 4Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, II 1671. Lid, with battles of hoplites and chariots. 540–530 BC. CVA Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts 1 14 pl. 8,1–2. Oxford, Beazley Archive 30567.
- 4Phocaea 119. Pyxis fragments (?), from Phocaea. Archippe Group, 540–530 BC. Assembly of gods at the birth of Athena, with Eileithya or Hebe assisting Zeus, Hermes; bearded Dionysos seated on a throne; inscriptions naming the figures. Y. Tuna-Nörbling, *AA* 2002, 220–222.
- 4Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum AT521, from Italy (ex coll. Paul Hartwig, Rome market). Pyxis fragment, with winged deity (Nike or Iris?) holding a wreath in each hand, facing a man holding spear or staff; nonsense inscriptions. 530–520 BC. CVA Braunschweig 1 19 pl. 10,12. Oxford, Beazley Archive 12397.
- 4Sant'Isola, New York. Pyxis fragment, with procession of a horse, Hermes, and three women (Judgment of Paris, or wedding procession?). CVA Malibu 2 21.
- 4Vatican 35674 (Ast 710). Lid, from Etruria? (ex colls. Castellani ?, Astarita), with athletic contests: footrace, boxing, javelin, discus, wrestling, with trainers looking on, a prize tripod and lebes; mock

- inscriptions. 540–530 BC. Iozzo (supra no. 5) 111–112 no. 142.
- 50**Vatican 35678 (Ast 713). Lid fragments, from Etruria? (ex coll. Astarita), with three seated men (assembly of gods or paidotribai at a sports competition?). 520–510 BC. Iozzo (supra no. 5) 114 no. 144 pl. 68.
- 51**Vatican 35676 (Ast 712). Pyxis fragment, from Etruria? (ex coll. Astarita) ca. 510 BC. Man holding spear, woman wearing a chiton. Iozzo (supra no. 5) 114 no. 145 pl. 68.
- 52**Samos, Pythagoreion. Pyxis, from Samos, Agros N. Karmiri, sanctuary of Artemis. Procession of gods: Demeter (?), Poseidon, Hera, Zeus, Hestia (?), Apollo; below, frieze of grazing deer; inscriptions. K. Tsakos, *ADelt* 35, 1980, Chr. 2 464–464 pl. 274a; esp. 463.
- 53**Samos, Pythagoreion. Pyxis, from Samos, Agros N. Karmiri, sanctuary of Artemis, with the Judgment of Paris.
- 54**Samos, Pythagoreion. Lid, from Samos, Agros N. Karmiri, (from under a modern house). Duel with two warriors standing over a fallen warrior, two women, men, youth on horseback, and Hermes; inscriptions.
- 55**Samos, Pythagoreion. Lid, from Samos, Agros N. Karmiri (from under a modern house), with women seated and spinning, standing maid-servants. Tsakos (supra no. 52) 460–464 pl. 274a; esp. 463.
- 56**Samos, Pythagoreion, Ephoreia Depot. Pyxis fragments, from Samos, Agros N. Karmiri, sanctuary of Artemis, with a procession of figures walking beside chariots, some carrying torches (wedding scene?). Signed by the potter Taleides. H.W. Catling, *AREpLond* 29, 1982/83, 50–51 figs 88–89.
- 57**Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum K2105. Pyxis fragment (ex coll. Alexander Kiseleff, probably from Greece). Ca. 510 BC. Two warriors holding shields (dipinto with horse's name "elanos," as shield device) and two youths. E. Simon, *Die Sammlung Kiseleff im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg*, part II (1989) 76–78 no. 137 pl. 57. Oxford, Beazley Archive 46137.
- 58**Samos, Vathy Museum K6851. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with the head of a warrior; 560 BC. B. Kreuzer, *Die attisch schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos*, Samos 22 (1998) 145 no. 105 pl. 25 Beil. 6.
- 59**Samos, Vathy Museum K1214. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with women, running man, and winged male figure. Amasis Painter, 560–550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 145 no. 106 pl. 25 Beil. 6.
- 60**Samos, Vathy Museum K986. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with a draped man; 560–550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 145 no. 107 pl. 25.
- 61**Samos, Vathy Museum K6852. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion,

- with three women sharing a mantle. Compare to the Heidelberg Painter and the Painter of Berlin 1686; ca. 550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 145–146 no. 108 pl. 25.
- 632 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K6853. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with men, a bearded man with long hair holding a rhyton (Dionysos?), woman sharing a mantle. Circle of Lydos, ca. 550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 146 no. 109 pl. 25.
- 633 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K2764. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with lotus frieze. Princeton Group III, Group of Leningrad 1469; ca. 550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 146 no. 110 pl. 25.
- 634 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K965 and 966. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with a quadriga and woman (Amazonomachy?). Near Lydos, ca. 550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 146–147 no. 111 pl. 25 Beil. 6.
- 635 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K6855. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with draped man and second figure; below, frieze of pomegranates; Circle of Lydos, ca. 550 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 147 no. 112 pl. 25.
- 636 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K2612 and K987, 988. Pyxis and lid fragments, from the Heraion, with a man wearing a pilos holding the reins of chariot or cart, veiled woman; on lid, two women sharing a mantle. Circle of the Princeton Painter, 540–530 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 147 no. 113 pl. 26.
- 637 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K1000. Pyxis fragment (lost), from the Heraion, with a quadriga and draped man; below: animal frieze with a feline. Ca. 540 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 147–148 no. 114 pl. 26.
- 638 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K1266. Pyxis and lid fragments, from the Heraion, with draped men; on the lid, seated man holding a spear, standing woman, and youth holding a spear. Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, ca. 530 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 148 no. 115 pl. 26; ABV 454,2; Para 196,8quinter.
- 639 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K1683. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with one of two women who share a mantle and a bearded man. Similar to the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe, 530 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 148 no. 116 pl. 26 Beil. 6.
- 730 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K996. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with a wheel and draped male. Ca. 530 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 148–149 no. 117 pl. 26.
- 731 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K6856. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with the head of woman sharing a mantle. 550–525 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 149 no. 118 pl. 26 Beil. 6.
- 732 ~~S~~amos, Vathy Museum K939. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with draped and nude figures. 550–525 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 149 no. 119 pl. 27.

- 73Samos, Vathy Museum K1447. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with seated and standing women spinning and a pyxis on the ground. Style of the Lysippides Painter, 520 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 149–150 no. 120 pl. 26 Beil. 6.
- 74Samos, Vathy Museum K935. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with a quadriga. 520–510 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 150 no. 121 pl. 26.
- 75Samos, Vathy Museum K938. Pyxis fragment (lost), from the Heraion, with feet. Compare with the Antimenes Painter, 520–510 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 150 no. 122 pl. 26.
- 76Samos, Vathy Museum K6857. Pyxis fragment, from the Heraion, with ships. Circle of the Antimenes Painter, 525–500 BC. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 150 no. 123 pl. 26.
- 77Samos, Vathy Museum K6859. Pyxis fragments, from the Heraion, with a floral frieze. Kreuzer (supra no. 58) 150–151 no. 124 pl. 26.
- 78Samos, Vathy Museum. Lid fragment (?), from the Heraion, with tongues and a lotus bud chain around the knob. E. Kunze, AM 59, 1934, 91 Beilage 6,8.
- 79Berlin Sa 183. Lid fragment, from the Heraion, with a veiled woman, man holding spear, youth holding a shield, youth on horseback; nonsense inscriptions. Sakonides [Diehl], 550–525 BC. E. Diehl, AA 1964, 610 no. 84; 606 fig. 53. Oxford, Beazley Archive 901601.
- 80Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B235. Pyxis and lid, with double palmette and lotus bud chains. About 530 BC. CVA Karlsruhe 1 39 pl. 32,1. Oxford, Beazley Archive 12500.
- 81Stockholm, Carl Milles Museum. Pyxis (?) with a thiasos of satyrs and maenads. Galerie Fischer, Lucerne, August 30 – September 4, 1937, pl. 32 no. 833; see CVA Malibu 2 1, where it is identified as a Nikosthenic pyxis, but appears to be a skyphos.
- B. Etruscan black-figured pyxides*
- 82Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E34. Pyxis, with thiasos of satyrs, one holding a kithara and plectrum, and maenads dancing or handling snakes. Chiusi Pyxis Group, early fifth century BC. CVA Heidelberg 2 23 pl. 61,1–2.
- 83Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E35a-c. Pyxis fragment, with a horserace and riders holding goads. Chiusi Pyxis Group, early fifth century BC. CVA Heidelberg 2 pl. 63,1–3.
- 84Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E36ae. Pyxis fragments, with a three-horse chariot race. Chiusi Pyxis Group, early fifth century BC. CVA Heidelberg 2 pl. 62,1–5.
- 85Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E38a-c. Lid fragments, with a three-horse chariot race; beneath the horses, net bags (prizes?). Chiusi Pyxis Group, early fifth century BC. CVA Heidelberg 2 pl. 62,6–8.
- 86Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E39a-b. Lid, with a

- hunting scene of a youth and three dogs chasing a hare. Chiusi Pyxis Group, early fifth century BC. CVA Heidelberg 2 pl. 61,3–4.
- 8 Heidelberg, Heidelberg University Museum E37. Pyxis foot. Chiusi Pyxis Group, early fifth century BC. T. Dohrn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts* (1937) 158. 314.
- 8 Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 1012. Lid fragments, from Tarquinia or Orvieto? (ex coll. Bourguignon), with a youth pursuing two deer toward a net. Early fifth century BC. Dohrn (*supra* no. 87) 158. 314.
- C. Forgery*
- 8 Castello di Romena, Farrattini-Pojani Collection. Pyxis and lid, nineteenth century. M. Caserta, *AnnPerugia* 31, 1993/95, 261–271.
- D. Addenda*
- 9 Miletos, Sanctuary of Aphrodite Oikous on Zeytintepe. Approximately thirty Nikosthenic pyxis fragments and a dozen lid fragments have been identified. I am grateful to Norbert Kunisch, whose publication of the Attic imports at Miletos is forthcoming, for this information.
- 9 London, B600.15. Lid fragment (?), from Naukratis, with Athena and hindquarters of a lion (from scene of Herakles wrestling with the Nemean lion). 550–530 BC. For the shape, compare Nikosthenic pyxis lid Florence 76931.

Acknowledgements

For encouraging me to return to this long-term project, I am grateful to John Oakley and extend warm thanks to Mario Iozzo, Michalis Tiverios, Andrew Clark, Gloria Ferrari, Ann Brownlee, and Valentina Follo.

Notes

- 1CVA Malibu 2 20–22 pl. 72. V. Tosto, *The Black-figure Pottery Signed NIKOSTHENESEPOIESEN* (1999) 125 n. 518, sheds doubt on the attribution to the BMN Painter.
- 2T. Schreiber, *Athenian Vase Construction: A Potter's Analysis* (1999) 234–235.
- 3E. Paribeni et al., *La collezione Casuccini. La ceramica attica, etrusca e falisca* (1997) 7 fig. 3. B. Kreuzer, *Die attisch schwarzfigurige Keramik aus dem Heraion von Samos*, *Samos* 22 (1998) 13–17 nos. 105–124 Beilage 6.
- 4J.D. Beazley – H.G.G. Payne, *JHS* 49, 1929, 265. Despite the attribution of No. 11 to Painter N, who also painted the Montauban lid No. 10 (both doubted by Tosto [*supra* n. 1] 128), this angular subset may be the product of a separate workshop.
- 5The present article is a work in progress on a wider study of Nikosthenic pyxides that is in the course of preparation.
- 6Oxford 1066.768: ABV 113,80; Tosto (*supra* n. 1) 231 no. 159.

- Tosto (supra n. 1) 125–129.
- 8G. Camporeale, *Buccheri a cilindretto di fabbrica orvietana* (1972). For Orientalizing bronze chalices see: G.C. Cianferoni, *Studi e Materiali. Scienza dell'antichità in Toscana* 6, 1991, 108–109 fig. 17.
- 9CVA Karlsruhe 1 39. Lidded bucchero pesante pyxides referred to by Hafner (cf. CVA Villa Giulia 2 pl. 5 nos. 3–6. 8) are related. CVA Heidelberg 2 24. On holkia, see R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *MonAnt* 30, 1925, 463 fig. 67; *Das Helbig Museum der Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek* (1927) 56–58; and *Bildertafeln des etruskischen Museums* (1928) 40–43. The bucchero focolare (GR 1852.5–201, “symbolic hearth”) from Chiusi in the British Museum holds two lidded holkia, together with tripod bowls, an alabastron, palette, cups, kyathoi, a dipper, and miniature versions of shapes associated with cosmetics.
- 10CVA Heidelberg 2 pl. 62. T. Dorhn, *Die schwarzfigurigen etruskischen Vasen aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten Jahrhunderts* (1937) 140. According to Dorhn, a pencil note on the lid in Bonn may indicate that it comes from Orvieto (158 no. 308). On the Etruscan triga race, see J.-P. Thuillier, *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque* (1985) 94–95.
- 11P. Zaphiropoulou, in: *Études déliennes*, *BCH Supp.* 1 (1973) 601–636; see 618–619 for representations on vases beginning about 470 BC. Two pyxides on an oinochoe and hydria by the Shuvalov Painter are related: A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Shuwalow-Maler. Eine Kannenwerkstatt der Parthenonzeit* (1976) 104 no. S13; 110 no. S82. On marble pyxides, see J. Gaunt, forthcoming. For the technology of turned wooden pyxides, see P. Pugsley, *Roman Domestic Wood* (2003) 66–84.
- 12For a banded Ionian chalice, see J. Boehlau – E. Habich, *Samos – Die Kasseler Grabung 1894 in der archaischen Stadt* (1996) 30–31 grave 10 no. 1. Compare Egyptian lotiform chalices in blue faience, decorated with relief scenes and dating to 945–715 BC: G.A.D. Tait, *JEA* 49, 1963, 93–139. Corinthian stemmed pyxides are listed in H.G.G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931) 308 figs 144–146, and on the Middle Corinthian form, see also D.A. Amyx, *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* (1988) 456.
- 13R. Osborne, *World Archaeology* 33.2, 2001, 277–295, esp. 278.
- 14Cemeteries near Kalyvia Kouvara have been victim to extensive looting: see J. Whitley, *AREpLond* 48, 2002–2003, 10.
- 15Y. Tuna-Nörling, *AA* 2002, 161–231, esp. 162–163.
- 16K. Tsakos, *ADelt* 35, 1980, Chr. 2, 460–464, esp. 463 pl. 274a; idem, *AAA* 1980, 315. Kreuzer (supra n. 3) 145–151.
- 17M. Pipili, *JdI* 116, 2001, 17–102, esp. 55–83, where she inventories chalices (“ritual goblets”) bearing scenes of religious processions. Pipili’s idea that the type was specially commissioned for cult use is developed in M. Pipili, in: *Agathos daimon. Mythes et cultes: études d’iconographie en l’honneur de Lilly Kahil*, *BCH Suppl.* 38 (2000) 409–421.
- 18A. Rastrelli, “La necropoli di Poggio Gaiella,” *Aion* 5, 1998, 57–79. The nineteenth-century excavator recorded “un vaso a forma di calice con iscrizioni di antico carattere greco” (p. 59). M. Tiverios, *AM* 115, 2000, 73–81.
- 19See C. Reusser, *Vasen für Etrurien: Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik im Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (2002) 114. Wall-paintings in a nearby chamber depicted a footrace of five youths, supervised by a paidotribes and accompanied by two auletes.
- 20G. Ricci, *MonAnt* 42, 1955, 243–248 figs 22–23; 308. R. Mengarelli, *StEtr* 1, 1927, 145–171 pl. 35a. The Nikosthenic amphorae are Villa Giulia 20747 (ABV 221.42) and 20748 (ABV 218.14). Tosto (supra n. 1) 241; Reusser (supra n. 18) vol. 1 111ff.; vol. 2 156–157.
- 21C. Mercati, *AnnPerugia* 24, 1986/87, 114–119, observing a predominance of

- masculine scenes, concludes that the shape was used primarily by men.
- 22L. Adriano Milani, *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo archeologico di Firenze* (1905) 2; B. Klakowicz, *La necropoli anulare di Orvieto. I. Crocifisso del Tufo. Le Conce* (1972) 217 pl. 6; 318. The Etruscan inscription “Laris Murcnas” is also in the Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. MS 5712.
- 23V. Follo – A.B. Brownlee, “From Orvieto to Philadelphia and Back Again: The Reconstruction of Archaeological and Social Contexts for Museum Objects,” *AIA Annual Meeting 2008*, abstracts. I am grateful to Valentina Follo for sharing information on the scavi Mancini with me.
- 24The location of the tomb was not clearly identified. Klakowicz (supra n. 22) 58 ns. 16–17.
- 25N. Spivey, *GaR* 54.2, 2007, 229–253.
- 26R.F. Sutton sees spinning scenes on the Kalyvia and Bochum pyxides as illustrations of family life within the *oikos*: R.F. Sutton, in: A.P. Chapin (ed.), *Charis. Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 33 (2004) 337 n. 42. A similarly decorated Attic black-figured pyxis from the Acropolis (1.2188) depicts female spinners, one of whom is named in an inscription as “Thalia”: See B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* (1925) pl. 95 no. 2188. Kreuzer (supra n. 3) 79–80 identifies the enthroned female as a goddess, perhaps Aphrodite.
- 27See J. Scheid – J. Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Fabric and Weaving* (1996) 53–82, esp. 57–58, for a discussion of floral cloak (“*thronos*”) epithets.
- 28G.F. Pinney, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery: Copenhagen, August 31–September 4, 1987* (1988) 465–477.
- 29E. Pemberton, *The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Greek Pottery. Corinth XVIII*, 1 (1989) 58 no. 328 pl. 36.
- 30H.A. Shapiro, in: J. Neils (ed.), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (1992) 53–75 fig. 32.
- 31W.R. Connor, *JHS* 107, 1987, 40–50, esp. 46.
- 32See H.R. Immerwahr, *Kadmos* 45, 2007, 136–172, esp. 144. 152, speculating that certain nonsense inscriptions visualize songs, notes, or laments.
- 33See T. Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery in Archaic Greek Art: Its Development in Black-figure Vase Painting* (1986) pls 1–3.
- 34H.-G. Buchholz, *JdI* 102, 1987, 1–55; G. Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole: Lotosblüte und gemeinsamer Mantel auf antiken Vasen* (1989). Kreuzer (supra n. 3) 74–77.
- 35Athens CC670, from Attica: ABV 302,2.
- 36J.-R. Jannot, *RA* 1, 2004, 33–49.
- 37Osborne (supra n. 13) 280–281.
- 38New York 56.11.1: J.H. Oakley – R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (1993) 25. 29 fig. 59.
- 39Personal communication, from an unpublished dissertation by Claudio Bizzarri. For CHC skyphoi with women dancing around a mask of Dionysos, see E. Manakidou, *Egnatia* 9, 2005, 11–34.
- 40J. de La Genière, *Mon Piot* 63, 1980, 59, notes the festivals of the Tonaia on Samos, and the Kallynteria and Plynteria in Athens, which involved bathing and anointing the goddess’s icon.
- 41A. Avramidou, *AJA* 110, 2006, 565–579 fig. 2.
- 42See P. duBois, *Sappho is Burning* (1997) 186–188, on frankincense.

18 Coupes attiques à figures rouges trouvées à Thasos

Jean-Jacques Maffre

Déjà dans les années 1960, quand fut publiée la céramique grecque découverte à Thasos avant 1956,¹ la figure rouge était beaucoup moins représentée que la figure noire.² Les trouvailles postérieures, notamment celles de l'Athénaion et de l'Artémision, n'ont fait que confirmer, en l'amplifiant, cette tendance, si bien qu'à l'heure actuelle, si l'on prend en compte les céramiques corinthienne, thasienne et attique, la disproportion entre céramique à figures noires et à figures rouges est énorme, au détriment de la figure rouge,³ et même si on se limite à l'attique, le rapport entre le nombre des fragments (car il ne s'agit malheureusement presque toujours que de fragments) à figures rouges et celui des fragments à figures noires est de l'ordre de 1 pour 100. Cette rareté de la figure rouge à Thasos n'empêche pas la présence de pièces de qualité, notamment parmi les coupes, et c'est sur cette catégorie de vases que je voudrais aujourd'hui attirer l'attention.

J'ai déjà publié quelques spécimens de coupes attiques à figures rouges de Thasos particulièrement remarquables, et je ne ferai ici que les mentionner pour mémoire. Dans l'ordre chronologique des publications, je rappellerai d'abord une coupe à lèvre intérieure noire et à vasque rouge corail que j'ai attribuée à Épictétos et qui met en scène plusieurs divinités de l'Olympe (Artémis, Apollon, Hermès, et Héra ou Dionysos) ; parmi les personnages court une inscription peinte dont on lit clairement la séquence suivante : ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ (avec un Ω indiscutable, malgré la date du vase) Ο ΔΙΦΙΛΟ ΑΝ.⁴ J'ai publié en même temps deux fragments d'une coupe que j'ai suggéré de placer dans le Cercle du Peintre de Nicosthénès et qui représentait Héraclès et Alcyonée.⁵ J'ai proposé d'attribuer à Euphronios trois fragments d'une autre coupe à lèvre intérieure et à vasque rouge corail signée du potier Chachrylion et illustrant sur le fragment principal la

Dispute du Trépied.⁶ J'ai enfin aussi présenté un médaillon de coupe dans lequel apparaît une belle tête barbue qui pourrait appartenir à Dionysos et que j'ai attribuée au Peintre d'Évergides.⁷

Ces pièces sont loin d'être isolées, même si, répétons-le, la figure rouge n'abonde guère, du moins pour le moment, à Thasos. Plusieurs autres coupes, en majorité de style sévère, nous ont laissé des fragments sur lesquels subsiste un décor figuré susceptible d'être interprété et daté, voire attribué. Ce sont quelques-uns de ces fragments, tous inédits, que nous allons maintenant présenter, avec des commentaires réduits, notamment pour les problèmes d'attribution, afin de ne pas proposer un texte trop long dans le cadre de ces Actes, mais en fournissant une illustration qui permettra à d'autres chercheurs de suggérer des attributions. Certains fragments sont d'une qualité médiocre. Je commencerai par eux, en gardant le meilleur pour la fin.

Nous avons à Thasos les restes de plusieurs coupes du *Coarser Wing* ou de peintres de la même époque; en voici quelques spécimens, parmi les plus présentables.

1. Inv. 59.871 (Artémision). Médaillon fragmentaire et haut du pied d'une coupe de type C, procédant de quatre fragments jointifs (Fig. 1).⁸

Argile et surface orangé clair ; vernis noir très brillant, à éclat métallique, surtout du côté extérieur. Dim. max.: ht. conservée sur pied: 3,7;⁹ diam. extér. du haut du pied: 2,7; diam. intér. du pied (sous la vasque): 1,1; – intérieur de la coupe: ép. de la vasque: 0,3/0,6; diam. du médaillon: ca 9; ht. conservée: 9,6; larg.: 4,9.

Décor: intérieur du pied réservé, extérieur noir, avec un filet incisé à la limite supérieure de l'anneau en tore (jadis couvert d'un rehaut rouge violacé) caractéristique des coupes de type C; vasque noire à l'extérieur, porteuse du côté intérieur d'un médaillon figuré, entouré par un filet réservé doublé vers l'extérieur d'un mince filet rougeâtre: restes d'un jeune homme nu, aux cheveux courts, assis ou accroupi vers la droite, légèrement penché, le bras droit levé à la hauteur du visage mais retourné vers l'arrière, le gauche à demi tendu en avant, l'avant-bras relevé pour tenir, verticalement ou en oblique, un bâton ou un javelot dont on devine le tracé, à gauche de l'avant-bras.



Fig. 1. Musée de Thasos 59.871. Coupe: décor intérieur.



Fig. 2. Musée de Thasos 59.4012. Coupe: décor intérieur.



Fig. 3. Musée de Thasos 5034π. Coupe: décor intérieur.

Dessin médiocre; traits de contours nets, mais simplifiés; cheveux séparés du fond noir par un filet réservé. On devine dans la vasque, à hauteur du cou et du front du personnage, la trace du pied d'une autre coupe qui était empilée dans le four au-dessus de celle-ci.

Cette coupe sans décor extérieur se rattache clairement à la production du *Coarser Wing*, dans la mouvance du Peintre du Pithos,¹⁰ qui n'est toutefois probablement pas lui-même le décorateur de notre vase. Elle date des environs de 500.

2. Inv. 59.4012 (Artémision). Pied et fragment du fond de la vasque d'une coupe de type C (Fig. 2).

Argile orangé clair; surface rouge orangé (miltos); vernis noir moyennement brillant, plus foncé du côté extérieur, à reflets gris bleutés dans le médaillon. Dim. max.: ht. conservée sur pied: 4,4; diam. du pied: 7,4; ép. du pied: 1; diam. du pédoncule: 2,7 à 2,8 (anneau); – intérieur de la coupe: ép. de la vasque: 0,3/0,9; ht. conservée: 6; larg.: 8,6; diam. du médaillon: ca 10.

Décor: pied: dessus noir; tranche et surface de pose réservées; intérieur du pied noir, excepté sa partie la plus haute, autour du creux central (diam.: 1,1), lui aussi réservé; – tige noire, avec en bas un

anneau en relief (ht.: 0,4) cerné en haut et en bas d'un mince filet incisé, réservé; – vasque: noire à l'extérieur, porteuse d'un décor figuré dans le médaillon intérieur, que délimite un filet réservé: restes d'un homme (ou d'un satyre?) nu, accroupi ou assis, penché vers la droite et coinçant entre ses cuisses une outre qui se relève le long de la bordure du médaillon et sur laquelle il porte sa main droite.

L'attitude de cet homme (ou de ce satyre) chevauchant une outre, ou du moins la coinçant entre ses jambes, se retrouve sur d'assez nombreux vases à figures rouges de la fin du VI^e ou du début du Ve siècle, notamment dans les médaillons, où la position fléchie du personnage permet une intégration facile dans le tondo.¹¹

Le dessin médiocre (traits de contour nets, mais simplifiés) fait à nouveau penser au *Coarser Wing*, dans la mouvance du Peintre du Pithos.

3. Inv. 5034π (champ Apostolidis). Fragment du haut du pied (tige) et du centre de la vasque d'une coupe de type C (Fig. 3).

Argile et surface orangé vif; vernis noir brillant, surtout du côté extérieur, à reflets orangés (parce que moins épais) dans le médaillon. Dim. max.: ht. conservée sur pied: 2,6; diam. de la tige: 2,5/2,8 (anneau); diam. intér. de la tige: de 1,9 (à la cassure, en bas) à 1 (sous la vasque); – intérieur de la coupe: diam. probable du médaillon: ca 8; ép. de la vasque: 0,6; décor du médaillon: ht. conservée: 3,5; larg.: 5.

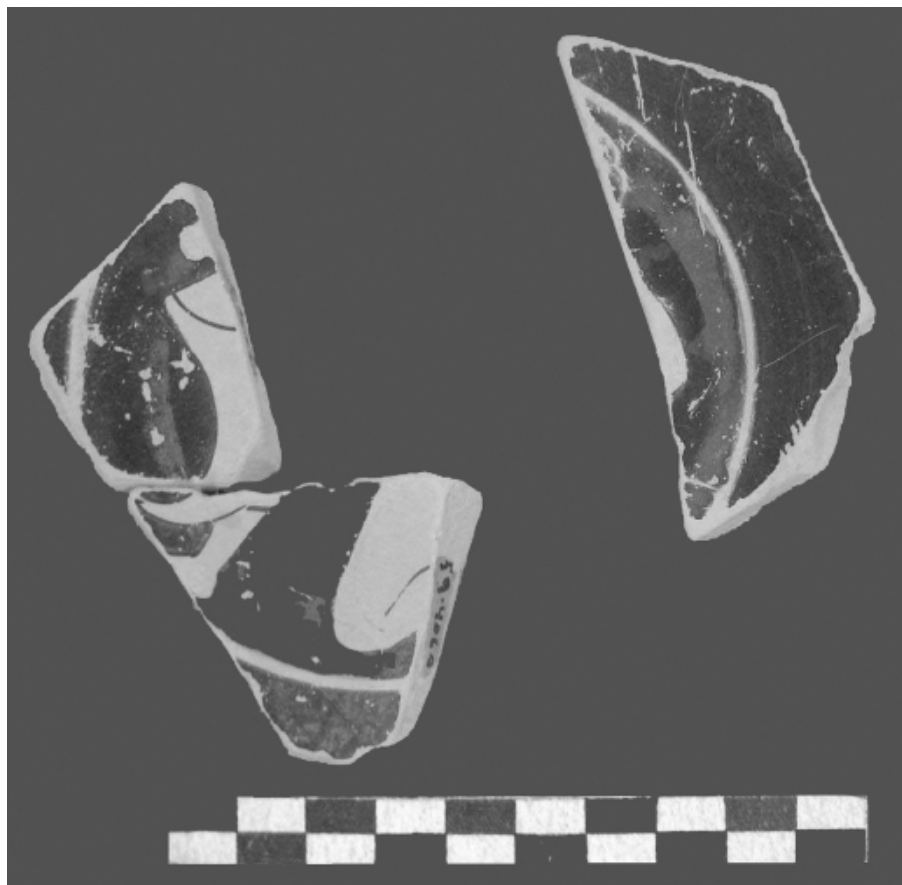


Fig. 4. Musée de Thasos 59.879 et 59.4059 + 59.4060. Coupe: décor intérieur.

Décor: intérieur du pied réservé, extérieur noir, avec un filet incisé aux limites supérieure et inférieure de l'anneau en tore (ht.: 0,4); vasque noire à l'extérieur, porteuse du côté intérieur d'un médaillon figuré dont ne subsiste que la partie centrale: restes d'un jeune homme nu, aux cheveux bouclés, debout en position fléchie vers la gauche dans un pithos, une cuve ou un grand cratère; il est penché vers l'avant, les deux bras tendus vers le bas, plongés dans le récipient.

Dessin médiocre; traits de contour nets, mais simplifiés; cerne de contour net.

Cette coupe sans décor extérieur se rattache encore clairement à la production de la fin du VI^e siècle, cette fois sans doute par le Peintre d'Évergidès,¹² dans une oeuvre relativement soignée, comme le montre le dessin de l'oeil, vers 500. Le thème du jeune homme à demi-plongé dans une cuve, un pithos ou un cratère est bien attesté à cette époque, notamment chez le Peintre d'Évergidès.¹³

4. Inv. 59.879 et 59.4059 + 59.4060 (Artémision). Deux fragments non

jointifs donnant une partie du fond de la vasque, avec médaillon, d'une petite coupe, sans doute de type C (Fig. 4).

Argile et surface beige orangé clair; vernis noir brillant, profond du côté extérieur, à reflets orangés (parce que moins épais) et à éclat métallique dans le médaillon. Dim. max. communes (intér. de la coupe): ép.: 0,4/0,9; diam. du médaillon: 8,4. Dim. de chaque fragment: *inv.* 59.879: ht. conservée: 7,2; larg.: 2,8; – *inv.* 59.4059 + 59.4060 (recollé de deux fragments jointifs): ht. conservée: 7,8; larg.: 4,5.

Décor: extérieur noir; intérieur: dans un médaillon entouré d'un filet réservé (0,2), restes d'un ou de deux personnages, surtout discernables sur le fragment *inv.* 59.4059 + 4060: homme, sans doute nu, agenouillé vers la gauche (il en reste la cuisse, le genou et une partie du mollet de l'une des jambes, le bas du mollet et une partie du pied de l'autre), et sans doute tenant devant lui une pelta (à moins que ce qui apparaît sur la gauche du médaillon ne représente le pied, la jambe et le bas du vêtement, tombant jusqu'au genou, d'une femme que le premier personnage soulèverait et tiendrait dans ses bras, tel Thésée enlevant Antiope?); sur le fragment 59.879, restes minimes du premier personnage, tourné vers la g.: sans doute arrière et bas de la chevelure, bas du bras et coude. – Dans le champ, sur la partie supérieure du fragment 59.4059 + 4060, deux lettres peintes (en rehauts très effacés): ΣΟ (? Fin de ΚΑΛΟΣ, sinistroverse?); à 0,7 cm à dr. de la bordure du médaillon (allant du genou de l'homme à la pointe supérieure de la pelta), filet et localement trait légèrement incisé, en arc de cercle, ayant perturbé le vernis noir. – Sur le fragment 59.879, le long du bras du personnage, 2 lettres peintes (en rehauts rouge violacé très effacés): Δ et Σ? À 0,1 cm à l'intérieur de la bordure du médaillon (entre les lettres peintes et la bordure), filet et localement trait légèrement incisé, en arc de cercle, comme sur l'autre fragment. Il s'agit sans doute des traces laissées par le pied d'une autre coupe empilée sur celle-ci à la cuisson

Dessin médiocre; traits de contour nets, mais simplifiés; cerne de contour présent, mais peu net. Ce dessin oriente vers le *Coarser Wing*, dans les années 500.

5. *Inv.* 5156π (champ Apostolidis). Fragment du fond de la vasque d'une grande coupe de type C. À l'intérieur du pied, au fond, restes compacts d'une substance rouge brique mêlée à de la terre: sans doute pigment pour peinture, le fond du pied ayant été remployé comme godet par un peintre? (Fig. 5–6).

Argile et surface beige orangé clair; vernis noir brillant, profond du côté extérieur, plus terne et à reflets orangés (parce que moins épais) et à éclat métallique dans le médaillon; rehaut rougeâtre clair pour

une lettre peinte. Dim. max.: ht. conservée de la coupe (sur pied): 6; ht. conservée du pied: 4; ht. de l'anneau au bas de la tige (entre deux lignes incisées): 0,7; diam. min. de la tige du pied: 4; ép. de la paroi de la tige: 0,5/0,6; – intérieur. de la coupe: diam. restitué du médaillon: *ca* 11/12; ép.: 0,65/0,8; ht. conservée: *ca* 8; larg.: *ca* 9.

Décor: extérieur tout noir; intérieur du pied noir, sauf dans sa partie supérieure, sous le médaillon, où il était réservé (mais cette partie est cachée par la substance rouge); – intérieur (Fig. 5): dans un médaillon, majeure partie du corps d'un homme portant seulement un vêtement plissé rejeté sur l'épaule gauche; il court à grandes enjambées vers la droite, le bras droit plié en avant, tout en se retournant vers la gauche (à en juger par la présentation dorsale de son buste), comme pour échapper à un poursuivant; il tient de la main droite, en oblique, parallèlement à sa cuisse droite, une lance ou un javelot (plutôt qu'un bâton). Un repentir dans le dessin (au bas du dos, à gauche, au-dessus des fesses) semble vouloir dire que la direction de la lance, derrière le torse, avait été d'abord conçue différemment. Au centre du médaillon, petit trou circulaire (sous l'aine de l'homme): trace de la pointe d'un compas? Devant le genou droit du personnage, lettre peinte: sans doute Λ (de ΚΑΛΟΣ?).

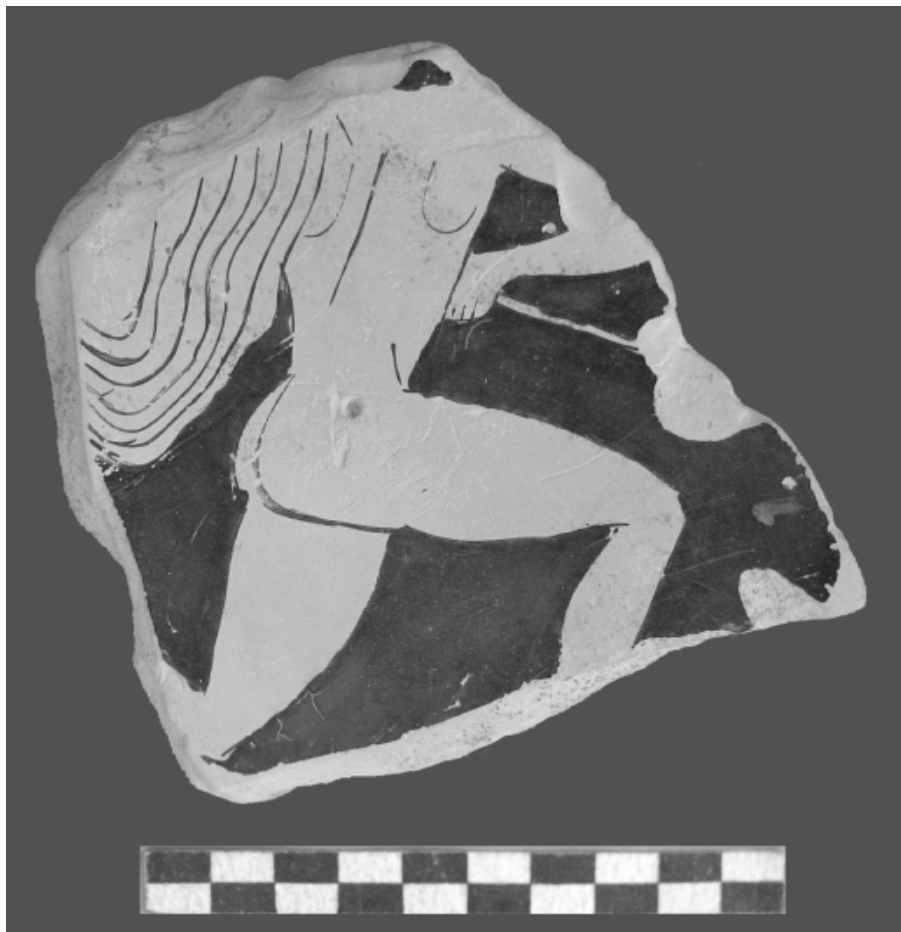


Fig. 5. Musée de Thasos 5156π. Coupe: décor intérieur.

Dessin rapide mais correct; traits de contour nets; cerne de contour net.

Le personnage court vers la dr. tout en se retournant vers la gauche, selon un schéma fréquent dans des médaillons décorés par beaucoup de peintres de coupes, notamment vers la fin du VI^e et le début du Ve siècle, par exemple chez Épictétos ou des peintres travaillant dans la manière d'Épictétos; le dessin du dos, notamment des omoplates, la façon de tenir le bâton (ou la lance) trouvent des parallèles dans la production de ce peintre,¹⁴ mais le rendu des plis du vêtement jeté sur l'épaule gauche a des sinuosités trop fluides pour Épictétos, et le dessin n'est pas d'une grande qualité, ce qui oriente plutôt vers le *Coarser Wing*, peut-être le Peintre d'Épéleios. L'attitude du personnage est en tout cas très proche par exemple de celle du guerrier qui figure dans le médaillon d'une coupe de Gravisca attribuée à la Manière du Peintre d'Épéleios, vers 510–500.¹⁵

6. Inv. 59.4026 + 59.4055 (Artémision). Trois fragments jointifs donnant une grande partie du fond de la vasque, avec médaillon, et du dessous d'une coupe apode (Fig. 7-8).

Argile beige orangé; surface rouge orangé dans les parties figurées (miltos); vernis noir brillant du côté extérieur, plus terne et à reflets bronze à orangés (peu épais, écaillé en plusieurs endroits) du côté intérieur. Dim. max.: ht. conservée du vase: 2; ép. au centre du médaillon: 0,4; diam. sur la surface de pose: 4,8; diam. au départ de la vasque: 6,8; – intér. de la coupe: ép. de la vasque: 0,4 (en haut)/0,55 (en bas); ht. conservée (si l'on place le personnage debout): 6,6; larg.: 7; diam. restitué du médaillon: 9,6 (y compris la bordure réservée); ép.: *ca* 0,3.

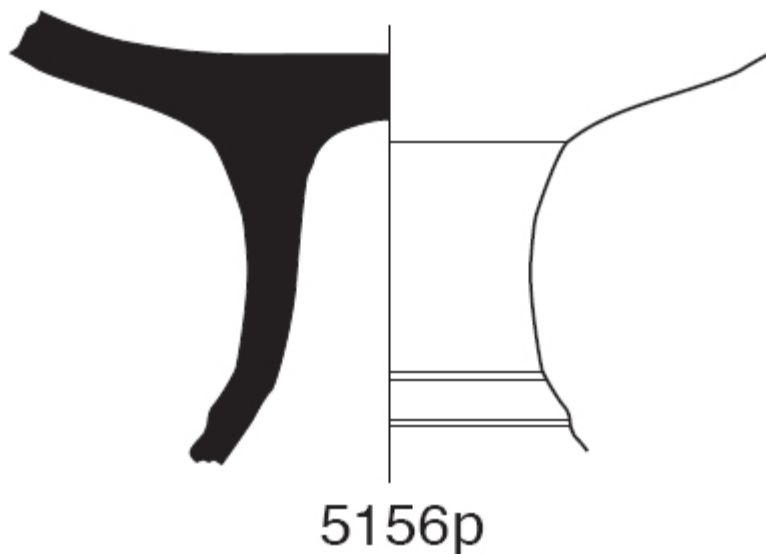


Fig. 6 Musée de Thasos 5156π. Coupe: dessin du profil.



Fig. 7. Musée de Thasos 59.4026 + 59.4055. Coupe apode: décor intérieur.

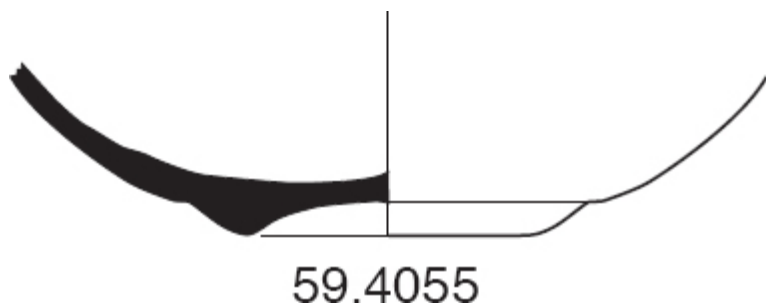


Fig. 8 Musée de Thasos 59.4026 + 59.4055. Coupe apode: dessin du profil.

Décor: extérieur noir, sauf quatre filets réservés (ép.: de 0,15 à 0,3), l'un au bas de la vasque (à la jonction avec le « pied »), l'autre à la surface de pose (0,15) et les deux autres sous le centre du médaillon (deux couronnes réservées concentriques autour d'un point noir central); – intérieur (Fig. 7): dans un médaillon, jeune homme nu, peut-être infibulé, courant à vive allure vers la droite (sans toucher

aucun sol), les bras tendus, tout en se retournant vers la gauche, l'oeil grand'ouvert; ses cheveux frisés, mi-longs, tombent en chignon sur son cou. Dans le champ, traces possibles de deux lettres, peintes en rouge violacé (très effacé): juste devant le nez, T; à gauche du torse, O ou A?



Fig. 9. Musée de Thasos 4864π et 5130π. Coupe: décor extérieur.

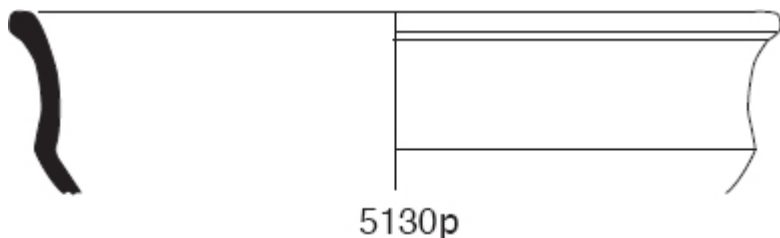


Fig. 10. Musée de Thasos 4864π et 5130π. Coupe: dessin du profil.

Dessin rapide mais précis; traits de contour nets, là où ils ne sont pas effacés; cerne de contour irrégulier mais net, en léger relief; cheveux séparés du fond noir par un filet réservé incisé.

La forme de cette coupe est celle des coupes apodes (*stemless*) à pied en biseau (*bevelled foot*).¹⁶ Cette forme (Fig. 8) n'est pas fréquente, et de rares spécimens à figures rouges sont attestés et datés vers 500–490;¹⁷ deux exemplaires ont été décorés par Onésimos ou dans sa Manière.¹⁸ Notre coupe doit être attribuée à un peintre plus modeste, dont on peut situer l'activité vers la fin du VI^e siècle.

D'autres fragments ont été décorés par des peintres plus talentueux ou plus ambitieux.

7. *Inv. 4864π et 5130π* (champ Apostolidis). Deux fragments non jointifs du haut de la vasque et du bord d'une coupe de type C (Fig. 9–10; Pl. 11A).

Argile orangée à beige orangé; surface orangée à beige orangé vif; vernis noir brillant, profond, localement légèrement écaillé; rehauts rouge violacé pour couronnes de feuillage et inscriptions peintes. Dim. max.: diam. de la coupe: *ca* 27; *fragment 5130π* (à gauche): ht.: 4,5; larg.: 3,9; ép.: 0,5 (lèv.)/0,4 (vasque); ht. lèvre: 3,2 – *fragment 4864π* (à droite): ht.: 2,8; larg.: 4; ép.: 0,5 (lèvre)/0,4 (vasque).

Décor: intérieur noir, avec stries bien visibles; filet réservé tout en haut de la lèvre, sur la face interne du bord. Extérieur: lèvre noire, bordée en bas d'un filet réservé (0,2), juste avant le ressaut; *fragment 5130π*: restes de deux personnages sans doute debout: tout à gauche, devant du visage (cheveux, front, sourcils, oeil, nez, moustache, lèvres) d'un satyre (nez camus typique) portant une couronne de lierre et tourné vers la droite; il tenait devant lui, à l'horizontale, une amphore (ou une oenochoè?) dont on devine la panse et une anse; – face à lui, à droite, dans l'angle de la cassure, petit segment de la calotte crânienne, portant coiffe, bandeau et couronne de feuillage, d'une probable ménade vers la gauche; dans le champ, inscription peinte (début d'un nom?): APXO? – *fragment 4864π*: restes de la tête de deux autres personnages, tous deux tournés vers la gauche: tout à gauche, longs cheveux, tombant librement sur les épaules et sur le bras gauche, couronnés de feuillage, sans doute d'une ménade ou d'un satyre; tout à droite, nez camus, front proéminent, sourcils et devant du crane, dégarni et couronné de feuillage, d'un satyre. Il s'agissait donc probablement d'un thiasse dionysiaque.

Le dessin est fin, d'une grande qualité (tête du satyre). Les traits de contour sont nets, le cerne de contour net, épais. Un filet réservé sépare le noir du décor de celui du fond.

Cette qualité graphique oriente vers l'un des grands peintres de la fin du VI^e siècle, Épictétos, dans l'oeuvre duquel abondent les représentations de satyres, les uns entièrement chevelus, comme celui de notre fragment de gauche (Fig. 9, à g.),¹⁹ les autres chauves sur le devant de la tête, comme celui du fragment de droite (Fig. 9, à dr.),²⁰ les deux types cohabitant parfois sur le même vase, comme ici. Les sourcils épais, très fournis, sont fréquents.²¹ Le maniement d'une amphore par le satyre, à l'horizontale ou en oblique,²² est bien attesté. Enfin, le fait qu'il s'agisse d'une coupe de type C trouve au moins un parallèle dans une coupe de Londres attribuée à Épictétos.²³

8. *Inv. 59.4057* (Artémision). Fragment du bas de la vasque, avec

médaille intérieure, d'une grande coupe. Petits éclats et griffures dans le vernis, côtés intérieur et extérieur (Fig. 11–12; Pl. 11E).

Argile beige orangé foncé; surface beige orangé clair, très lustrée ; vernis noir brillant, à reflets brunâtres à brun chocolat sur le haut de la vasque, côté extérieur; stries de tournage très serrées, visibles du côté intérieur. Dim. max.: ép.: 0,4/0,7 ; ht. conservée: 8,5; larg.: 12,2.

Décor: intérieur (Fig. 11): restes de la bordure en couronne du médaillon de la coupe (ép. de la couronne: 3,4 avec les filets réservés, 3 pour la partie intérieure; diam. max. restitué: 24,8; diam. int.: 18): entre deux filets réservés (celui de l'extérieur étant localement dédoublé par un filet noir en relief et bordé extérieurement par un filet incisé mais noir), frise de palmettes à six pétales, chacune encerclée par un filet réservé en forme de coeur tangent à son voisin; dans les intervalles, pétale et point réservés formant comme un !; du médaillon ne subsiste qu'une minuscule surface noire ; le reste de la vasque est noir; – extérieur (Fig. 12): au bas de la vasque, large bordure (ht.: 2,4) garnie d'une frise de palmettes (entre deux filets réservés) disposées comme celles de la frise intérieure mais plus irrégulières (quatre à six pétales, semble-t-il; seulement un pétale entre les filets qui enferment les palmettes); audessus de cette bordure, sur une ligne de sol sépia, restes d'une scène de palestre, limitée à la partie inférieure des corps de trois personnages: à gauche, jambes, sexe, torse et petite partie d'une main (horizontale, le long de la cassure) d'un jeune homme courant vers la droite, la jambe gauche en avant, et tenant sans doute un javelot; – au centre, bas d'un personnage masculin debout vers la droite, immobile, drapé dans un long himation plissé transparent dont émerge la main gauche, fermée comme pour serrer un objet ; la main droite tenait sans doute en oblique une férule dont subsiste un segment, au-dessus de l'avant-bras ; il s'agit donc d'un arbitre ou d'un entraîneur; – à droite, jambes, sexe, devant du ventre, avant-bras et main gauche, tenant une haltère, d'un second athlète, nu, s'entraînant au saut en longueur; il courait vers la gauche mais son corps est penché en arrière. – Pour les deux athlètes, muscles des mollets, genoux et plexus solaire suggérés par des traits bistres en vernis très dilué. Dans le champ, traces de trois lettres peintes, en rehauts rougeâtres très effacés, dans le secteur du premier athlète: devant son genou gauche, possible Λ ; entre ses deux jambes, O (derrière le haut du mollet) et Σ (plus à gauche, à hauteur du bas du mollet) : sans doute fin de $[KA]\Lambda O \Sigma$, rétrograde.



Fig. 11. Musée de Thasos 59.4057. Coupe: décor intérieur.

Dessin fin, précis, d'une bonne qualité; traits de contour net, parfois en léger relief; cerne de contour net, en léger relief, plus noir, car plus épais, que le reste du vernis. Bon peintre du début du Ve siècle.

Le thème du décor figuré est banal: il s'agit d'une scène d'entraînement sportif à la palestra. Ce qui l'est moins, c'est l'ambitieuse bordure du médaillon à laquelle fait écho, du côté extérieur, la frise qui sous-tend le décor. Ces bordures de palmettes se trouvent sur des coupes à figures rouges souvent d'une grande qualité graphique, à commencer par des exemplaires d'Euphronios,²⁴ d'Épictéto^s,²⁵ de Douris.²⁶ Notre fragment est d'un graphisme plus modeste, mais d'une certaine qualité; les drapés ne sont pas sans faire penser à Épictéto^s, mais sans doute s'agit-il d'un peintre postérieur à placer vers la 1^{re} décennie du Ve siècle.



Fig. 12 Musée de Thasos 59.4057. Coupe: décor extérieur.

9. Inv. 76 A 1 α , 1 β , 1 γ , 1 δ ; 76 A 2 α , 2 β ; 76 A 3 α , 3 β , 3 γ (Artémision). Neuf fragments non jointifs donnant un aperçu des deux faces de la vasque et du bord sans doute de la même coupe. – BCH 101, 1977, 691–692 fig. 56–57 (vue des deux principaux fragments) (Fig. 13–14).

Argile orangé clair, surface beige orangé; vernis noir moyennement brillant, à reflets gris bleu à brun orangé côté intérieur (stries de tournage très serrées), bronze à gris bleutés côté extérieur. Dim. max.: *fragment 76 A 1 α* (recollé de trois fragments jointifs): ht. conservée: 5,4; larg.: 10,5 (9,5 au bord); ép.: 0,35 (au bord)/0,5 (en bas); – *fragment 76 A 1 β* (recollé de deux fragments jointifs): ht. conservée: 5; larg.: 2,4; ép.: 0,35 (en haut)/0,55 (en bas); *fragment 76 A 1 γ* : ht.: 2,2; larg. 2,4; ép.: 0,5; *fragment 76 A 1 δ* : ht.: 2; larg.: 3; ép.: 0,35/0,4; – *fragment 76 A 2 α* : ht.: 2; larg.: 2,1; ép.: 0,5; *fragment 76 A 2 β* : ht.: 2,5; larg.: 3,9; ép.: 0,4/0,5; – *fragment 76 A 3 α* (recollé de trois fragments jointifs): ht.: 7,5; larg.: 11; ép.: 0,35 (bas)/0,5 (haut); *fragment 76 A 3 β* (recollé de deux fragments jointifs): ht.: 2,8; larg.: 4,8; ép.: 0,4/0,45; *fragment 76 A 3 γ* : ht.: 2,2; larg. 4,5; ép.: 0,3; – diam. restitué de la coupe (au bord): ca 28.

Décor: intérieur de la coupe: vasque noire, sauf d'une part un filet réservé (0,25) en haut de la vasque (à 0,2 sous le bord), d'autre part

les restes minimales d'un décor figuré dans le médaillon (diam. restitué: ca 14) entouré d'un filet réservé (0,2); – extérieur: *fragment 76 A 1α* (Fig. 13, à gauche): restes du haut du corps de deux athlètes tournés vers la dr. et d'un troisième que l'on ne peut que deviner: à gauche, acontiste se retournant vers la gauche, le bras gauche plié, la main (dessinée comme une main droite!) s'apprêtant à saisir l'extrémité du javelot ; à droite, boxeur en plein élan face à son adversaire, le bras droit rejeté en arrière, poing fermé enveloppé par une courroie en croix de Saint-André, le gauche tendu en avant, peut-être pour saisir cet adversaire, dont subsiste un infime fragment, le long de la cassure, au-dessus de l'endroit où s'interrompt le bras du premier boxeur; dans le champ, peut-être traces évanides de lettres jadis peintes: P? – *fragment 76 A 1β* (Fig. 14, à gauche, en ht.): cuisse et fesse gauches, sexe, départ de la cuisse droite et partie du torse d'un jeune homme courant vers la gauche; dans le champ, peut-être un Λ ? – *fragment 76 A 1γ* (Fig. 14, à gauche, en bas): restes de jambes qui se croisent, appartenant à au moins deux athlètes différents, sans doute des boxeurs; – *fragment 76 A 1δ* (Fig. 14, au centre, en ht.): avant-bras, tendu vers la droite, et amorce de la main, sans doute droite, d'un probable athlète; – *fragment 76 A 2α* (Fig. 14, au centre, au milieu): genou au-dessus duquel apparaissent le poignet et la main gauches d'un homme en position fléchie vers la gauche: sans doute athlète; – *fragment 76 A 2β* (Fig. 14, au centre, en bas): torse et amorce du bras droit, rejeté obliquement en-arrière, d'un autre athlète, tourné vers la droite: sauteur? Peut-être traces de deux lettres dans le champ; – *fragment 76 A 3α*: intér.: segment du filet réservé entourant le tondo, dans lequel subsiste une petite surface réservée: coude?; extér. (Fig. 13, à droite): au-dessus d'un très mince filet réservé localement interrompu, de gauche à droite: pied et jambe (très repliée) gauches, bout du sexe, partie du torse et bras (légèrement plié vers le bas, le poing serré) d'un boxeur en position d'esquive vers la droite – sans doute l'adversaire du boxeur du fragment 76 A 1α; rinceau et grosse fleur de lotus entrouverte vers la gauche (sous l'anse de la coupe); partie inférieure de la queue et de la jambe postérieure d'un cheval tourné vers la droite, et pied d'un personnage tourné dans la même direction; – *fragment 76 A 3β*: (Fig. 14, à droite, en ht.): fragment de la queue, du jarret et des deux jambes postérieures gauches, sexe et arrière du bas du ventre d'un cheval tourné vers la droite; – *fragment 76 A 3γ* (Fig. 14, à droite, en bas): bas d'une partie de la tête et haut de l'encolure d'un cheval vers la droite

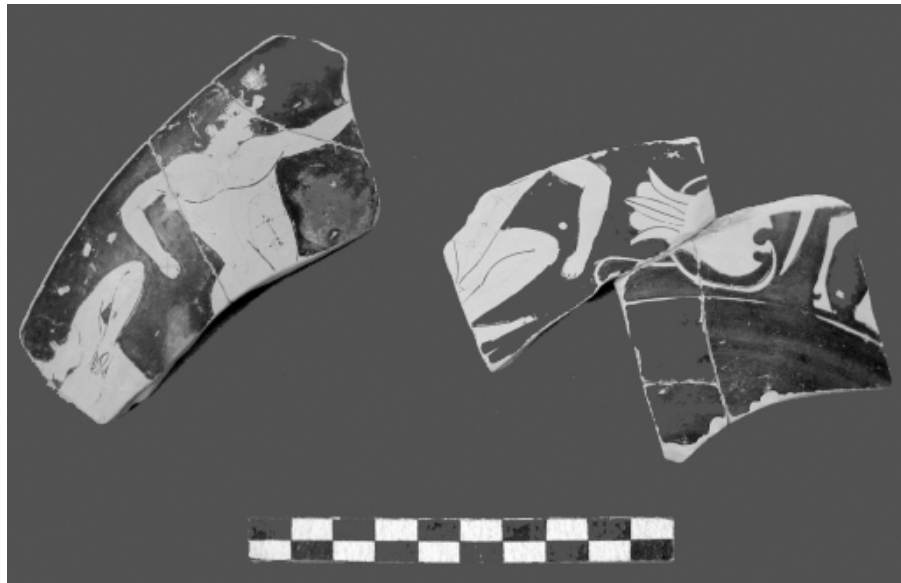


Fig. 13. Musée de Thasos 76 A 1a, et 3a. Coupe: décor extérieur.

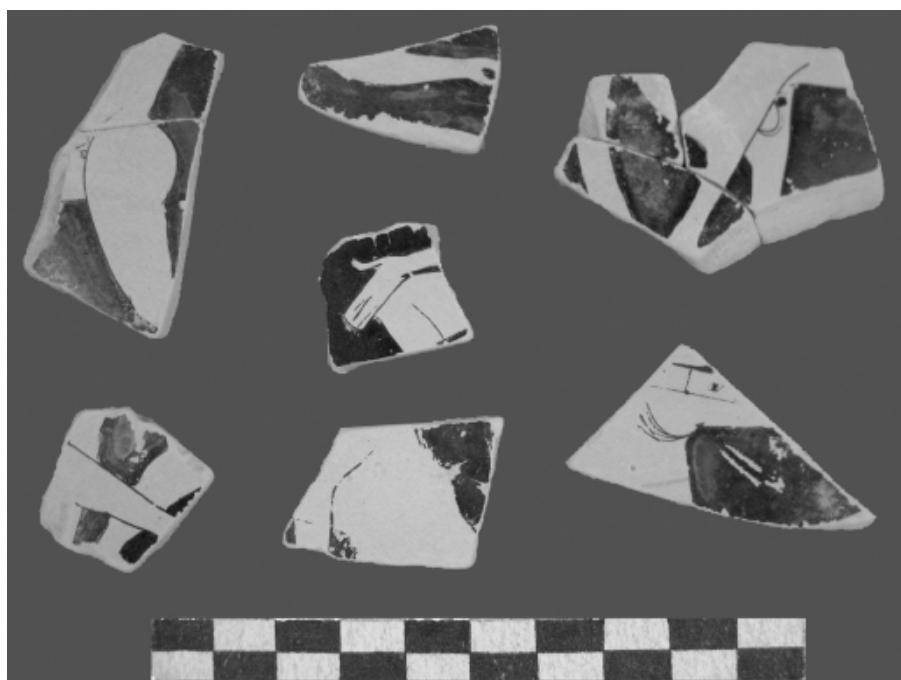


Fig. 14. Musée de Thasos 76 A 1, 2 et 3. Coupe: décor extérieur.

Dessin sommaire en apparence mais fin, précis, dans le détail; traits de contour nets; cerne de contour net; quelques traces d'esquisse; nombreux détails en vernis dilué bistre clair (pour les hommes, musculature du ventre et du haut du torse, nombril, courroie sur la

main du pugiliste; bride sur l'encolure d'un des chevaux); surfaces noires séparées du fond noir en partie par un trait incisé, en partie par un filet réservé.

Le décor de cette coupe évoquait le monde des jeunes gens, à la palestres et du côté de l'hippodrome. Le peintre, très soigneux dans le détail, crée des personnages qui restent un peu froids. La fleur de lotus placée sous l'anse apporte une certaine note d'originalité; elle était sans doute surmontée d'une ou plusieurs palmettes, mais un tel assemblage n'est pas fréquent sur les coupes à figures rouges, même si on en rencontre quelques exemples.²⁷ On est sans doute vers 500.

10. *Inv. 59.4071, 59.4073 (= π8103), 59.4098 + 59.4117, 59.4121* (Artémision). Fragments non jointifs de la vasque, avec médaillon, d'une grande coupe (Fig. 15–16; Pl. 11F).

Argile beige orangé foncé; surface beige orangé plus clair, bien lustrée; vernis noir brillant, profond, à éclat métallique; stries de tournage très serrées, bien cachées par le vernis mais visibles, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur. Dim. max.: *fragment inv. 59.4071*: ht. : 2,1; larg. : 4; ép. : 0,35 (haut)/0,4 (bas); – *fragment inv. 59.4073*: ht. : 3,2 ; larg. : 6,2; ép. : 0,3 (haut)/0,4 (bas); – *fragment inv. 59.4098 + 59.4117* (recollé de deux fragments jointifs): ht.: 6,8 (à l'intér.)/4 (à l'extér.); larg.: 4,4 (à l'intér.)/7 (à l'extér.); ép.: 0,4/0,45; – *fragment inv. 59.4121*: ht.: 3; larg.: 2,4; ép.: 0,4.

Décor: la coupe présentait un décor figuré intérieur, dans un tondo encerclé par un filet réservé très fin (*ca* 0,1/0,15), et un décor extérieur, au-dessus d'un mince filet réservé (0,1/0,2) servant de sol. Détail par fragment: *inv. 59.4071*: intérieur noir, avec segment du filet réservé bordant le tondo (0,1); dans celui-ci, deux lettres peintes en rehauts rougeâtres: AK (ΚΑΛΟΣ rétrograde ?) ; – extérieur (Fig. 16, à droite, en bas): au-dessus d'un filet réservé (0,2), pied, cheville et bas du mollet, sans doute gauches, et bas du long vêtement d'un personnage courant vers la gauche; – *fragment inv. 59.4073*: intér. noir ; extér. (Fig. 16, en ht.): restes de trois personnages courant à vive allure vers la droite: devant de la partie centrale du corps d'un homme nu en train de ceinturer de ses bras (dont le gauche est visible, avec la main, le long de la cassure supérieure) une femme qui tente de s'enfuir et de se dégager en saisissant d'une de ses mains l'avantbras de son agresseur et en relevant légèrement, de son autre main, le devant de son vêtement plissé, pour courir plus vite; d'une troisième femme, qui se précipite vers la dr., n'est conservée qu'une partie infime d'une jambe et du vêtement; – *fragment inv. 59.4098 + 59.4117*: extér. noir, avec seulement un petit segment du filet réservé servant de ligne de sol; intér. (Fig. 15): restes, dans le tondo, d'un personnage masculin (cômaste?) marchant vers la droite en s'appuyant à un bâton

nouveaux; il est chaussé de bottines et drapé dans un grand himation qui se déploie derrière son corps; sans doute était-il seul dans le tondo; – *fragment inv. 59.4121*: intér.: segment du filet entourant le tondo, dans lequel subsistent deux lettres peintes (A et sans doute K, d'un mot ΚΑΛΟΣ sinistroverse) et une surface réservée au contour sinueux (épaule ou fesse?); extér. (Fig. 16, à gauche, en bas): sur le filet réservé servant de sol, deux pieds vers la dr. (l'un prolongé par le mollet), en extension sur le sol, et pied gauche vers la gauche, lui aussi en extension; à l'arrière, bas de pans de vêtement.

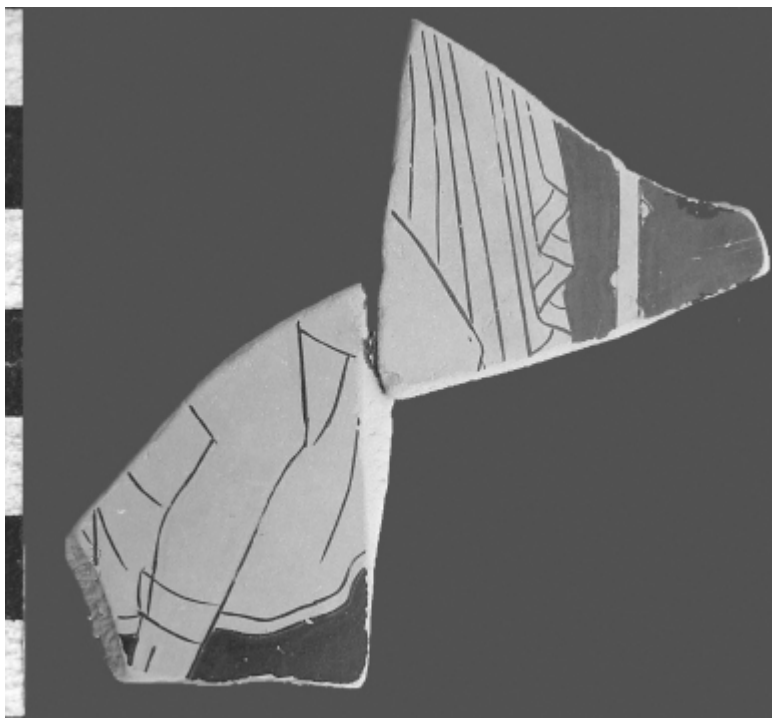


Fig. 15. Musée de Thasos 59.4098 + 59.4117. Coupe: décor intérieur.



Fig. 16 Musée de Thasos 59.4071, 59.4073 (= π8103) et 59.4121. Coupe: décor extérieur.



Dessin fin, précis, d'une bonne qualité ; traits de contour nets, parfois en léger relief; cerne de contour net, en léger relief.

Le décor intérieur du médaillon se limitait sans doute à un cômaste s'appuyant sur un bâton. La scène de l'extérieur représentait clairement la main-mise de Pélée sur Thétis, au milieu d'autres Néréïdes effarouchées.²⁸ Le peintre fait preuve d'un grand talent, sans doute peu après 500. La fermeté du dessin, la vivacité du mouvement, le traitement des draperies pourraient faire penser à Euphronios, mais sans doute plutôt à Onésimos ou à Douris, dans une oeuvre ancienne, vers 500.

11. *Inv. 59.4029* (= π 8104) (Artémision). Fragment du médaillon intérieur d'une coupe. Trois éclats dans le vernis, côté extérieur (Fig. 17; Pl. 10B).

Argile et surface beige orangé; vernis noir brillant, à reflets bronze à gris bleutés; stries de tournage très serrées, visibles du côté extérieur. Dim. max. (intér. de la coupe): ép.: 0,4/0,6 ; ht. conservée (si l'on place le personnage allongé à l'horizontale): 2,2; larg.: ca 4.

Décor: extér. tout noir; intér.: dans le médaillon, jeune guerrier allongé vers la gauche, mort, la tête rejetée en arrière, les yeux fermés; le personnage porte comme seule arme visible un casque à cimier et à paragnathides; il a été transpercé de dos par une lance qui a traversé son épaule gauche et qui ressort au bas du cou, faisant gicler le sang en abondance (rehauts lie de vin). Sa chevelure frisée s'échappe du casque, sur le front. Dans le champ, traces de deux lettres, peintes en rouge violacé: juste au-dessus du cou, V; dans l'angle de la cassure, en haut à gauche, bas d'une haste verticale.

Dessin fin, soigné, précis, d'une grande qualité; traits de contour nets; cerne de contour étroit mais net, en léger relief; cheveux séparés du fond noir par un filet réservé.

La finesse et la précision du dessin montrent que l'on a affaire ici à un excellent peintre de la fin du VIe/début du Ve siècle, dans la lignée d'Euphronios: peut-être Onésimos, à en juger par le rendu des lèvres? Le personnage, mort en combat singulier, comme l'impose le cadre limité du tondo, semble avoir une anatomie masculine et en outre ne porter aucun vêtement; il faut donc exclure une Amazone et chercher du côté de quelque jeune combattant, sans doute lors de la guerre de Troie? Les candidats sont dès lors assez nombreux, à commencer par Sarpédon, qui est imberbe sur le cratère d'Euphronios.

12. *Inv. 59.4072* (Artémision). Fragment du bord d'une coupe de type B (Fig. 18; Pl. 11C).

Argile beige orangé foncé; surface beige orangé plus clair, bien lustrée; vernis noir brillant, profond, à éclat métallique. Dim. max.: ht.: 2,5; larg. (au bord): 3; ép.: 0,3/0,35.

Décor: intérieur noir, sauf mince filet réservé, tout en haut (0,15); sommet du bord noir; extérieur: tout en haut, mince filet réservé; en dessous, tête d'un jeune homme casqué vers la gauche, le casque relevé; il tenait son bouclier au bras gauche et sa lance au droit (elle apparaît sous son nez).

Dessin fin, précis, d'une bonne qualité; traits de contour nets, parfois en léger relief; cerne de contour net, en léger relief; traits incisés pour l'orle du bouclier.

La qualité du travail oriente vers un peintre honorable de la fin du VI^e siècle, peut-être le Peintre de Nicosthénès? La scène pouvait être un combat ou une parade de guerriers.

13. *Inv. 59.4011* (Artémision). Deux fragments jointifs donnant un fragment du fond de la vasque, avec médaillon intérieur, d'une assez grande coupe de type B. Petites éraflures dans le vernis, côté extérieur (Fig. 19).

Argile gris orangé foncé; surface beige foncé à gris rose; vernis noir brillant, à reflets gris bleutés. Dim. max.: ht. conservée sur pied: 2,5; ép. du fond de la vasque: 1,7; ép. du pied/tige: 0,9; diam. min. de la tige: ca 3,4 ; – médaillon: ép.: 0,6; ht. conservée: 5.7; larg.: 4.

Décor: intérieur: restes de la partie centrale du corps d'un banqueteur à demi-allongé vers la droite sur une klinè, torse et bras nus, hanches et jambes drapées dans un himation aux plis serrés; les deux bras se replient de façon à ce que les mains tiennent, en oblique, devant le torse (sur lequel une rosette de points suggère le sein droit), l'une le pied, l'autre la vasque d'une coupe noire à lèvres bien marquée et à haut pédoncule, peut-être décorée – au niveau de l'extrémité du pouce droit de l'homme – d'un motif de guirlande de petits cercles et de traits en rehauts très effacés; le personnage prend place sur un matelas assez peu épais, posé sur le sommier de la klinè; en dessous apparaissent deux arcs de cercles réservés (le long de la cassure): éléments de nourriture, posés sur une table? – extérieur: noir, sauf intérieur du pédoncule et surface centrale ronde (diam.: 1,1), sous la vasque.



Fig. 18. Musée de Thasos 59.4072. Coupe: décor extérieur.



Fig. 19. Musée de Thasos 59.4011. Coupe: décor intérieur.

Dessin fin, précis, d'une bonne qualité; traits de contour nets, parfois en léger relief; cerne de contour net.

Le soin apporté au dessin, notamment de la main et des draperies, invite à penser à un bon peintre de la fin du VI^e/début du Ve siècle. Le banqueteur était sans doute allongé sur une klinè, plutôt que sur un matelas à même le sol. Il tient devant son torse une kylix à vernis noir qui portait peut-être des motifs décoratifs peints en blanc.

14. *Inv.* 4861π (champ Apostolidis). Fragment du bord d'une coupe de type B (recollé de deux fragments jointifs) (Fig. 20; Pl. 11D).

Argile beige orangé; surface beige orangé; vernis noir brillant, profond à l'intérieur, moins épais à l'extérieur (d'où reflets orangés); rehauts rouge violacé pour les couronnes sur la tête des deux personnages et pour les lettres inscrites dans le champ. Dim. max.: ht.: 3,8; larg. (au bord): 6,8; ép.: 0,4 (bas)/0,5 (bord); diam. restitué de la coupe: ca 22.

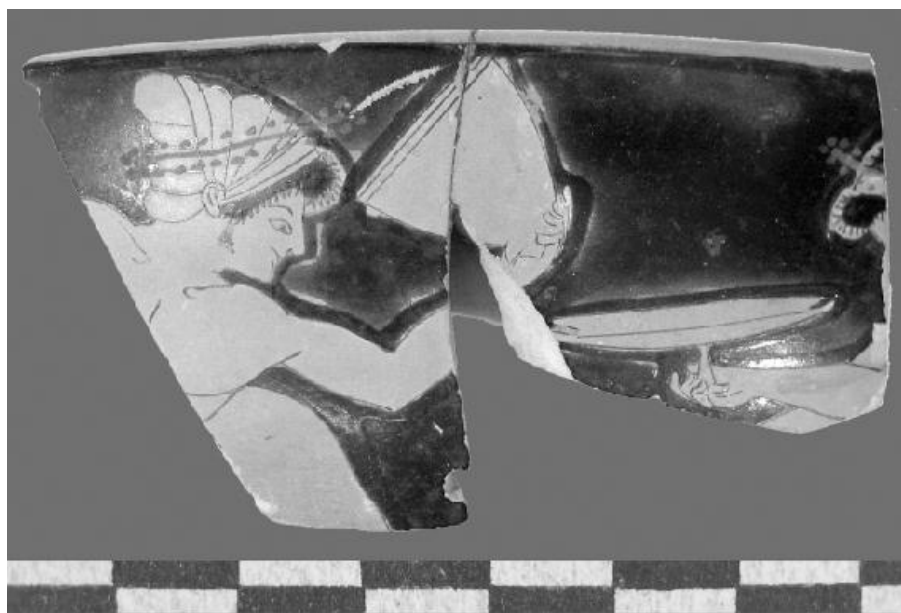


Fig. 20. Musée de Thasos 4861π. Coupe: décor extérieur.

Décor: intérieur tout noir (sans filet réservé en haut de la vasque); extérieur: en dessous d'un filet réservé irrégulier (0,15/0,25) qui court sur la moitié extérieure du bord, scène de banquet à deux personnages: à gauche, haut du torse, tête et bras gauche d'un jeune homme apparemment nu et à demi-allongé vers la droite, le dos appuyé à une surface réservée (coussin?); le jeune homme, aux cheveux courts et bouclés qui se prolongent un peu sur la joue droite (en vernis dilué brun) de façon à former une patte, porte une sorte de turban sur lequel s'enroule une couronne de feuillage; il tend et lève le

bras gauche de façon à soulever obliquement un skyphos à oreillettes qu'il tient par le fond; son torse est vu de face (crochets des omoplates bien visibles). Face à lui, partie antérieure des cheveux bouclés, retenus par un bandeau et couronnés de feuillage, et front d'un second personnage, tourné vers la gauche, la tête légèrement penchée, et tenant par le pied, à l'horizontale, de la main droite, une coupe à lèvre; il appuie, semble-t-il, le coude sur une surface réservée. Dans le champ, devant la tête de droite, deux lettres peintes: KA(?), rétrograde, et peut-être une troisième (Λ?) devant la main qui tient la coupe (KAΛΟΣ?); à coup sûr une quatrième lettre peinte (sans doute K rétrograde) à gauche du turban du premier personnage (autre occurrence du mot KAΛΟΣ?).

Dessin fin, soigné. Traits de contour nets. Cerne de contour net et dense, épais. Filet réservé (et non incisé) pour séparer le noir du décor de celui du fond. La coupe avait été réparée dans l'Antiquité: petit trou rond en bas du fragment de gauche, à droite, le long de la cassure.

Il est clair que les deux personnages participaient à un banquet, à demi-allongés sur deux *klinai* voisines. Malgré la sorte de turban dont il est coiffé, qui est d'ordinaire porté par les femmes, le personnage de gauche est un jeune homme, comme semble l'indiquer son torse et comme le confirme le duvet qui couvre en partie sa joue droite; une telle coiffure est d'ailleurs attestée pour des jeunes gens de sexe masculin.²⁹ Les deux convives lèvent leur vase à boire, comme pour porter un toast. Le peintre est soigneux et talentueux, même si l'expression du visage n'est pas parfaitement réussie. On pourrait penser à Skythès, mais aussi à d'autres peintres des alentours de 500. La coupe avait été en tout cas très appréciée puisqu'on avait jugé bon de la réparer dans l'Antiquité.

Ces quelques fragments, même s'ils sont modestes, donnent une idée des coupes attiques à figures rouges importées à Thasos vers la fin du VI^e et le début du Ve siècle; certaines pièces étaient plutôt médiocres, mais d'autres étaient d'une grande qualité, et j'espère pouvoir proposer pour elles, après étude plus approfondie, quelques attributions complémentaires; plusieurs ont été trouvées dans un quartier d'habitation (champ Apostolidis), les autres au sanctuaire d'Artémis. Les thèmes du décor figuré s'inspirent les uns de la mythologie ou de l'épopée, les autres de la vie quotidienne. L'on a aussi mis au jour des fragments de coupes plus récentes, de la seconde moitié du Ve siècle, mais ils sont jusqu'à présent peu nombreux, encore plus mutilés et d'une qualité bien inférieure. Alors que, à la fin du VI^e et au début du Ve siècle, les Thasiens achetaient volontiers de belles coupes athéniennes pour leur usage personnel ou pour les offrir

dans les sanctuaires, ceux des décennies postérieures à l'époque de Polygnote semblent avoir eu peu d'intérêt pour la céramique attique à figures rouges.

Notes

- 1L. Ghali-Kahil, *Études Thasiennes VII: La céramique grecque (Fouilles 1911–1956)* (1960). La céramique attique à figures rouges est présentée p. 105–119 + pl. 44–50.
- 2On compte dans le livre de Ghali-Kahil (supra n. 1) à peu près deux fois plus de pièces attiques à figures noires qu'à figures rouges: 173 numéros pour la figure noire (73–100 pl. 31–43) et 83 pour la figure rouge (105–119 pl. 44–50).
- 3Alors qu'il y a eu à Thasos une importante production de céramique à figures noires, récemment étudiée par A. Coulié, *Études Thasiennes XIX: La céramique thasienne à figures noires* (2002), il ne semble pas y avoir eu la moindre production locale de céramique à figures rouges. La seule figure rouge à ce jour attestée dans l'île est attique.
- 4Sans n° d'inv. La découverte de ce fragment est signalée dans la *Chronique du BCH* 100, 1976, 780 fig. 28; il est publié dans J.-J. Maffre, in: *Thasiaca*, *BCH Suppl.* V (1979) 63–69, et mentionné à nouveau, après recollage d'un fragment malheureusement insignifiant, par J.-J. Maffre, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (ed.), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (1988) 379–380 avec fig. 1. L'attribution à Épictétos a été acceptée par D. Paleothodoros, *Épictétos*, *Coll. d'Études classiques* 18 (2004) 20. 21. 61. 72. 75. 118. 153 pl. 14,2 (sans le nouveau fragment).
- 5Inv. 2128π et 2129π: 1979 Maffre (supra n. 4) 57–60; *LIMC* I (1981) 560 n° 15, s.v. Alkyoneus (R. Olmos – L.J. Balmaseda). Précisions complémentaires: ht. de la scène figurée: 9,5 cm; diamètre restitué de la coupe: ca 32 cm. Il est par ailleurs possible qu'un troisième fragment appartienne à la coupe, sans doute sur l'autre face.
- 6Inv. 80–51–21 (fragment principal). 80–144–21. 80–144.22: Maffre 1988 (supra n. 4) 380–384 avec fig. 2–4; J.-J. Maffre, in: *Euphronios peintre* (Actes de la journée d'étude organisée par l'École du Louvre et le département des AGER du Louvre, 10/10/1990) (1992) 61–70. Le fragment principal est commenté et illustré par M. Tiverios, in: N.C. Stambolidis (ed.), *ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΝ. Αναμνηστικός τόμος για την συμπλήρωση είκοσι χρόνων λειτουργίας του Μουσείου Κυκλαδικής Τέχνης* (2006) 82–83 (il situe le fragment dans le Groupe des Pionniers).
- 7Maffre 1988 (supra n. 4) 384. 386 fig. 7.
- 8L'illustration de l'article procède de clichés pris soit par l'auteur, soit par Anne Tichit, et retravaillés sur ordinateur par Anton Kozelj; les profils ont été dessinés par Stéphanie Leroy. Que tous ceux qui m'ont aidé pour la mise au point de cet article trouvent ici l'expression de mes vifs remerciements.
- 9Toutes les dimensions indiquées sont exprimées en centimètres.
- 10Sur le Peintre du Pithos, voir en dernier lieu D. Paleothodoros, *Ευλυμένη* (Univ. de Réthymno) 4, 2003, 61–76.
- 11Par exemple coupes de Boston 95.34, attribuée à Épictétos (pl. 33,1), de l'Acropole 227 (B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen* II [1933] n° 227 — non attribuée par Beazley; considérée par les auteurs comme proche d'Épictétos) ou de Vienne, KHM 3215, attribuée au Peintre du Pithos (ARV² 139,5). Sur ces jeux avec une outre, voir F. Lissarrague, *Un flot d'images: une esthétique du banquet grec* (1987) 66–73.

- 12 Sur ce peintre, voir notamment P. Rouillard, RA 1975, 31–60.
- 13 Plusieurs occurrences, par exemple dans les médaillons des coupes de Brunswick 500 (CVA Braunschweig pl. 15,1) et de Leipzig T 3373 (CVA 3 pl. 12,4), datées de 510/500.
- 14 Ainsi médaillon des coupes Vatican 16575 (danseur de pyrrique: Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] n° 77 pl. 24 fig. 3) ou Rome 1156 (cômaste tenant deux outres: ibid., n° 105 pl. 34 fig. 3; ARV² 79,4); composition inversée, avec le personnage tourné vers la droite, dans le médaillon de la coupe de New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.162.112 (guerrier nu, tenant une lance: ibid., n° 88 pl. 28 fig. 2).
- 15 Voir K. Huber, Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco 6: Le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse (1999) 50 n° 157.
- 16 Cette forme est définie dans B.A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C., Agora XII (1970) 98–105, notamment 98–99. 266 n° 446 (coupe avec le décor du dessous très comparable à celui de l'exemplaire de Thasos, pl. 21) et 449 (avec un profil très proche); ces pièces sont datées vers 500–480.
- 17 Par exemple Boston 22.678 (signalé dans Sparkes – Talcott [supra n. 16] 98 n. 1, et daté vers 500).
- 18 ARV² 329,133 (Onésimos) et 332,34 (Manière d'Onésimos): respectivement Athènes, Acr. 205, et Tübingen E 22.
- 19 Par exemple sur les coupes de Würzburg 468, du British Museum E 3, de Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 509, de Berlin F 2262, du British Musseum E 24, d'Aberdeen 744, de Columbia 1975.81 (Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] respectivement pl. 1,5. pl. 5,3. pl. 9,2. pl. 11,3. pl. 14,1. pl. 25,3. pl. 33,4), etc.
- 20 Par exemple sur les coupes du British Museum E 3, de Princeton 33.41, de Boston 95.34 et de Tarquinia RC 1091, de Berlin 4514, d'Athènes, Agora P 24114 (Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] respectivement pl. 5,2. pl. 29,3. pl. 33,1–2. pl. 46,2. pl. 54), etc.
- 21 Ainsi sur les coupes de Berlin F 2262, Tarquinia RC 1091 et Columbia 1975.81, déjà citées.
- 22 Trois exemples: coupes de Baltimore B 3, de Berlin 4514, et autrefois à Rome, coll. Petersen (Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] pl. 13,6. pl. 46,2. pl. 32,2).
- 23 British Museum 1929.11–11.1 (Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] pl. 30).
- 24 Ainsi à l'extérieur de la coupe de Munich 2620 (J. 337; inv. 8704), illustrée par exemple dans: Euphronios peintre à Athènes au VI^e siècle av. J.-C. (1990) 187.
- 25 Coupes du Louvre G 6, de la Villa Giulia 57912, du British Museum E 35 (Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] pl. 17. 20. 31,1).
- 26 Coupes du musée J.P. Getty 81.AE.213 et 18, de la coll. Astarita 134 et de Berlin 2283, du musée Getty 83.AE.217, de Boston 95.31, du musée Getty 90.AE.36 et 87.AE.43 (D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* [1995] pl. 19–20. pl. 22–23,34. pl. 24,81. pl. 147–150).
- 27 Quelques exemples dans P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (1927) pl. 71b: coupe de Munich 2588, attribuée au Peintre d'Hischylos (ARV² 162,2 – et non 1162, comme l'indique par erreur l'index); pl. 77b: coupe du British Museum E 55, attribuée à la Manière de Douris (ARV² 449,3); pl. 85c: coupe de Munich 2687, plus récente (non attribuée par Beazley). Deux exemples au moins chez Macron: coupe d'une collection privée suisse et fragment d'Athènes, Acr. 310 (N. Kunisch, *Macron* [1997] pl. 23 n° 52. pl. 47 n° 137).
- 28 Sur ce thème si fréquent dans la céramique grecque depuis la 1^{re} moitié du VI^e siècle, voir LIMC VII (1994) 255–262 n° 47–190, s.v. Peleus (R. Vollkommer); LIMC VIII (1997) 7–9 n° 6–22, s.v. Thetis (R. Vollkommer).
- 29 Ainsi pour au moins deux cômastes: l'un sur une coupe attribuée à Épictétos, Berlin 2100 (Paleothodoros [supra n. 4] pl. 2,2), l'autre sur une coupe attribuée

au Peintre d'Épéleios, Munich 2619A (ARV² 146,2; Lissarrague [supra n. 11] 38 fig. 19).

19 Old Age in Athenian Vase-Painting

Susan B. Matheson

Athenian vase-painters created vivid images of old men and women that are as immediately recognizable as those in any modern drawing or photograph. Characterized by white, stippled, or thinning hair and beard, baldness, stooped shoulders, and sagging flesh, aged Athenians of the ancient world are shown with physical traits universally shared by the elderly.

This paper, which is part of a larger project on old age in Greek and Roman art, offers an overview of images of aged men and women on Athenian vases and some thoughts on the images as primary evidence of Athenian attitudes toward old age.¹ Future work will compare this evidence to that of Athenian literature, testing my hypothesis that the vase-painters had a more balanced and sympathetic view of old age than that expressed by some Athenian writers.²



Fig. 1. Priam Painter, hydria, Toledo Museum of Art 1961.23, detail of shoulder: seated figure of Priam. Photo: Museum.

The common signs that distinguish old age in both sexes in Athenian vase-painting are white hair and stooped posture. White hair and beard are the dominant characteristics for old men on both black-figure (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 10B)³ and red-figure (Fig. 2)⁴ vases. On the head of Phoinix in the tondo of the Brygos Painter's Ilioupersis cup in the Louvre, the added white covers thin straggly hair that was drawn

first (Fig. 3).⁵ Thinning hair and beard without the added white are also common among old men on red-figure vases. Often the profile of the head is visible through the hair, which is usually executed in dilute glaze.⁶ Also typical of old men in red-figure are stippled hair and beard, again frequently painted in dilute glaze (Fig. 4),⁷ sometimes accompanied by a receding hairline. A partially bald pate may be framed by white or thinning hair, and hair loss may be combined with a white, thin, or stippled beard. Total baldness is rare.

Old white-haired women seldom appear in black-figure vase-painting, perhaps because the use of white for the hair can make it indistinguishable from the white conventionally used for female flesh. In a representation of Phaia by the Theseus Painter on a skyphos in Toledo (Fig. 5; Color Pl. 10C),⁸ a second, more golden white distinguishes the hair from the face. Old women on redfigure vases are shown with white or thinning hair, as that of Phaia on a kylix by the Phiale Painter in Verona.⁹ Reserved hair should also be read as white, as in the figure of Aithra by the Niobid Painter on a volute-krater in Bologna (Fig. 6).¹⁰



Fig. 2. Hector Painter, amphora, name vase, Vatican Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16570, detail of Priam. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3. Brygos Painter, kylix, Musée du Louvre G 152, detail of Phoinix. Photo: Hirmer Verlag, Munich.

Pose and posture are also clues to old age. Typical are the old men in scenes of departing warriors.¹¹ The old man is often shown seated, sometimes somewhat hunched over in the chair, and often supporting himself with a stick or crutch; if his hair is white, thin, or stippled, or he is balding, he is clearly old, but it is possible that the seat itself indicates at least “elder” if not “aged.” The old man’s upper body will

often be thin and somewhat sagging or sunken in the chest – the antithesis of the heroic young male who is the focus of the scene. Decrepit old men stand and walk hunched over and leaning heavily on a walking stick or crutch.¹² They are usually thin, bony, and seemingly brittle. The personification of old age, Geras, appears as the extreme of these characteristics: nearly bald, with a protruding Adam's apple, his nude body revealing his long droopy genitals and hunched and emaciated physique (Fig. 7).¹³ Old women, too, are generally hunched over or stooped in posture, and they are often noticeably shorter than their younger counterparts or their male companions. Aithra is frequently shown in this way (Fig. 6). The walking stick that she holds is a support commonly used by old people of both sexes.



Fig. 4. Kleophrades Painter, hydria, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 2422, detail of Priam. Photo: Hirmer Verlag, Munich.

Wrinkles are seldom shown on vases. The mysterious old warrior on the Achilles Painter's bell-krater and Herakles's old nurse Geropso on the Pistoxenos Painter's skyphos are among the rare examples.¹⁴ The apparently osteoporotic Geropso has wrinkles and a double chin as well as a stooped posture. Women's age is more commonly shown by a sagging or double chin than by wrinkles. A woman from a mourning

scene by the Painter of Bologna 228 shows a sagging cheek as well as chin (Fig. 8).¹⁵ A sorrowing old man may be shown with the deep nasal labial line and wrinkles at the edge of the eyes, and the furrowed brow of both age and sadness (Fig. 9).¹⁶

The aged female body is most evident in scenes of old, nude hetairai, which are not common. An old hetaira on a cup by Phintias has sagging breasts in addition to an evident double chin (Fig. 10).¹⁷ Aged, mourning women, nurses, and servants appear fully clothed, and the visible sagging flesh in such figures is limited to the face and chin.



Fig. 5. Theseus Painter, skyphos, Toledo Museum of Art 63.27, detail of Phaia. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 6. Niobid Painter, volute-krater, Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna, inv. 18108 (Pell 268), detail of Aithra. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 7. Matsch Painter, pelike, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano della Villa Giulia 48238, detail of Geras. Photo: Sansaini, Neg. DAI Rome 1957.0682.



Fig. 8. Painter of Bologna 228, loutrophoros, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170, detail of old nurse. Photo: Hirmer Verlag, Munich.

Old Men and Women in Myth and Epic

From the start, scenes of myth and epic provide the stage for old men. A lekanis lid by the C-Painter of ca. 570, the earliest representation of an old man known to me among Athenian vases, shows the imminent death of a white-haired Priam at the hands of Neoptolemos.¹⁸ On the François vase, Priam is seated outside the walls of Troy, as part of the scene of Achilles pursuing Troilos.¹⁹ His balding head suggests his age.

His hair and beard are not white, but black with long incised lines. On an amphora by the Camtar Painter, Achilles receives his shield from Thetis, with an old man, probably Peleus, standing at left.²⁰ The richly robed figure with long flowing white hair and beard is noticeably stooped in posture. Already, some of the key elements of the iconography of old age are present.

Priam is the preeminent Trojan elder, and he appears in numerous scenes related to the Trojan War, with varying indications of aging. Paris leads Helen toward the aged Priam, who holds his head in apprehension on an unattributed white-ground pyxis of ca. 460 BC.²¹ The aged king is present at the arming of Hektor on an amphora by Euthymides,²² with black hair and beard, but partly bald – and in an extraordinary image, with sorrow and foreboding at Hektor's departure for battle, on the Hector Painter's name vase (Fig. 2).²³ Priam stands with Hekuba at the scene of Achilles preparing to drag the body of Hektor around Troy, his white hair barely visible at the edge of the cloak he has drawn over his head.²⁴ The distraught and desperate Priam negotiates with Achilles for the body of his dead son, his urgency expressed by the Rycroft Painter in his streaming white hair and his straining powerful arms and body.²⁵ Priam appears with arms outstretched, and his age is indicated by his stippled hair and beard on a kylix by Olto,²⁶ but the king displays calm dignity in the face of a disdainful Achilles in the white-haired image on the Brygos Painter's Vienna skyphos.²⁷ The balding king, hair and beard thin and stippled, pleads more with words and expression than with his body in two scenes from a kylix by the Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos.²⁸ In the spare, focused scene in the tondo, Priam speaks earnestly – his mouth is open, his expression intense – and his eyes meet those of Achilles. On the exterior, in the more traditional expanded narrative scene, Priam bends and looks down in supplication, his lips again parted in speech, his hand gesturing at once toward the body of his son and toward Achilles. In both scenes, Priam's feelings are evident.

In the most famous scene from the sack of Troy, the vanquished and pathetic Priam is murdered on the altar. In black-figure, the aged white-haired Priam faces his killer, as he wields his grisly human weapon on the C-Painter's cup mentioned above, but in the Persephone Painter's amphora in the British Museum, Priam lies prostrate on his back across the altar, his hand to his head in despair.²⁹ The plight of the old Trojan king clearly engaged the feelings of both painters and their patrons, inspiring pathos in the vase-painters' representations. Nowhere is this truer than in the Kleophrades Painter's Vivenzio hydria, where the battered Priam, his dead grandson sprawled across his lap, is helpless to defend himself against the continued attack of his Greek foe (Fig. 4).³⁰ His head is the

more vulnerable without the blanket of white hair that other painters gave him, and the blood soaked wounds are the more vivid in the balding pate and the thin stippled hair, as he tries in vain to protect himself from the falling blows.



Fig. 9. Achilles Painter, white-ground lekythos, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1983.1, detail of old man. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 10. Phintias kylix, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.31: detail of old hetaira.
Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California.

Also during the fall of Troy, we find scenes of Anchises, led or carried to safety by his son Aeneas.³¹ The subject was popular in black-figure, but infrequent in red-figure. These scenes are more about the heroics of Aeneas than the vulnerability of his old father. He may be a heavy burden – as is particularly clear in the Kleophrades Painter's rendering on the Vivenzio hydria – but he does not show emotion at his rescue.

Next to Priam, Phoinix is the old man most frequently represented in episodes from Trojan epic. He is a key participant in the mission to Achilles, his white hair and beard contrasting with the younger Odysseus and Ajax and the even more youthful Achilles. He wears his long hair tied up in back in the Triptolemos Painter's stamnos in Basel.³² Phoinix receives wine from Briseis on the Brygos Painter's Ilioupersis kylix in the Louvre (Fig. 3).³³ Phoinix separates Ajax and Hektor, leading Ajax away, adding to the narrative in *Iliad* 7 where the two heroes separate on their own.³⁴ In some scenes, another white-haired man, presumably Priam, leads Hektor away.

Prior to the Trojan War, an elderly white-haired Tyndareus participates with Leda and Klytaimnestra in the discovery of the egg

from which Helen would be born, as it rests on the altar next to the eagle of Zeus.³⁵

Old men do not feature in scenes of the *Odyssey*, as far as I am aware, but Odysseus himself adopts the stooped posture of old age as part of his disguise when he returns to Ithaka. We see him thus with Eumaios on an oinochoe from the circle of the Eretria and Meidias Painters in Tübingen.³⁶

In other epics, old men feature in scenes from the Argonaut saga. Pelias, with white hair and beard, watches as Medea rejuvenates a ram, prior to tricking him into being cut up in the misguided hope of the same result.³⁷ Also from the Argonaut saga, the old, blind Phineus, balding with stippled or straggly hair and beard, sits between the Boreads or tries in vain to protect his food from the scavenging Harpies.³⁸

Two scenes from the Perseus saga show old men. On a white-ground lekythos by the Achilles Painter, Akrisios, father of Danaë, sits atop a tomb.³⁹ His white hair and beard, now nearly worn away, signal his age. Akrisios may be hearing the first cries of the infant Perseus after his birth in the tomb chamber in which Danaë had been imprisoned.⁴⁰ The name “Perseus” is inscribed on the top step of the monument’s base, and the end of another word, perhaps, as John Oakley has suggested, the genitive of Danaë, appears on the lower step. In another episode, Perseus shows the Head of Medusa to Polydektes in the presence of Athena. On the name vase of the Polydektes Painter, the old king is balding, and already partly turned to stone.⁴¹

Among the gods, only Nereus and occasionally Hades are shown with white hair and beard. Nereus, the venerable sea god, the “Old Man of the Sea”, appears first on vases in the archaic manner with a sea monster’s lower body.⁴² On a stamnos by the Berlin Painter in Munich, the fishtailed Nereus with hair and beard in dilute glaze appears with the Nereids.⁴³ In piscine guise he fights with Herakles, who, as part of the eleventh Labor, must learn from him the way to the Garden of the Hesperides. The encounter occurs as a fight on a few early sixth-century vases, but with white hair and beard only on a small hydria fragment in Maidstone attributed to Sophilos.⁴⁴

Nereus in human form with white hair and beard also wrestles Herakles on black-figure vases – once, on a Leagros Group hydria in Paris, transforming himself into fire⁴⁵ – while on most fifth-century red-figure vases he simply flees instead.⁴⁶ In human form, Nereus watches while Herakles battles with Triton.⁴⁷ Nereus appears as an old man with white hair and beard at the meeting of Theseus and Poseidon.⁴⁸ Most often Nereus is in the company of his daughters, either seated or standing between them as they stand or run towards him, his hair and beard white or in dilute glaze.⁴⁹

Hades is the only god who appears with white hair and beard, and that only rarely. He appears in this guise with Kerberos and Herakles in the twelfth Labor at the entrance to the underworld on an amphora from the Leagros Group, and as part of a Triptolemos scene on the name vase of the Painter of London E 183.⁵⁰

Herakles appears with an old man at least once outside the Labors. On an amphora by the Sappho Painter, the hero kills Eurytos, who is shown balding with white hair and beard, but hardly frail.⁵¹ Herakles also encounters, battles, and subdues the personification of old age, Geras, the only personification who is shown as old. On vases, Geras is either thin and white-haired, or small, skinny, stooped, and leaning on a stick, with long sagging genitals.⁵² This latter figure is the closest to the caricatures of old age in Athenian comedy. Alan Shapiro notes that the encounter has no literary source, and he agrees with Beazley's view that it was part of a group of episodes depicted on vases that embody Herakles's triumph over death.⁵³ The hero himself does not age in vase-painting, as he does on the Olympia metopes. Theseus, too, remains youthful on vases, but on a rhyton by the Triptolemos Painter he reclines at a symposion with four Attic kings, two of whom have white hair and beard.⁵⁴

Aged females in myth are even less common than old men. In Homeric epic, Theseus's mother, Aithra, is led away to safety by his sons during the sack of Troy (Fig. 6).⁵⁵ Typically Aithra is small in stature, stooped in posture, her gestures tentative and dependent, her gaze sometimes emotional and directed toward her rescuer. Her hair is white, indicated in added white or reserved clay, and she may have a double chin, completing the portrait of old age.

The famous scene in the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus is recognized by his aged nurse Eurykleia appears on the name vase of the Penelope Painter,⁵⁶ in which the old nurse with thin hair and sagging chin, strangely named "Antiphata" in the inscription, examines the foot on which the telling scar appears.

The Graiai are perhaps the most vivid old women in myth, three decrepit sisters of the Gorgons who, according to Hesiod, were born old and shared a single eye and tooth among them.⁵⁷ They are best known for their role in Perseus's search for Medusa. The Graiai appear rarely on vases, but as Oakley has shown, they are represented as both aged and blind on an unattributed column-krater of around 460 from Metaponto.⁵⁸ They have double chins and white hair left reserved; their blind eyes are indicated by a single line.

Argiope, the mother of Thamyras, is shown as an old woman in scenes where her son is performing, as on a kalpis by the Phiale Painter in the Vatican⁵⁹ and another in Naples where she is crowning him in the presence of two Muses.⁶⁰ Old Phaia in scenes of Theseus

fighting the Krommyonian Sow⁶¹ and the aged, bent, and wrinkled nurse Geropso appearing with the young Herakles were mentioned above.⁶²

Daily Life

Such mythical mothers and nurses and their male paternal and paidaigogical counterparts lead us to images of old men and women in non-mythological contexts, that is, in scenes of daily life. Here, as in scenes of myth, the elderly appear almost exclusively in scenes related to the family, and old men are far more numerous than old women.

Among aged women, the old nurse is the most common, characterized by white or thinning hair, stooped posture, and occasionally a wrinkled face. She is shown with young boys and girls, and sometimes attending the dead. Aged female mourners could be family members as well. An old woman by the Painter of Bologna 228 on a loutrophoros in Athens, with the short hair of a slave or mourning nurse holding the head of the deceased woman lying on the funeral bier, represents several such figures on red-figure funerary vases of this shape (Fig. 8).⁶³ Her double chin and sagging cheek show her age. Other examples combine the double chin with short black hair or show a firm chin but short white hair.⁶⁴ On another funerary vase, a whiteground lekythos by the Phiale Painter in Athens, an aged Thracian nurse with a sagging chin shows her emotion in both her face and her dramatic gesture.⁶⁵

A few aged hetairai appear in erotic scenes on kylikes. They are nude, and the focus is on their flabby, sagging flesh. Two scenes from a kylix by Phintias in the J. Paul Getty Museum are particularly striking (Fig. 10).⁶⁶ Drunken old women, best known from Aristophanes and Hellenistic sculpture, occur in a few examples in Athenian vase-painting, among them an unattributed skyphos of around 460 BC from the Bareiss collection now in the Getty Museum, where an old woman with a double chin is guzzling wine in the cellar.⁶⁷

Aged men are more common than old women, but the range of scenes in which they appear is very limited. Old symposiasts and komasts occur only rarely. On a kylix in London, Onesimos shows an old and pleading symposiast with balding head, furrowed brow, sagging torso, skinny legs, and the walking stick commonly carried by the aged.⁶⁸ On a kylix by the Sabouroff Painter in the Getty Museum, old male symposiasts with balding heads and straggly beards wear female dress and dance.⁶⁹

The old *paidagogos* is less common than the female nurse. He appears mainly as his mythological paradigm, Linos teaching music to

young Iphikles.⁷⁰ But he also appears in the real world, accompanying a boy to school and giving a boy a riding lesson.⁷¹

Some images of old men are simply unclear. On the name vase of the Copenhagen Painter (Syriskos), an old man walks with a small African slave boy in a scene that suggests public activity, although the social status of the old man is uncertain.⁷² A puzzling scene with men of mixed ages on a kylix by the Telephos Painter in Boston shows an old man who is stooped, scrawny, and balding, and has a pointed chin/beard.⁷³

The majority of scenes of old men involve a young warrior arming or departing for military service. In typical black-figure examples, the elder with white hair and beard sits among the departing warriors or holds the sword at the arming of a hoplite.⁷⁴ Red-figure examples often show the old man seated, frequently with a stick, with either white or thin and straggly hair and beard.⁷⁵ Beginning in the Early Classical period, these elder men begin to betray their emotions in face and body. An old man by the Chicago Painter on a volute-krater from Spina, for example, his white hair shorn to a bare minimum, covers his face with his himation, perhaps to hide his weeping.⁷⁶

Old men appear as mourners in funerary scenes on pinakes, white-ground lekythoi, and other vessels associated with burial. On an unattributed black-figure pinax of around 510 BC, an old man joins other men mourning at the bier of a young man, the horse race below evoking epic funeral games.⁷⁷ On an unattributed late sixth-century fragmentary phormiskos from the Kerameikos, a white-haired man mourns outside with other men, separated by a column from the deceased and the women who tend her inside the house.⁷⁸ On a blackfigure bail-oinochoe by the Sappho Painter, an old man mourns with the family.⁷⁹ Only traces of his white hair survive. The young girl standing before him reaches out, perhaps to console him. As Oakley has suggested, they probably represent the dead man's father and daughter. On a fragmentary loutrophoros by the Kleophon Painter, an old man mourns at a grave stele with warriors.⁸⁰

White-ground lekythoi by the Achilles and Thanatos Painters provide some of the most vividly drawn portraits of old men. In face and gesture, they are powerful expressions of emotion. On a white-ground lekythos by the Thanatos Painter in London, the bent old man leaning heavily on his stick – his gaze intense and lips slightly parted, his hand to his head – shows his age in his pose, his thin frame and sunken spine, and his thin white hair and straggly beard.⁸¹ Old men in similar poses by the Achilles Painter show varying degrees of emotion. The oldest of them, on a lekythos in Athens, is drawn with balding head and white hair cropped short. He shows his feeling of loss the most, his face covered with his hand and partly buried in his cloak.⁸²

Another old man by the Achilles Painter mourns at the left of a tomb (Fig. 9), for the hoplite, probably his son, at the monument's right.⁸³ The wide fixed eyes, the parted lips, and the wrinkles and furrows so carefully drawn in his face vividly convey his sorrow.

Conclusion

The types of scenes in which old men and women appear and the numbers of examples of each that I have so far tabulated suggest several things. First, the primary roles for old men and women, whether in myth or mortal life, were in scenes related to the family. Most of the old men are fathers or grandfathers, and most of the old women are mothers, grandmothers, or nurses. Priam appears in scenes of the arming and departure of his son, stands with his wife as Achilles prepares to desecrate their son's body, and pleads for the return of the body for an honorable burial. Even as he takes refuge at the palace's altar, Priam is faced with his dead grandson as the weapon that will inflict his own death. Peleus, young and vigorous when he captures Thetis, is aged when their son receives his armor in preparation for departure for Troy. Anchises and Aithra escape death at the fall of Troy because of the filial piety of their sons and grandsons. Mortal old men appear most frequently in family scenes of arming and departing warriors and in mourning scenes. Old women are found most frequently in funerary scenes.

Second, emotion is conveyed through facial expression more openly by old men and women than by their younger counterparts. In red-figure and white-ground vases of the Classical period, their mourning is the vivid expression of deep and quiet sorrow of the soul. Old men are shown as deeply sensitive and feeling, yet restrained and noble in their grief. Old women appear as truly sorrowing in the scenes where they tenderly minister to their deceased relative or the girl or boy whom they have nursed and cared for from childhood through the end of life.

Third, only in figures of Geras and aged hetairai do we see the exaggeration of the physical traits of old age that occur in Greek comedy and later Greek art. Whether in myth or in daily life, aged men and women are shown with respect and compassion by Athenian vase-painters. Old women and men alike are sympathetically treated, often vulnerable and frail, sometimes in need of support and care – even salvation and rescue. They are not to be ridiculed or despised.

Finally, the sadness and vulnerability of the elderly on vases increases as the fifth century wears on. The strong heroic old man that Thomas Falkner sees in epic, embodied in Nestor, exists in the few images of the aged Greek warrior king that survive on early black-

figure vases, and later, in my view, is still embodied in figures of Phoinix. The Priam that is seen on vases, however, feels foreboding, pleads, and is vulnerable and in the end beaten – a tragic Priam, not an epic hero. Of course we have only Proclus's summary of the text of the *Ilioupersis*, and although we know how he died in the poem, we cannot say that the vase-painters' reflective, vulnerable Priam was based on the epic. The feeling of the Priam scenes is more like that in the openings of Euripides's *Hekuba* or *Trojan Women*, despite the decades by which the vases precede these tragedies. Like the tragic poets, the vase-painters have crafted an image of old men and women that evokes our sympathy, placing them in situations that, even if mythological, are parallel to daily life, and show us the feelings that these situations bring about. That this sympathetic view differs strikingly from that of certain other Athenian writers is the proposal that my research will next explore.

Notes

- II am grateful to John Oakley and Olga Palagia for the invitation to contribute to this volume. On old age in Greek art, see B.E. Richardson, *Old Age Among the Greeks and Romans: The Greek Portrayal of Old Age in Literature, Art, and Inscriptions* (1933 [reprint 1969]); M. Meyer, *AM* 104, 1989, 49–82; S. Pfisterer-Haas, *Darstellungen alter Frauen in der griechischen Kunst* (1989); eadem, *AM* 105, 1990, 179–196; P. Birchler-Emery, *MedA* 12, 1999, 17–28, and eadem, in: B. Schmaltz – M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik im kulturellen Kontext* (2003) 105–107; G. Göckenjan, *Das Alter würdigen: Altersbilder und Bedeutungswandel des Alters* (2000).
- 2Old age in Greek literature is a vast subject; to date I have relied mainly on the primary sources and on T.M. Falkner – J. de Luce (eds), *Old Age in Greek and Latin Literature* (1989) and T.M. Falkner, *The Poetics of Old Age in Greek Epic, Lyric, and Tragedy* (1995).
- 3Shoulder of a hydria by the Priam Painter, Toledo Museum of Art 1961.23: Para 147,5ter; BAdd² 91; CVA Toledo 1 pl. 24,3.
- 4Hector Painter amphora (name vase), Vatican Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16570: ARV² 1036,1; BAdd² 18.
- 5Paris, Louvre G 152: ARV² 369,1; Para 365; BAdd² 224.
- 6For example, Nereus on a stamnos by the Berlin Painter, Munich Antikensammlung 8738: ARV² 209,161. 1633; Para 343; BAdd² 195; CVA Munich 5 pl. 261; LIMC VI (1992) 830 no. 74 pl. 525, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili); an old man at departure of warrior, unattributed stamnos, ca. 460 BC, Mannheim, Reiss-Museum Gg 59: CVA Mannheim 1 pls 39–40.
- 7Priam, Kleophrades Painter, Naples Museo Nazionale Archeologico 2422: ARV² 189,74; Para 341; BAdd² 189.
- 8Toledo Museum of Art 63.27: Para 257; BAdd² 129–130; CVA Toledo 1 pl. 32,3–4.
- 9Verona Museo Civico 51: ARV² 1023,148. 1678; BAdd² 154; CVA Verona 1 pl. 2; J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (1990) pl. 123A.
- 10Bologna, Museo Civico 18108 (Pell 268): ARV² 598,1; Para 394; BAdd² 265; CVA Bologna 5 pls 97–100; M. Prange, *Der Niobidenmaler* (1989) 180; LIMC I (1981)

- 426–427 no. 68 pl. 333, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron).
- 11Leagros Group amphora, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1484: CVA Munich 8 pl. 417,2–4; A.B. Spieß, *Der Kriegerabschied auf attischen Vasen der archaischen Zeit* (1992) fig. 20; Antimenes Painter amphora, Rome, Museo Capitolino 88: ABV 270,66; Para 118; BAdd² 70–71; J. Burow, *Der Antimenesmaler* (1989) pl. 66; stamnos, Manner of Hermonax, Mannheim, Reiss-Museum 59: ARV² 493,1; BAdd² 249; CVA Mannheim 1 pls 27–28. 30,3.
- 12For example, an unidentified old man on a cup by the Telephos Painter, Boston, MFA 95.28, Rome, Villa Giulia, and Florence 11 B 44: ARV² 816–817,1; 482,32; Para 420; BAdd² 292; L.D. Caskey – J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston III* (1963) pl. 89.
- 13Matsch Painter, pelike, Villa Giulia 48238: ARV² 284,1; BAdd² 208; LIMC IV (1988) 181 no. 5 pl. 101, s.v. Geras (H.A. Shapiro); see also Geras Painter (name vase), pelike, Louvre G234: ARV² 286,16; BAdd² 209; LIMC IV (1988) 181 no. 4 pl. 101, s.v. Geras (H.A. Shapiro); H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art* (1993) figs 47 and 44 respectively.
- 14Achilles Painter, bell-krater, MMA 07.286.81: ARV² 991,61. 1677; Para 437; BAdd² 311; J.H. Oakley, *The Achilles Painter* (1997) no. 83 pl. 52A; Pistoxenos Painter, skyphos, Schwerin, Staatliches Museum 708: ARV² 862,30. 1670; Para 425; BAdd² 298–299; LIMC IV (1988) 833 no. 1666 pl. 557, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman).
- 15Loutrophoros, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1170: ARV² 512,13. 1657; Para 382; BAdd² 252.
- 16Achilles Painter white-ground lekythos, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1983.1: Oakley (supra n. 14) pl. 141A.
- 17Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 80.AE.31: BAdd² 155 (as no. 24,12bis); Pfisterer-Haas 1989 (supra n. 1) figs 72–73.
- 18Naples Archaeological Museum: ABV 58,119. 681; Para 23; BAdd² 16; H. Rühfel, *Das Kind in der griechischen Kunst* (1984) 53 fig. 19.
- 19Florence, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 4209: ABV 76,1; Para 21; BAdd² 21; LIMC VII, (1994) 511 no. 30 pl. 399, s.v. Priamos (J. Neils).
- 20Boston, MFA 21.21: ABV 84,3; Para 31; BAdd² 23; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (1974) fig. 53 (drawing).
- 21Basel, Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig Kä 431: LIMC VII (1994) 509 no. 8, s.v. Priamos 8 (J. Neils); LIMC IV (1988) 533 no. 186 pl. 325, s.v. Hélène (L. Kahil).
- 22Munich, Antikensammlungen 2307: ARV² 26,1. 1620; Para 323; BAdd² 155–156; J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (1975) fig. 33,1.
- 23Supra n. 4.
- 24Leagros Group hydria, Boston MFA 63.473: Para 164. 362,31bis; BAdd² 96; CVA Boston 2 pl. 82.
- 25Type A amphora, Toledo Museum of Art 72.54: CVA Toledo 1 pl. 5,1.
- 26Munich Antikensammlungen 2618: ARV² 61,74. 1622; Para 327; BAdd² 165; LIMC I (1981) 150 no. 656 pl. 123, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
- 27Kunsthistorischesmuseum 3710: ARV² 380,171. 1649; Para 366. 368; BAdd² 227; LIMC I (1981) 150 no. 659 pl. 124, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
- 28New York, White Levy Collection: ARV² 399. 1650; Para 369; BAdd² 230; LIMC I (1981) 151–152 no. 661 pls 124–25, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
- 29Group E (Persephone Painter [Woodford]), type B amphora ca. 550 BC, British Museum 1842.3–14.3 (B 205): ABV 136,55; BAdd² 37; CVA British Museum 3 pl. 43,2.
- 30Supra n. 7.
- 31Neck-amphora, Class of Cambridge 4, Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum

- 218: ABV 316,2, BAdd² 85; LIMC I (1981) 387 no. 69 pl. 301, Aineias (F. Canciani); Kleophrades Painter, Vivenzio hydria, Naples (supra n. 7); polychrome lekythos by the Brygos Painter, Gela, Museo Archeologico N 61: ARV² 385,223; BAdd² 228; CVA Gela 3 pl. 24; J.H. Oakley, *Picturing Death in Classical Athens* (2004) 104–105 fig. 64 pl. VI (color).
- 32Antikenmuseum BS 477: ARV² 361,7; BAdd² 222; Boardman (supra n. 22) fig. 304.
- 33Supra n. 5.
- 34Amphora, Painter of Munich 1410, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 1411: ABV 311,2; BAdd² 84; Boardman (supra n. 20) fig. 141; stamnos, Triptolemos Painter, Basel, supra n. 32.
- 35Xenotimos Painter, stemless kylix, Boston, MFA 99.539: ARV² 1142,1; Para 455; BAdd² 334; LIMC VI (1992) 234 no. 28 pl. 112, s.v. Leda (L. Kahil – N. Icard-Gianolio).
- 36Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls Universität S/10 1605 (E 120): ARV² 1659 (564,27, Pig Painter); BAdd² 260; CVA Tübingen 4 pl. 36,1–3 (circle of Meidias/Eretria Painters [E. Bohr]).
- 37Leagros Group hydria BM B328: ABV 363,42; LIMC VII (1994) 275 no. 11 pl. 214, s.v. Pelias (E. Simon); Copenhagen Painter (Syriskos) stamnos, Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2408: ARV² 257,8. 1640; BAdd² 204; LIMC VII (1994) 275 no. 12 pl. 215, s.v. Pelias (E. Simon).
- 38Phineus with Boreads; Nausicaa Painter, hydria, Boston MFA 1979.40: LIMC VII (1994) 390 no. 20 pl. 328, s.v. Phineus (L. Kahil); with Harpies: Kleophrades Painter hydria, lent to the J. Paul Getty Museum by the Republic of Italy, formerly 85.AE.316: LIMC IV (1988) 446–447 no. 9 pl. 268, s.v. Harpyiai (L. Kahil).
- 39Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire HR 299: Oakley (supra n. 14) pl. 163B.
- 40Oakley (supra n. 31) 105–106, expanding on I. Jucker, in: *Studien zur griechischen Vasenmalerei*, AntK Beiheft 7 (1970) 47–49.
- 41Bell-krater, Bologna, Museo Civico 325: ARV² 1069,2. 1681; LIMC IV (1988) 315 no. 337 pl. 187, s.v. Gorgo, Gorgones (I. Krauskopf).
- 42LIMC VI (1992) 824–837 pls 516–534, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).
- 43Supra n. 6 (part of a Peleus and Thetis scene).
- 44E.g., Sophilos Athens NM 12587, column-krater: ABV 40,24; Para 18; BAdd² 11; AJA 85, 1981, pl. 21 fig. 2; G. Bakir, *Sophilos* (1981) pl. 18 fig. 33; 22 figs 42–23; Maidstone (Kent) hydria fragment: Bakir (supra) 71 no. A36 pl. 64 fig. 126; LIMC VI (1992) 826 no. 21 (not illustrated), s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).
- 45Cabinet des Médailles 255, as Judy Barringer has noted: J.M. Barringer, *Divine Escorts: Nereids in Archaic and Classical Greek Art* (1995) 157 pl. 141.
- 46Berlin Painter hydria, London BM E162: ARV² 209,165. 1633; BAdd² 195; LIMC VI (1992) 828 no. 42 pl. 521, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili); see also LIMC VI (1992) 828 nos. 46–48 pl. 522, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili) with white or dilute glaze hair and beard.
- 47E.g., Chiusi Painter, hydria, Boston, MFA 62.1185: Para 171 as (389,10); BAdd² 102; CVA Boston 2 pl. 84; Painter of Vatican G43, hydria, Toldeo Museum of Art 56.69: ABV 263,2; BAdd² 68; CVA Toledo 1 pl. 20,1; LIMC VI (1992) 833–834 no. 117 pl. 532, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili); see also LIMC VI (1992) 833–834 nos. 108–127 pls 530–33, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).
- 48Harrow Painter, column-krater, Harvard University, Sackler Museum 1960.339: ARV² 274,39; BAdd² 207; LIMC VI (1992) 834 no. 128 pl. 534, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili).
- 49Seated: e.g., similar to the Xenotimos Painter, cup-skyphos, Berlin 3244: ARV² 1142, BAdd² 334; CVA Berlin 3 pl. 116; standing: e.g., Diosphos Painter,

- amphora, Louvre F 234: LIMC VI (1992) 834 no. 122 pl. 533, s.v. Nereus (M. Pipili); Group of Polygnotos, Undetermined, hydria, Florence 4014: ARV² 1060,144; 1588. 1680; BAdd² 323; CVA Florence 2 pls 57,4. 59; dilute glaze hair and beard: Kleophrades Painter, Ghent, joining Louvre G166: ARV² 206,129; BAdd² 194; A. Greifenhagen, *Neue Fragmente des Kleophradesmaler* (1972) pl. 18,3.
- 50Herakles and Kerberos: amphora, Leagros Group, Vatican 372: ABV 368,107; Para 162; BAdd² 98; T.H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (1991) fig. 216; Dinos Painter, amphora, Trachones, Geroulanos Collection: ARV² 1154,38bis; LIMC IV (1988) 374 no. 39 pl. 212, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner); part of Triptolemos scene: Painter of London E 183 hydria (name vase), London BM E 183: ARV² 1191,1; BAdd² 342; LIMC IV (1988) 374 no. 39 pl. 212, s.v. Hades (R. Lindner).
- 51Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 10916: ABV 508; BAdd² 126; CVA Madrid 1 pls 21,3; 22; LIMC I (1981) 687 no. 1 pl. 687, s.v. Antiphonos 1 (C. Zindel).
- 52See above, n. 13. On Geras and scenes of Herakles and Geras: LIMC IV (1988) 180–182 pls 100–101, s.v. Geras (H.A. Shapiro) and Shapiro (supra n. 13) 89–94. 238–239 figs 43–47.
- 53Shapiro, LIMC (supra n. 52) 180–182.
- 54Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 79.100 (signed by Charinos as potter): BAdd² 402; J. Neils, in: H.A. Shapiro, *Greek Vases from Southern Collections* (1981) 84–87.
- 55E.g., Myson krater, London, BM E 458: ARV² 239,16; Para 349; BAdd² 201; LIMC I (1981) 426 no. 66 pl. 332, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron); Kleophrades Painter, Vivenzio hydria (supra n. 7): LIMC I (1981) 426 no. 67 pl. 333, s.v. Aithra I (U. Kron); Niobid Painter krater, Bologna 18108 (Pell 268): supra n. 10; here Fig. 6.
- 56Skyphos, Chiusi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Collezione Civica 1831: ARV² 1300,2. 1689; Para 475; BAdd² 360; LIMC I (1981) 860 no. 1 pl. 687, s.v. Antiphata (O. Touchefeu-Meynier).
- 57LIMC IV (1988) 362–364, s.v. Graiai (C. Kanellopoulou), noting that with the exception of Hesiod, the literary tradition usually portrays them as young.
- 58AJA 92, 1988, 383–391 fig. 4; LIMC IV (1988) 363 no. 1 pl. 208, s.v. Graiai (C. Kanellopoulou).
- 59Musei Vaticani 16549: ARV² 1020,92; Para 441; BAdd² 154; Oakley (supra n. 9) pl. 72a.
- 601531; Oakley (supra n. 9) pl. 72b.
- 61Supra n. 9.
- 62Supra n. 14.
- 63Supra n. 15; on nurses and paidagogoi, see H. Rühfel, AW 19.4, 1988, 43–57; Pfisterer-Haas 1989 (supra n. 1) 16–29; H. Schultze, *Ammen und Pädagogen: Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft* (1998).
- 64Pfisterer-Haas 1989 (supra n. 1) 27–29; Sappho Painter, black-figure pinax (ibid, fig. 26); red-figure loutrophoroi (ibid, figs 27–30); white hair, ibid, fig. 31 (a white-haired man stands at the head of this couch).
- 65National Archaeological Museum 19355; Oakley (supra n. 9) pl. 111.
- 66Supra n. 17.
- 6786.AE.265: CVA J. Paul Getty Museum 8 pls 388,5–6. 389; H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen* (1984) 74 fig. 44; J. Neils – J.H. Oakley, *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece* (2003) 258–259 no. 63 ill. on p. 120.
- 68British Museum E 44: ARV² 329,130; Para 359; BAdd² 217; E. Simon – M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976) pl. 134.
- 6986.AE.296: ARV² 837,10; BAdd² 296; CVA J. Paul Getty Museum 8 pls 441–442, noting Oakley's suggestion that the subject is a chorus; see also D.C. Kurtz – J.

- Boardman, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3 (1986) 35–70.
- 70Reverse of the Pisto Xenos Painter's skyphos in Schwerin (supra n. 14): *LIMC* IV (1988) 833 no. 1666 pl. 557, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman)
- 71Escorting boy to school: amphora, ca. 460, Baranello, Museo Civico 85: Rühfel (supra n. 67) 46 fig. 23; riding lesson: Naples Painter, column-krater, London, BM E 485: ARV² 1098,32. 1683; BAdd² 328; Rühfel (supra n. 67) 55 fig. 30; see also Schultze (supra n. 63).
- 72Copenhagen, National Museum 125: ARV² 256,2; Para 351; BAdd² 204; CVA Copenhagen 3 pl. 130.
- 73Supra n. 12.
- 74See A.B. Spieß, *Der Kriegerabschied auf attischen Vasen der archaischen Zeit* (1992). E.g., Leagros Group, neckamphora, Munich, Antikensammlungen 1484: CVA Munich 8 pl. 417,2–4; Spieß (supra) fig. 20; Antimenes Painter, neckamphora, Rome, Museo del Palazzo dei Conservatori 88: ABV 270,66; Para 118; BAdd² 70–71; Burow (supra n. 11) pl. 64B.
- 75E.g., unattributed stamnos, ca. 460 BC, Mannheim (supra n. 6).
- 76Ferrara, Museo Nazionale Archeologico 45685: ARV² 628,1; Para 399; BAdd² 272; N. Alfieri – P.E. Arias, Spina (1958) pl. 53.
- 77Basel, Münzen und Medaillen Auktion 14, lot 61; C. Bérard et al., *City of Images* (1989) fig. 142.
- 78Athens, Kerameikos Museum 691: H. Foley, in: Neils – Oakley (supra n. 67) 130 fig. 21.
- 79Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Art Museum 1984.23: Para 247; BAdd² 126–127; J.H. Oakley, in: Neils – Oakley (supra n. 67) 297–298 no. 112; J.H. Oakley, in: J.M. Barringer – J.M. Hurwit, *Periklean Athens and its Legacy* (2005) 14–16 figs 2,1–4.
- 80Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1700 (CC.1477): ARV² 1146, 50; Para 456; BAdd² 335; D.C. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi* (1975) pl. 45,1.
- 81British Museum D 67: ARV² 1228,7; F. Felten, *Thanatos und Kleophonmaler* (1971) 107 fig. 3; Kurtz (supra n. 80) pl. 32,2.
- 82Chicago, Art Institute 1907.20: ARV² 1000,199; Oakley (supra n. 14) pl. 138C–D; Athens, Dinopoulos Collection 5: Oakley (supra n. 14) pl. 139A–B and here Pipili figs 3–4 and Color Pl. 18C; Athens, Kanellopoulos Collection 725: Oakley (supra n. 14) pl. 139C–D; Athens, Acropolis Museum 6473: Oakley (supra n. 14) pl. 140C–D (the oldest man).
- 83Supra n. 16.

20 Prometheus oder Atlas? Zur Deutung der Amphora München 1540

Heide Mommsen

Das Vasenbild, das hier besprochen werden soll, findet sich auf einer der unzähligen spätschwarzfigurigen Standard-Halsamphoren, die auch nach der Einführung der rotfigurigen Technik mit ihren neuen Möglichkeiten noch ein halbes Jahrhundert in großen Mengen für den Export nach Etrurien hergestellt wurden. Sie sind in der Gefäßform und der ornamentalen Dekoration sehr gleichförmig, und unter den routiniert ausgeführten Bildern sind selten so überraschende Darstellungen wie der frontale, von zwei nackten Frauen gestützte Riese auf der Amphora München 1540 (Abb. 1–4; Farbtaf. 12A–B. 14).¹

Die im letzten Jahrzehnt des 6. Jhs. v.Chr. entstandene Amphora ist nicht bei Beazley verzeichnet, konnte aber von Erika Kunze-Götte überzeugend dem Maler von Compiègne 988 zugewiesen werden, den sie in den größeren Rahmen ihrer Atalante-Werkstatt einfügt.² Diese Werkstatt, die die Tradition des Antimenos-Malers weiterführt und sich vom vorletzten Jahrzehnt des 6. Jhs. bis in die siebziger Jahre des 5. Jhs. verfolgen lässt, ist das handwerkliche und geistige Milieu des Malers von Compiègne 988. Derselben Werkstatt lassen sich auch die schwarzfigurigen Amphoren des Kleophrades-Malers zuweisen, und dieser Zusammenhang erklärt wohl auch die eigentümliche Verwandtschaft der kraftvoll bewegten dionysischen Figuren des Malers von Compiègne 988 mit den rotfigurigen Frühwerken des Kleophrades-Malers.³ Das gilt auch für den Thiasos auf der Amphora München 1540 (Abb. 1; Farbtaf. 12A), bei dem Dionysos in beschwingtem Schritt und mit wehendem Mantel einem Aulosblasenden Silen folgt, der energisch vorausschreitet.⁴ Ungewöhnlich ist bei diesem Bild, dass sowohl Dionysos wie der Silen vorwärts stürmen ohne sich umzublicken, so dass ihre Bewegung weniger einem Tanz als einem Triumphzug gleicht.⁵ Dionysische Themen sind auf den

Amphoren des Malers von Compiègne 988 und seiner Gruppe sehr dominant: auf 17 dionysische Szenen kommen nur drei anderen Inhalts, wobei aber jede dieser Vasen zumindest mit einem Bild den Gott feiert.

Umso erstaunlicher ist die einzigartige Darstellung auf der Gegenseite der Amphora München 1540 (Abb. 2–4; Farbt. 12B. 14). Sie zeigt einen riesigen nackten Mann in Frontalansicht, dessen Kopf bis zu dem Zungenmuster reicht, das den Ansatz des Amphorenhalses umgibt. Er stützt seine beiden Hände in die Seite, aber nicht in die Taille, sondern knapp unter dem Brustmuskel auf die Rippen, denn seine Ellenbogen sind bis in Schulterhöhe erhoben, so dass die Hände nicht bis zur Hüfte herabreichen. In dieser angespannten Haltung werden seine Arme auf beiden Seiten von zwei nackten Frauenfiguren mit betont weiblichen Formen gestützt, die so klein sind, dass sie die Arme des Riesen kaum erreichen. Der Größenunterschied hebt die gewaltigen Körpermaße der Hauptfigur hervor, deren urtümliches Wesen auch durch die Nacktheit, das gorgonenhafte Gesicht, den roten Vollbart, die ungeordneten Haarsträhnen und die behaarte Brust⁶ charakterisiert ist.

Leider ist die Oberfläche der Vase sehr schlecht erhalten. Der Tongrund ist verrieben und auch die Umrisse der Figuren sind sehr angegriffen.⁷ Die Haut der beiden vollkommen nackten Frauen war natürlich weiß, und am Original ist noch gut sichtbar, dass ihre Hände, die heute hinter den Unterarmen des Riesen zu verschwinden scheinen, ursprünglich in stützender Haltung mit weißer Farbe auf die schwarzen Männerarme aufgemalt waren. Auch die Binnenritzung der ehemals weißen Körper ist am Original noch in zarten Linien zu erkennen. Beide Frauen haben das lange Haar mit einem roten Band zu einer dicken Schlaufe aufgebunden, wobei das Ende aufgefächert nach hinten überfällt.

Während die Figuren auf der Seite mit Dionysos schwungvoll und sicher gezeichnet sind, ist die Zeichnung des frontalen Riesen auffallend unsicher, stellenweise sogar etwas unbeholfen, wie die schlaffen Finger, die ungleichen Hüften und vor allem die Leistenlinie, die in unsymmetrischen Kurven zur Taille weitergeführt ist. Außerdem verraten die Spuren umfangreicher Vorzeichnung, dass der Maler mit dem Motiv nicht vertraut war, sondern sich um etwas Neues bemüht hat. Versuchen wir uns vorzustellen wie aufsehenerregend dieses Bild in seiner ursprünglichen Farbigkeit gewirkt haben muss: Ein urweltlicher Riese mit rotem Vollbart in strenger Frontalansicht mit waagrecht erhobenen Oberarmen wird in seiner angestregten Haltung von beiden Seiten durch zwei graziöse, in ihrer Nacktheit vollkommen weiße Frauenfiguren gestützt, die sich hochrecken müssen, um die Arme des gewaltigen Mannes zu erreichen.



Abb. 1–4. Halsamphora des Malers von Compiègne 988, München 1540. Foto: Renate Kühling.

Auf Grund seiner gezwungenen Haltung wurde der Riese als einer der großen Büßer aus dem Geschlecht der Titanen erkannt und als Prometheus oder als Atlas gedeutet. Unter beiden Namen ist das Vasenbild im Ikonographischen Lexikon aufgeführt, allerdings jeweils als unsichere Darstellung.⁸ Die Deutung auf Atlas ist bisher nur selten mit Überzeugung vertreten worden,⁹ mehr Anhänger hat dagegen die Deutung auf Prometheus gefunden.¹⁰ Die gelängte Hüftpartie des Riesen zusammen mit der zwanghaften Haltung der Arme und den schlaffen Händen wecken den Eindruck einer passiv hängenden Figur, was auf den an einen Felsen angeschmiedeten Prometheus zutreffen könnte. Ein Vergleich mit der frontalen Figur des Atlas auf dem Volutenkrater des Kleophrades-Malers in Malibu (Abb. 5)¹¹ zeigt eine abweichende Haltung der Arme und eine unterschiedliche Zeichnung der Hüftmuskulatur. Während die in die Taille gestemmtten Arme und die sich über der Hüfte vorwölbenden Muskeln des Atlas die Belastung erkennen lassen, weisen die hochgezogenen Oberarme und die

gestreckte Hüftpartie des Münchener Titanen eher auf einen hängenden Körper. Die gestrichelten Linien unterhalb der Bartspitze des Prometheus könnten die Verwundung durch den Adler des Zeus angeben.



Abb. 5. Volutenkrater des Kleophrades-Malers, Malibu, Getty Museum 77.AE.11. Foto: Museum.

Im *Prometheus Desmotes* des Aischylos¹² wird der teilnehmende Chor von Okeaniden gebildet, so dass sich diese Benennung auch für die Helferinnen auf dem Vasenbild anbietet, wobei die ungewöhnliche Nacktheit der Nymphen auf ihr Element, das Wasser, hinweisen könnte. Dass Prometheus in dieser Tragödie an einen Felsen angeschmiedet wird, ist ein Bruch mit der älteren Tradition, und es gibt gute Gründe anzunehmen, dass diese neue Form der Bestrafung für das Theater erfunden wurde.¹³ Um die Übereinstimmungen des Münchener Vasenbildes mit dem *Prometheus Desmotes*, der mindestens 35 Jahre später entstanden ist,¹⁴ zu erklären, wurde vermutet, dass der Vasenmaler von einem früheren Prometheusdrama angeregt worden sein könnte,¹⁵ vielleicht von einer verlorenen Tragödie des Phrynichos,¹⁶ von der wir allerdings kein weiteres Zeugnis haben. Für den *Prometheus Desmotes* würde diese Erklärung bedeuten, dass Aischylos sowohl mit dem Chor der Okeaniden wie mit der An Schmiedung des Prometheus an einen Felsen auf eine ältere Tradition zurückgegriffen hat. Die Deutung des Münchener Vasenbildes ist somit von einiger Tragweite. Beide Vorschläge sollen daher nochmals im Rahmen der jeweiligen ikonographischen Tradition überprüft werden.

Gesicherte archaische Darstellungen des Prometheus sind nicht sehr zahlreich. Die frühesten finden sich auf zwei außerattischen Denkmälern, die um die Mitte oder ins dritte Viertel des 7. Jhs. datiert

werden: Auf einem lakonischen Elfenbeinrelief aus dem Heiligtum der Artemis Orthia¹⁷ kniet Prometheus mit weit zurückgelehntem Körper auf dem Boden und stützt sich mit den Armen nach hinten, wobei seine Körpermitte von einem senkrechten Pfahl durchbohrt wird. Das bartlose Gesicht des Titanen ist dem Betrachter zugewandt; ob die Hände und Füße gefesselt waren, ist nicht mehr zu erkennen. Aus der rechten oberen Ecke stürzt sich ein Adler mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln auf die hilflose Figur und hackt ihr mit dem Schnabel in die rechte Seite. Auf einer Inselgemme aus Kreta, von der nur noch ein Abdruck im Britischen Museum erhalten ist,¹⁸ sitzt Prometheus mit angezogenen Knien auf dem Boden. Seine Hände sind hinter dem Rücken zusammengebunden, so dass er den anfliegenden Adler nicht abwehren kann. Mehrere Schildbänder aus Olympia¹⁹ und eines aus Bötien,²⁰ die in die erste Hälfte bis um die Mitte des 6. Jhs. datiert werden, zeigen Prometheus in ähnlicher Haltung. Er sitzt nach rechts oder links auf einer flachen mit Voluten verzierten Basis, einem Schemel mit Löwenfüßen oder auf dem Boden, seine Hände sind hinter dem Rücken gefesselt, die Knie mehr oder weniger hochgestellt; einmal kann man erkennen, dass die Füße ebenfalls gefesselt sind. Mit den Schultern lehnt Prometheus an der seitlichen Begrenzung des Bildfeldes, und sein Körper ist schutzlos dem anfliegenden Adler ausgeliefert.

Zwischen 560 und 550 ist schließlich die wichtigste der außerattischen Darstellungen entstanden, die großartige lakonische Schale des Arkesilas-Malers im Vatikan (Abb. 6).²¹ Die Gegenüberstellung der Brüder Atlas und Prometheus erinnert hier wie bei keinem anderen Bildwerk an die Verse der Theogonie, mit denen Hesiod die Söhne des Titanen Iapetos und der Okeanide Klymene vorstellt:²²



Abb. 6. Lakonische Schale des Arkesilas-Malers, Vatikan 16592. Foto: Alinari 35838.



Abb. 7. Tyrrhenischer Kolonettenkrater mit Ausguss, Berlin F 1722. Foto: Jutta Tietz Glagow.

»Atlas hält aus Zwang den weit sich dehnenden Himmel
 Dort an den Grenzen der Erde, beim Sange der Hesperiden,
 Stehet und trägt mit dem Haupt und den unermüdlichen Händen.
 Das ist das Los, das Zeus der Berater dem Atlas beschieden.
 Aber mit quälenden Fesseln und unzerreißbaren Banden

Fesselte Zeus an die Säule den Arglistsinner Prometheus.
Darauf sandt' er den Adler heran mit den mächtigen Flügeln,
Der an unsterblicher Leber ihm fraß: doch immer des Nachts wuchs
So viel, als bis zum Ende des Tages der Vogel verzehrte.«

Auf dem Vasenbild trägt Atlas wie bei Hesiod den weiten Himmel, dargestellt als ein wolkenartiges Gebilde, das er zugleich mit der rechten Schulter, dem Kopf und der linken Hand stützt. Dabei geht er etwas in die Knie, wodurch die ungeheure Last veranschaulicht wird. Seine Haare, die bis zu den Hüften herabreichen, erzählen von der unendlich langen Zeit, die er dieses Los zu erdulden hat. Der Himmel, der in einem schmaler werdenden Bogen hinter dem Kopf des Prometheus in die Umrahmung des Bildes übergeht, ist mit roten Punkten übersät, die Sterne andeuten. Vielleicht kann man die Schlange hinter Atlas als Hinweis auf die Nähe der singenden Hesperiden deuten, denn ihre goldenen Äpfel wurden von einer Schlange bewacht.²³

Die unglückliche Haltung des jugendlich unbärtigen Prometheus, der mit angewinkelten Beinen schräg an einer Säule lehnt, wird durch die Fesseln erzwungen, mit denen seine Handgelenke und Knöchel an der Säule befestigt sind. Der Adler sitzt mit ausgebreiteten Schwingen auf seinem rechten Oberschenkel, wobei die formelhafte Silhouette des Riesenvogels geschickt zwischen die beiden Titanensöhne eingefügt ist. Eine Wunde ist nicht angegeben, aber das mit kurzen roten Strichen charakterisierte Blut fließt reichlich von der Brust herab und sammelt sich in einer Lache am Boden. Die Hände und Füße des Prometheus sind auf der lakonischen Schale nicht nur zusammengebunden wie sonst, sondern die Enden der Fesseln sind in kunstvoller Weise mehrfach um die Mitte der Säule geschlungen. Mit diesem auffallenden Detail bezieht sich der Maler ganz offensichtlich auf die Formulierung bei Hesiod (Theog. 521–522), wo es heißt:

δῆσε δ' ἄλυκτοπέδησι Προμηθέα ποικιλόβουλον δεσμοῖς
ἀργαλέοισι, μέσον διὰ κίων' ἐλάσσας·

Das μέσον διὰ κίων' ἐλάσσας versteht der Arkesilas-Maler ebenso wie auch einige der modernen Übersetzer, dass die Fesseln um die Mitte der Säule gebunden wurden.²⁴ Es könnte auch heißen, dass die Fesseln mitten durch die Säule gezogen wurden.²⁵ Grammatikalisch lässt sich das μέσον διὰ auch auf die Fesseln beziehen, wobei dann die Säule oder ein Pfosten mitten durch die Fesseln getrieben würde,²⁶ und schließlich auch auf Prometheus: dann müsste der Pfosten mitten durch seinen Körper getrieben worden sein.²⁷

Die letzte Lesart ist nicht so abwegig, wie es manchem erscheint, denn die attischen Darstellungen der Prometheussage zeigen in archaischer Zeit eindeutig die Pfählung des Titanen.²⁸ Sie beginnen am

Ende des 7. Jhs. mit dem prachtvollen Skyphos-Krater des Nessos-Malers aus Vari und einem verwandten Fragment,²⁹ dann folgen im zweiten Viertel des 6. Jhs. drei tyrrhenische Amphoren und ein tyrrhenischer Kolonettenkrater mit Ausguß (Abb. 7; Farbtaf. 14C).³⁰ Bei diesen Beispielen sitzt Prometheus nicht auf dem Boden, sondern er steckt auf einem dicken oder dünneren Pfahl, welcher der Länge nach durch seinen Körper getrieben ist, und sowohl unter seinem Gesäß sowie im Nacken zum Vorschein kommt (einmal über dem Kopf). Zusätzlich sind manchmal noch seine Hände und Füße zusammengebunden, öfter sind sie frei bewegt dargestellt. Da Prometheus in keiner dieser Darstellungen an den Pfahl gefesselt ist, kann er in seiner absonderlichen Haltung nur einen Gefährten wiedergeben. Diese entwürdigende Bestrafung, die in der griechischen Welt sonst unbekannt ist, erinnert an den Ursprung der Prometheussage im Alten Orient, wo die Pfählung besiegtter Feinde keine Ausnahme war.³¹ Eine solche Tortur war natürlich nicht für die praktische Durchführung auf der Bühne geeignet, so dass Aischylos für seine Prometheustragödie eine andere Form der Bestrafung einführen musste und die Pfählung durch das Anschmieden an den Felsen ersetzt hat. Eine Anspielung auf die Pfählung ist allerdings auch im *Prometheus Desmotes* beibehalten worden, wenn Kratos dem Hephaistos befiehlt, einen stählernen Keil mit voller Kraft durch die Brust des Prometheus zu treiben.³²

Der entscheidende Unterschied zu den außerattischen Darstellungen archaischer Zeit ist jedoch nicht die Art der Bestrafung, sondern dass Prometheus auf allen attischen Denkmälern von Herakles befreit wird.³³ In Athen hatte Prometheus seinen bedeutendsten Kult,³⁴ und seine Verehrung als Gott, die sich auf Athen beschränkt, war unvereinbar mit der Vorstellung von dem ewigen Büsser, als der er auf den außerattischen Denkmälern erscheint. Zu seinen Ehren wurde das Fest der Prometheia mit Fackelläufen gefeiert, und Sophokles erwähnt einen Kultplatz des Prometheus am Kolonos Hippios und nennt ihn *πυρφόρος θεὸς Τῖτάν Προμηθεύς*.³⁵ Der antike Kommentar zu dieser Stelle erwähnt eine alte Basis am Eingang zum Kultplatz mit einem Relief, das Prometheus und Hephaistos sowie ihren gemeinsamen Altar zeigte, wobei Prometheus als der ältere und ehrwürdigere mit einem Szepter in der Rechten dargestellt war.³⁶ In göttlicher Würde, mit langem Chiton und Mantel, bekränzt und mit Szepter, erscheint er auch schon um 470 v.Chr. im Innenbild einer Durisschale im Cabinet des Médailles,³⁷ wo ihn die thronende Hera mit einer Spende empfängt.

Die attische Tradition, nach der Prometheus nie als ewiger Büsser dargestellt wurde, ist das wichtigste Argument gegen die Deutung des Titanen auf der Münchener Amphora als Prometheus, aber nicht das

einzig. Auch wenn die gestrichelten Linien auf der Brust des Riesen nicht die Behaarung, sondern die Verletzung durch den Adler andeuten sollten,³⁸ wäre das keine ausreichende Erklärung für das Fehlen des Adlers. Der Titan kann gepfählt oder gefesselt, kniend, sitzend oder halb stehend dargestellt sein, aber der Adler mit den ausgebreiteten Schwingen (αἰετὸς τανύπτερος)³⁹ fehlt in keiner attischen noch außerattischen Darstellung des Büßers, er ist das sicherste Kennzeichen aller archaischen Prometheusbilder. Die Füße des Riesen sind auf der Münchener Amphora nicht erhalten, aber wenn man die Standlinie durchzieht, ist der Abstand für hängende Füße entschieden zu gering, er reicht gerade um die Füße fest auf dem Boden stehend zu ergänzen. Die gelängte Hüftpartie erklärt sich unschwer als Folge der angestrengt erhobenen Oberarme. Schließlich gibt es keinerlei Spuren von Fesseln, mit denen der Titan an den Felsen angeschmiedet sein könnte.

Wir wollen uns daher dem zweiten Vorschlag zuwenden, und das Münchener Vasenbild mit den archaischen Darstellungen des Atlas vergleichen. Außer der lakonischen Schale des Arkesilas-Malers (Abb. 6), auf der die Brüder Atlas und Prometheus als ewige Büßer wiedergegeben sind, zeigen die archaischen Bildwerke Atlas nur im Rahmen von Herakles' Hesperidenabenteuer. Auf der Kypseloslade,⁴⁰ einem der frühesten Beispiele, trug Atlas Himmel und Erde und hielt außerdem die Äpfel der Hesperiden, während Herakles mit dem Schwert auf ihn zukam. Diese Darstellung setzt eine Sagenversion voraus, nach der Atlas die goldenen Äpfel für Herakles geholt hat, entspricht jedoch nicht der später geläufigen Version, nach der er, von Herakles überlistet, die Äpfel aus der Hand legt, bevor er den Himmel noch mal übernimmt, damit sich jener ein Kissen unterschieben kann.⁴¹

Diese List oder eine ähnliche ist zweifellos auf der Lippenschale des Nearchos in Berner Privatbesitz (Abb. 8)⁴² dargestellt, die kurz vor der Mitte des 6. Jhs. entstanden ist. Herakles ist hier schon im Besitz der goldenen Äpfel, was die Beischrift MELAΦΕΠΕΣ verrät,⁴³ und er enteilt mit gewaltigem Schritt, wobei er sein spitzbübisches Gesicht zu Atlas zurückwendet, der die Chance, seinem Schicksal zu entkommen, verspielt hat und weiterhin die Last des Himmels tragen muss. In der treffsicheren Zeichnung des Nearchos ist der Triumph des Herakles über Atlas unübersehbar. Auch die Beischrift ATLA HODE, Atlas, der da' erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang wie Spott. Der Himmel wird auf dieser Schale allein durch die Haltung des Titanen veranschaulicht, der sich mit dem Kopf und den in die Hüfte gestützten Armen so gegen die Umrahmung des Tondos stemmt als wäre sie das Himmelsgewölbe.⁴⁴ Dieselbe Sagenversion liegt auch den drei Schildbandreliefs zugrunde, die alle von derselben Matrize

abgeformt sind und um 540 datiert werden.⁴⁵ Hier steht Atlas aufrecht am linken Bildrand und stützt den Himmel mit dem Kopf und beiden Händen. Das Himmelsgewölbe ist nur durch eine dünne Bogenlinie in der linken Ecke des Bildfeldes angedeutet, ansonsten übernimmt die Bildbegrenzung, ähnlich wie bei der Nearchoschale, die Bedeutung des Himmels. Rechts von Atlas entfernt sich Herakles zurückblickend, wobei er die linke Hand mit den winzigen Äpfeln vor die Brust hält. Er ist in voller Ausrüstung wiedergegeben und schreitet entschlossen von dannen. Am rechten Bildrand, im Hintergrund, steht seine Schutzgöttin Athena und bekundet ihre Anteilnahme mit erhobener Hand. Eine frühere Phase dieses Abenteuers, in welcher der Ausgang noch nicht entschieden ist, finden wir schon vor der Olympiametope, auf einer weißgrundigen Lekythos des Athena-Malers⁴⁶ am Beginn des 5. Jhs. Hier wie dort trägt Herakles stellvertretend die Last des Himmels, während Atlas die goldenen Äpfel bringt.

Eine andere Sagenversion, in der Herakles die goldenen Äpfel ohne die Hilfe des Atlas erringt,⁴⁷ ist schon auf einer tyrrenischen Amphora des Guglielmi-Malers in Princeton überliefert (Abb. 9–10; Farbtaf. 14).⁴⁸ Im Schulterfries kämpft Herakles mit dem Schwert gegen eine vielköpfige Schlange, die einen Baum voll weißer Früchte besetzt hält und nach allen Seiten verteidigt. Unter dem Baum steht die Eule der Athena dem Herakles zur Seite. Von rechts eilt eine große männliche Figur mit Bart, weißem Chiton und rotem Mantel auf den Apfelbaum zu und schwingt mit erhobenem Arm einen weißen Kranz; hinter ihm steht eine kleinere Frauenfigur.⁴⁹ In der rechten Bildhälfte, abgetrennt durch ein Bäumchen ohne Früchte, stützt Atlas mit beiden Händen den Himmel, der als schwarze Platte mit weißem Rand wiedergegeben ist. Er steht nach rechts, wendet sich aber nach links, so dass sein Oberkörper mit den erhobenen Armen in Vorderansicht erscheint. Rechts und links von ihm steht abgewandt je eine Hesperide, die beide mit ihren hochgereckten weißen Armen dem Titanen helfen, den Himmel zu tragen. Atlas ist hier nicht an dem Heraklesabenteuer beteiligt, er kennzeichnet nur die Grenzen der Welt,⁵⁰ wo sich das Abenteuer abspielt. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Skulpturengruppe aus Zedernholz des spartanischen Holzschnitzers Theokles, ein Weihgeschenk der Epidamier in Olympia, das ins mittlere 6. Jhs. datiert wird.⁵¹ Die Eleer sollen fünf Hesperiden dieser Gruppe vom Schatzhaus der Epidamier ins Heraion gebracht haben, wo Pausanias sie noch gesehen hat. Nach Pausanias (6.19.8 und 5.17.2) zeigte das Bildwerk Atlas, der den Himmel trug und daneben Herakles mit dem Baum der Hesperiden, um den sich die Schlange wand. Die Zuordnung des Herakles zum Baum der Hesperiden und die Wiedergabe der Schlange bedeuten, dass Herakles hier, ebenso wie auf der tyrrenischen Amphora (Abb. 9–10), die goldenen Äpfel ohne

Atlas' Hilfe erringt. Das dritte archaische Beispiel eines Atlas, der eine passive Rolle beim Hesperidenabenteuer einnimmt, findet sich auf dem schon genannten Volutenkrater des Kleophrades-Malers in Malibu (Abb. 5),⁵² dessen Hals auf der einen Seite in beiden Zonen mit Heraklestaten bemalt ist. In der unteren Zone kämpft Herakles gegen die Hydra, gegen Geryoneus und auch gegen den hundertköpfigen Ladon, der den Apfelbaum beschützt, während Atlas unbeteiligt rechts von der Kampfszene steht. Er ist in Frontalansicht mit in die Seite gestützten Händen wiedergegeben und trug den Himmel, der hier von der oberen Bildbegrenzung mit der vorkragenden oberen Halszone vertreten wird, allein mit dem Kopf. Leider ist der Kopf nicht erhalten, so dass wir nicht wissen, ob Atlas ihn dem Kampf zugewandt hatte oder ob er frontal wiedergegeben war.



Abb. 8. Lippenschale des Nearchos, Bern, Privatsammlung. Foto: Jürg Zbinden.

Der Überblick über die archaischen Darstellungen zeigt, dass mehrere ikonographische Merkmale, die für die Figur des Atlas charakteristisch sind, bei dem Titanen auf der Amphora München

1540 wiederkehren. Im Unterschied zu Prometheus wird Atlas immer stehend dargestellt. Er stützt den Himmel vor allem mit dem Kopf, aber auch mit den Händen, Schultern und Oberarmen. Auf der Schale des Nearchos (Abb. 8) und auf den Schildbändern vertritt die Bildbegrenzung den Himmel, beim Volutenkrater des Kleophrades-Malers (Abb. 5) ist es die vorkragende obere Halszone. Die Frontalität findet sich beim Atlas des Kleophrades-Malers, und ansatzweise auch auf der tyrrhenischen Amphora (Abb. 9–10; Farbt. 12), bei der auch schon zwei Hesperiden auftreten, die Atlas beim Tragen des Himmels unterstützen.



Abb. 9–10. Tyrrhenische Amphora des Guglielmi-Malers, Princeton University Art Museum 2001–218. Foto: Bruce M. White.

Obwohl das Motiv der in die Seite gestützten Hände auch auf den Darstellungen des Arkesilas-Malers (Abb. 6; hier ist es nur eine Hand), des Nearchos (Abb. 8) sowie des Kleophrades-Malers (Abb. 5) vorkommt, verlangt die zwanghafte Haltung des Titanen auf der Münchener Amphora eine Erklärung. Eine Profilaufnahme dieses Gefäßes (Abb. 2; Farbt. 12B)⁵³ macht deutlich, dass die waagerechte Linie seiner Schultern und Oberarme mit dem Ansatz der Gefäßschulter übereinstimmt, so dass die horizontale, leicht gewölbte Gefäßschulter die Bedeutung des Himmelsgewölbes übernimmt, das Atlas mit den Schultern stützt. Dass die Gefäßschulter in die Darstellung einbezogen wird und auch eine konkrete Bedeutung im Bild übernehmen kann, ist gerade in der Entstehungszeit der Münchener Amphora nicht ganz ungewöhnlich.⁵⁴ Auch das Tragen des Himmelsgewölbes mit dem Kopf und mit den Schultern hat eine Tradition, die auf den Schalenbildern des Arkesilas-Malers (Abb. 6) und des Nearchos (Abb. 8) bezeugt ist. Allerdings hat der Maler der Münchener Amphora das gleichzeitige Tragen mit dem Kopf und mit den Schultern in der Vorderansicht nicht überzeugend gelöst, denn es erscheint unlogisch, dass der Himmel gleichzeitig durch die Amphorenschulter und die obere Bildbegrenzung vertreten wird.⁵⁵ Vermutlich ist der Maler der Münchener Amphora von einer Vorstellung des Atlas ausgegangen, wie sie auf dem Volutenkrater des

Kleophrades-Malers (Abb. 5) überliefert ist: der Titan in Frontalansicht mit in die Seite gestützten Armen, eingespannt zwischen der Standlinie und der oberen Bildbegrenzung, die den Himmel vertritt. Diese Vorstellung hat er dem Bildträger angepasst, indem er dem Titanen auch noch die Amphorenschulter als Himmelslast aufgebürdet hat, wobei die waagrecht erhobenen Oberarme das Tragen derselben verdeutlichen. Zugleich betont die Gefäßwölbung an dieser Stelle die mächtigen Schultern und Oberarme des Atlas.

Die angestrengt hochgezogenen Arme machen die Haltung des Atlas jedoch instabil und für die Ewigkeit ungeeignet, so dass die Hinzufügung der beiden Stützfiguren notwendig wurde. Der Gedanke, dass zwei Hesperiden beim Tragen des Himmels helfen, war nicht neu, wie die tyrrhenische Amphora in Philadelphia (Abb. 9–10; Farbtaf. 14) zeigt. Da die archaischen Atlasdarstellungen grundsätzlich in den Rahmen des Hesperidenabenteuers gehören, konnte der Betrachter die Stützfiguren sofort als Hesperiden erkennen. Dargestellt waren sie auch in der Skulpturengruppe des Theokles im Schatzhaus der Epidamier und in vielen späteren Bildern des Herklesabenteuers oder des Hesperidengartens alleine.⁵⁶ Auch bei Hesiod, wo das Abenteuer des Herakles nicht erwähnt wird, steht Atlas an den Grenzen der Erde »bei den singenden Hesperiden«.⁵⁷ Später werden die Hesperiden sogar als Töchter des Atlas genannt.⁵⁸

Die Darstellung des Atlas auf der Halsamphora München 1540 ist nicht von besonderem künstlerischen Rang, interessant und einzigartig ist sie jedoch durch zwei Besonderheiten: durch die Nacktheit der Hesperiden und dadurch, dass Atlas unabhängig von Herakles' Hesperidenabenteuer abgebildet ist.

Hesperiden sind im 6. und 5. Jh. regelmäßig bekleidet, erst im 4. Jh. gleitet ihnen gelegentlich das Gewand herab, so dass sie halbentblößt oder auch nackt dargestellt sind.⁵⁹ Dasselbe gilt auch für Nereiden und Okenaniden, deren Beziehung zum Wasser keinen Vasenmaler veranlasst hat, sie vor dem 4. Jh. halbnackt oder nackt abzubilden.⁶⁰ Allein die Nymphen im Kreis des Dionysos⁶¹ und Kirke⁶² können schon in archaischer Zeit nackt dargestellt werden, wobei ihre Nacktheit ebenso wie bei sterblichen Frauen eindeutig erotischen Charakter hat, denn bis zum dritten Viertel des 6. Jhs. werden sterbliche Frauen und dionysische Nymphen nur bei sexuellen Aktivitäten oder in Situationen, die diesen unmittelbar vorausgehen, nackt abgebildet. Erst unter dem Einfluss der rotfigurigen Malweise wird auch die Darstellung des nackten weiblichen Körpers an sich interessant.⁶³ Wir begegnen daher seit dem letzten Viertel des 6. Jhs. auch nackten Frauen und dionysischen Nymphen ohne szenischen Zusammenhang,⁶⁴ oder Frauen, deren Nacktheit dadurch motiviert

wird, dass sie sich waschen oder schwimmen.⁶⁵ Die erotische Konnotation der Nacktheit bleibt in diesen Bildern erhalten, aber in vielen Fällen lassen sich die Frauen nicht mehr eindeutig als Hetären oder dionysische Nymphen identifizieren.⁶⁶ Am Ende des 6. Jhs. zeugt eine Lekythos des Sappho-Malers⁶⁷ mit der Darstellung einer nackten Nymphe, die einen Fisch hält und auf einem Panther reitet, von einer Vorstellungswelt, die auch nackte Hesperiden nicht ausschließt.⁶⁸

Das Münchener Amphorenbild ist in der archaischen attischen Bildkunst die einzige vom Hesperidenabenteuer des Herakles losgelöste Darstellung des Atlas. Wir haben gesehen, dass bei der Sagenversion, bei der Herakles die goldenen Äpfel alleine erringt, Atlas als Nebenfigur abseits steht und nur den Ort des Geschehens, die Grenze der Welt kennzeichnet. Der Guglielmi-Maler (Abb. 10; Farbtaf. 14B) hat ihn in gedrehter Haltung mit frontalem Oberkörper abgebildet und ihm zwei Hesperiden zur Seite gestellt, die ihm helfen, den Himmel zu tragen. Der Kleophrades-Maler (Abb. 5) hat ihn, so weit erhalten, in Vorderansicht dargestellt, wodurch die Statik des Tragens und die Unausweichlichkeit seines Schicksals zum Ausdruck gebracht werden. Zugleich distanziert die Frontalität diese Figur vom Heraklesabenteuer. Die Übereinstimmungen mit diesen beiden Vasenbildern erweisen die Atlasdarstellung auf der Münchener Amphora als ein Zitat aus dem Hesperidenabenteuer, deren Wohnort an den Grenzen der Erde (περίρτα γαίης) er kennzeichnet.⁶⁹ Diese Ortsangabe ist als eigenes Bildthema schwer verständlich. Nehmen wir jedoch die andere Amphoreenseite (Abb. 1; Farbentaf. 13A) mit dem stürmisch voranschreitenden Dionysos und seinem Begleiter hinzu, so könnte auf diesem Gefäß der Siegeszug des Gottes bis zu den Grenzen der Erde dargestellt sein.⁷⁰

Dank

Besonderer Dank gebührt Michael Padgett, dem ich die Kenntnis der unveröffentlichten tyrrhenische Amphora in Princeton (Abb. 9–10; Farbtaf. 14) verdanke. Er hat mir auch Einsicht in ein Manuskript gewährt, in dem er diese Amphora ausführlichen veröffentlichen wird. Für kostenlose Fotos bzw. deren Publikationserlaubnis danke ich Ines Jucker und Jürg Zbinden (Bern), Anne-Claire Laronde (Boulogne-sur-Mer) und Florian Knauß (München). Nicht zuletzt möchte ich John Oakley und Olga Palagia sehr herzlich für die Einladung zu der Vasenkonferenz und für ihre Bemühungen um die Veröffentlichung der Vorträge danken.

Abkürzungen

Herakles und Atlas auf einer Schale des Nearchos in Bern,
in: U. Höckmann – A. Krug (Hrsg.), Festschrift für Frank Brommer
(1977).

Künze-Götze 1992, Der Kleophrades-Maler unter Malern schwarzfiguriger Amphoren. Eine Werkstattstudie (1992).

Palmer, P. 2008. Princeton University Art Museum: Handbook of the Collections (2008) 76–77.

Anmerkungen

ICVA München 8 Taf. 428,2; 429. 430,5 Beil. F 10; Kunze-Götte 1992, 144 (IV, 21) Taf. 56.1.

2Beazley hat im Umkreis des Antimenes-Malers sieben Amphoren als »The Group of Compiègne 988« zusammengestellt: ABV 285; Para 125; BAdd² 74, und schreibt dazu »Near the Group of Toronto 305, but with a vigorous, almost Leagran, strain«. E. Kunze-Götte hat in ihrer sorgsam und differenzierten Studie zur Atalante-Werkstatt zwei dieser Amphoren als Werke desselben Malers erkannt (»Maler von Compiègne 988«), dem sie noch drei weitere Amphoren zuweist, darunter auch München 1540: Kunze-Götte 1992. 96–100.

3CVA München 8 S. 89; Kunze-Götte 1992, 57–76; zur Beziehung zwischen den beiden Malern ebenda 97f.

4Vgl. z.B. München 8732 (2344): ARV² 182,6. 1632; Para 340; BAdd² 186; R. Lullies, Griechische Vasen der reifarchaischen Zeit (1953) Abb. 36–47, oder Harvard 1960.236: ARV² 185,31; BAdd² 187; K. Schefold, Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst (1981) 128f. Abb. 162–163.

5Vgl. CVA München 8 S. 89.

6Die behaarte Brust ist mit der doppelt gestrichelten Linie angedeutet, die in der Mitte der Brust senkrecht nach unten führt und sich am unteren Rand gabelt und so den Zwickel zwischen den beiden Brustmuskeln umschreibt, vgl. zum gestrichelten Brusthaar z.B. das des Skiron auf der weißgrundigen Lekythos Berlin Inv. 1984.61: CVA Berlin 8 Taf. 6,4. Die glatte Linie links davon scheint mir eine Beschädigung zu sein; anders E. Kunze-Götte. CVA München 8 S. 88.

Die kleine Ritzlinie dicht unter der Nase der linken Frauenfigur ist nicht ihr Mund, sondern eine Beschädigung.

SLIMC III (1986) 8 Nr. 22 Taf. 9, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos); LIMC VII (1994) 548 Nr. 121, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler); ebenso LIMC V (1990) 403 Nr. 72, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee). Eine weitere Möglichkeit schlägt N. Himmelmann vor (Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst, *JdI* 28.Ergh. [1994] 37 Anm. 60): er deutet den nachten Reisen als Trunkenen.

9D. Bremer, in: N. Holzberg – N. Mayer u.a. (Hrsg.), *Ut poesis pictura II*, Festschrift Werner Suerbaum (1993) 99–105: für diesen Hinweis danke ich Bert Kaeser.

10E. Kunze-Götte, CVA München 8 S. 87–89; K. Schefold, Götter-und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst (1978) 53 Abb. 57; Y. Korshak, Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period (1987) 34. 66 (Nr. 223) 139 Abb. 86; M. Pipili, Laconian Iconography of the Sixth Century B.C. (1987) 35 Anm. 349; D. Bremer, Aischylos, Prometheus in Fesseln (1988) Abb. 2; F. Stoessl, Der Prometheus des Aischylos als geistesgeschichtliches und theatergeschichtliches Phänomen, *Palingenesia* 24, 1988, 40f. Nr. 14; M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *BABesch* 64, 1989, 44; K. Danali-Giole, *OpAth* 18, 1990, 42 Abb. 5. 44; Kunze-Götte 1992, 144 (IV, 21); LIMC VII (1994) 30–31 Nr. 10, s.v. Okeanides (L. Kahil – N. Icard-Gianolio).

- 11The J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.11, Villa Collection, Gift of Gordon McLaren: ARV² 186–187,51–52; BAdd² 188; LIMC III (1986) 5 Nr. 8 Taf. 7, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos); LIMC V (1990) 7 Nr. 1702 Taf. 9, s.v. Herakles (J. Boardman); 101 Nr. 2680, s.v. Herakles (G. Kokkorou-Alewrass).
- 12Die Urheberschaft des Aischylos wird bei dem überlieferten Text angezweifelt, hierzu siehe A. Lesky, Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen³ (1972) 141–145; M. Griffith, The Authenticity of 'Prometheus Bound' (1977); R. Bees, Zur Datierung des Prometheus Desmotes, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 38 (1993).
- 13A. Kossatz-Deissmann, Dramen des Aischylos auf westgriechischen Vasen (1978) 136 mit Anm. 788.
- 14Lesky (supra Anm. 12) 145f., der eine Datierung zwischen den Sieben (467) und der Orestie (458) vertritt; vgl. D.F. Sutton, GrRomByzSt 24, 1983, 289–294.
- 15Schefold (supra Anm. 10) 53. Eine literarische Quelle als Anregung für den Vasenmaler fordert auch Stoessl (supra Anm.10).
- 16Danali-Giole (supra Anm. 10); LIMC VII (1994) 553, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 17LIMC VII (1994) 536 Nr. 30 Taf. 423, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 18LIMC VII (1994) 536 Nr. 25 Taf. 422, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 19LIMC VII (1994) 536 Nr. 26–28 Abb. Taf. 422, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 20LIMC VII (1994) 536 Nr. 29, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler); M. Holleaux, BCH 16, 1892, 351 Taf. 10.
- 21LIMC VII (1994) 539 Nr. 54 Taf. 424, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler), mit weiteren Hinweisen; siehe vor allem C.M. Stibbe, Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v.Chr. (1972) 280 Nr. 196 Taf. 63, zur Datierung um 555 v.Chr. ebenda 109; Pipili (supra Anm. 10) 34–35 Nr. 92.
- 22Hes. Theog. 517–525; Übersetzung von R. Peppmüller, Hesiodos 122f. (1896). Zu Iapetos und Klymene siehe V. 507–511.
- 23Hes. Theog. 333–336; T. Gelzer, MusHelv 36, 1979, 175f.; vgl. Pipili (supra Anm. 10) 35.
- 24z.B. P. Mazon, Hésiode (1951) 51: »Zeus le chargea de liens inextricables, entraves douloureuses qu'il enroula à mi-hauteur d'une colonne«; T. Gelzer, MusHelv 36, 1979, 174.
- 25z.B. M.L. West, Hesiod, Theogony and Works and Days (1988) 18: »And he bound crafty Prometheus in inescapable fetters, grievous bonds, driving them through the middle of a pillar.«; K. Albert, Hesiod, Theogonie, Texte zur Philosophie 1 (1990) 89: »Den verschlagenen Prometheus aber fesselte er mit unauflöslichen Banden, mit schmerzenden Fesseln, nachdem er die Mitte einer Säule durchbohrt hatte«.
- 26z.B. W. Marg, Hesiod. Sämtliche Gedichte² (1984) 55: »Mit unzerbrechbaren Klammern aber band er Prometheus, / Den vielfältig planenden, / Und trieb einen Pfosten / Mitten durch die schlimmen Fesseln«.
- 27z.B. H.G. Evelyn-White, in: Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homeric, The Loeb Classical Library (1914), ⁹(1964) 117: »And ready-witted Prometheus he bound with inextricable bonds, cruel chains, and drove a shaft through his middle«; so auch Harms, zitiert bei H. Schaal, Griechische Vasen I (1930) 10: »Band auch den list'gen Prometheus mit nimmer zu lösenden Fesseln, / Schmerzvollen Banden: er trieb einen Pfahl durch die Mitte des Leibes«; vgl. RE XXIII,1 (1957) 658, s.v. Prometheus (W. Kraus); M.L. West, Hesiod, Theogony (1966) 312 ad V. 522.
- 28Das wurde schon von F.G. Welcker, Alte Denkmäler III (1851) 193; O. Jahn, AZ 16, 1858, 165f. und A. Furtwängler, Kleine Schriften II (1913) 136f. (»in ganz unzweideutiger Weise gepfählt«) erkannt und später von vielen anderen, die sich näher mit dem Thema beschäftigt haben, bestätigt, z.B. Schefold (supra Anm. 10) 52; S. Mayer-Emmerling, Erzählende Darstellungen auf "tyrrhenischen" Vasen

- (Diss. Frankfurt, 1982) 63; G. Ahlberg-Cornell, Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art (1992) 132; LIMC VII (1994) 550, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 29LIMC VII (1994) 539–540 Nr. 57–58 Taf. 424, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 30Antikensammlung F 1722: CVA Berlin 7 Taf. 6. 7. 8, 1–2 Beil. A; LIMC VII (1994) 541–542 Nr. 67–70 Taf. 425–426, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler).
- 31Zur Pfählung im Alten Orient: K. Oberhuber, Die Kultur des Alten Orients, Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte II (1972) 282–283 Abb. 167; J.B. Pritchard, The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament² (1969) 293 Nr. 368 Taf. 128; für diese beiden Hinweise danke ich Karin Geppert. Zum orientalischen Ursprung der Prometheussage: J. Duchemin, Prométhée. Histoire du Myth, de ses Origines orientales à ses Incarnations modernes (1974) 33–46. 59f.; vgl. West (supra Anm. 25) 314f.; S. Stiasny, Die Pfählung. Eine Form der Todesstrafe (1903) 3–7.
- 32Aesch. PV 64–65.
- 33Die Verse der Theogonie (526–534), in denen von der Befreiung des Prometheus erzählt wird, stehen schon lange im Verdacht, später interpoliert worden zu sein, siehe z.B. Roscher, ML III,2 (1897–1909) 3043, s.v. Prometheus (K. Bapp), und es wurde auch vermutet, dass es sich um die attische Redaktion des Hesiodtextes handeln könnte, bei dem die Befreiung des Prometheus hinzugedichtet worden ist, vgl. CVA Berlin 7 zu Taf. 6 mit weiteren Hinweisen. Die spätere Einfügung dieser und der vorausgehenden Verse ist allerdings sehr umstritten, vgl. West (supra Anm. 25) 313.
- Die einzige außerattische Befreiung des Prometheus in vorklassischer Zeit, findet sich auf einer sf. böotischen Schale des frühen 5. Jhs. v.Chr.: LIMC VII (1994) 542 Nr. 71 Taf. 426, s.v. Prometheus (J.-R. Gisler); J.-D. Cahn AG, Auktion 4, 19. Okt. 2002 Nr. 231 Taf. 26–27, deren Zeichner attische Vorbilder nachahmt, wobei er jedoch die Pfählung missverstanden hat und Prometheus an den Pfahl angelehnt, bzw. gefesselt wiedergibt; Herakles löst m.E. nicht die Fesseln, sondern zielt wie gewohnt mit dem Pfeil auf den Adler, vgl. den Bogenschützen auf der Gegenseite.
- 34Zum Prometheuskult: RE XXIII,1 (1957) 654–656, s.v. Prometheus (W. Kraus); Kossatz-Deissmann (supra Anm. 13) 130f.
- 35Soph. OC 55–56.
- 36FGrHist 366 F 4; zitiert in RE XXIII,1 (1957), s.v. 654 Prometheus (W. Kraus); vgl. E. Simon, Die Götter der Griechen (1969) 215f. Auch im *Prometheus Desmotes* wird dieser von Hephaistos als verwandter Gott bezeichnet (V. 14) und mit scheuer Ehrfurcht behandelt.
- 37Cab. Méd. 542: ARV² 438,133; 1653; Para 375; BAdd² 239; LIMC IV (1988) 700 Nr. 347 Taf. 425, s.v. Hera (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); F. Lissarrague, Vases Grecs (1999) 146–147 Abb. 110.
- 38Siehe supra Anm. 6.
- 39Hes. Theog. 523 vgl. 525: τανυσίπτερος ὄρνις.
- 40LIMC III (1986) 4–5 Nr. 5, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos); R. Splitter, Die „Kypseloslade“ in Olympia (2000) 35–36; er datiert diese an den Beginn des zweiten Viertels des 6. Jhs., ebenda 13; vgl. Jucker 1977, 194 Anm. 24. Auch am Amykleischen Thron war Atlas dargestellt, LIMC III (1986) 8 Nr. 23, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos), aber Pausanias (3.18.10) berichtet nicht in welchem Zusammenhang.
- 41Apollod. 2.5.11; zuerst bei Pherekydes im 5. Jh. v.Chr. überliefert, FGrH 3 F 16. 17.
- 42LIMC III (1986) 4 Nr. 2 Taf. 6, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos); Jucker 1977, 191–199.
- 43Zur poetischen Herkunft des Wortes Th. Gelzer, MusHelv 36, 1979, 170; die

- Nearchosschale ist in dieser Publikation (Abb. 2) seitenverkehrt abgebildet.
- 44Zur Darstellung des Himmels siehe Jucker 1977, 195f.
- 45LIMC III (1986) 4 Nr. 3–4, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos); E. Berger, Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig II (1982) 241–249 Abb. 9. 12–13.
- 46LIMC III (1986) 5 Nr. 7 Taf. 7, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos).
- 47Zu den verschiedenen Sagenversionen siehe LIMC V (1990) 100–101, s.v. Herakles (G. Kokkorou-Alewrass) mit weiteren Hinweisen.
- 48Princeton University Art Museum 2001–218, Carl Otto von Kienbusch, Jr., Memorial Collection Fund; Padgett 2008, von diesem stammt auch die Zuschreibung an den Guglielmi-Maler.
- 49Padgett 2008 hat vorgeschlagen, dass es sich um Zeus und Hera handle, Zeus mit dem Siegeskranz für Herakles.
- 50Hes. Theog. 518: πείρατα γαίης; zu den unterschiedlichen Lokalisierungen der Hesperiden siehe Ph. Brize, Die Geryoneis des Stesichoros und die frühe griechische Kunst (1980) 70–80.
- 51LIMC III (1986) 5 Nr. 6, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos); zu Theokles siehe Künstlerlexikon der Antike 2 (2004) 455, s.v. Theokles (R. Vollkommer).
- 52Siehe supra Anm. 11.
- 53Die hier abgebildete Aufnahme ist keine exakte Profilaufnahme, überzeugender ist die Abbildung im CVA München 8 Taf. 428, 2 oder LIMC III (1986) 8 Nr. 22 Taf. 9, s.v. Atlas (B. De Griño – R. Olmos).
- 54Siehe S. Klinger, Hephaistos 14, 1996, 135–164; unter den bei Klinger zusammengestellten Beispielen lässt sich z.B. die Halsamphora des Euthymides, Warschau 142332, ebenda 145 Anm. 23 Abb. 5–6, vergleichen, wo die Schultern der beiden Figuren durch die Schulterbiegung der Amphora an plastischem Volumen gewinnen; oder die Hydria des Berliner Malers, Madrid 11117, ebenda 160 Anm. 91 Abb. 22, wo die Schulter das Gebälk des Brunnenhauses vertritt und von einer Säule im Hauptbild gestützt wird; vgl. Jucker 1977, 196f.
- 55Inkonsequenzen sind allerdings charakteristisch für Darstellungen, bei denen Gefäßteile ins Bild einbezogen werden, vgl. z.B. die Hydria der Leagros-Gruppe, München 1700; Klinger a.O. 148f. Anm. 38 Abb. 9.
- 56LIMC V (1990) 394–406, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee).
- 57Hes. Theog. 518.
- 58Diod. 4.27.1–2; wahrscheinlich schon bei Pherekydes, vgl. LIMC V (1990) 395, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee).
- 59LIMC V (1990) 406, s.v. Hesperides (I. McPhee).
- 60LIMC VI (1992) 821, s.v. Nereides (N. Icard-Gianolio – A.-V. Szabados). Als Mutter des Atlas nennt Hesiod, (Theog. 507–509) die Okeanide Klymene; gesicherte Darstellungen von Okeaniden gibt es jedoch erst im 4. Jh., siehe LIMC VII (1994) 29–31, s.v. Okeanides (L. Kahil – N. Icard-Gianolio); vgl. H.A. Cahn, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (Hrsg.), Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen 1987 (1988) 107–116.
- 61Vgl. A. Henrichs, in: Papers on the Amasis Painter and his World, The J. Paul Getty Museum (1987) 99–106 Abb. 2; G. Hedreen, JHS 114, 1994, 47–69 Taf. 3.
- 62LIMC VI (1992) 52 Nr. 13–14 vgl. Nr. 19, s.v. Kirke (F. Canciani).
- 63Vgl. B. Cohen, Source. Notes in the History of Art 12, 1993, 37–46 mit weiteren Hinweisen.
- 64Zuerst auf den Henkeln nikosthenischer Amphoren, V. Tosto, The Black-figure Pottery Signed ΝΙΚΟΣΘΕΝΕΣΕΠΙΟΙΕΣΕΝ (1999) 208–225 Nr. 33–37; 105.120; ein charakteristisches Beispiel ist die Amphora Louvre F 114, ebenda Nr. 81 Taf. 128; B. Cohen, The Colors of Clay (2006) 81–83 Nr. 15, wo auf beiden Seiten des Halses je eine nackte Frau mit einem Hund, in weißer Farbe auf den Firnisüberzug gemalt ist; beide haben betont volle Brüste, tragen einen roten

- Kranz und, zum Beweis ihrer *Charis*, riechen sie an einer roten Blüte.
- 65S. Pfisterer-Haas, JdI 117, 2002, 1–79; zu badenden Frauen in der lakonischen Keramik M. Pipili, AM 119, 2004, 97–100.
- 66Es gibt nur wenige Ausnahmen, wie z.B. Kassandra, deren Nacktheit ein Zeichen ihrer Schutzlosigkeit ist: Cohen (supra Anm. 63); oder die *Arktoi*, bei denen es sich um junge Mädchen bei einem kultischen Wettlauf handelt: C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' Transitions* (1988). Die Literatur zur weiblichen Nacktheit ist sehr umfangreich, siehe zuletzt S. Moraw, JdI 118, 2003, 1–47; M. Tiverios, in: T. Ganschow – M. Steinhart (Hrsg.), *Otium*, Festschrift für V.M. Strocka (2005) 381–390 mit weiteren Hinweisen; die Nymphen auf der Amphora München 1540 sind meines Wissens bisher nicht in die Diskussion einbezogen worden.
- 67Neapel 86382: CVA Neapel 5 Taf. 66; S. Weber, *Sapphous und Diosphos-Maler* (2005) 409 (S 61) Taf. 2,2; zur Datierung ebenda 354 (505–500 v.Chr.).
- 68Vielleicht könnte die Nacktheit der beiden Hesperiden auch von weiblichen Stützfiguren angeregt worden sein, wie den bronzenen Spiegelgriffen, vgl. L.O. Keene Congdon, *Caryatid Mirrors of Ancient Greece* (1981), aber im Unterschied zu jenen ist bei den Hesperiden der Münchener Amphora die erotische Ausstrahlung durch ihre vollen Brüste betont.
- 69Siehe supra Anm. 50.
- 70Zu Dionysos als Triumphator siehe W.F. Otto, *Dionysos. Mythos und Kultus* (1933) 73. 179; 188 nennt er ihn »den trunkenen Reigenführer des Erdkreises«; RE V (1905) 1038–1041, s.v. Dionysos (Kern). Die rätselhafte Darstellung von Herakles, zwei Hesperiden und der Hirschkuh auf einer stilistisch nahe verwandten Amphora, Boulogne-sur-Mer 421: Kunze-Götte 1992, 144 Nr. 22 Taf. 62,1–2, ist auch auf die Grenzen der Welt bezogen worden: *Hommes, Dieux et Héros de la Grèce*, Rouen 23 octobre 1982 – 31 janvier 1983, 238f. Nr. 98; auf der anderen Seite dieser Amphora ist Dionysos im Viergespann dargestellt.

21 The ‘Unheroic’ Corpse: Re-reading the Sarpedon Krater

Jenifer Neils

The corpse is one of the oldest motifs in Greek art, and its treatment one of the first narratives painted by an Athenian vase-painter. It is either honored, wrapped in a funeral shroud, as in the traditional *prothesis*, or left to rot on the battlefield, stripped of its protective armor.¹ The very first lines of the *Iliad* (1.4–5) reference the mutilated, or what I term the ‘unheroic,’ corpse, the subject of this investigation. Homer speaks of heroes’ bodies as a feast for “dogs and birds of prey of all kinds.” In Book 22 King Priam envisions a fate much like that of the corpses on seventh-century Cycladic relief pithoi² when he speaks of the defilement, by dogs in this case, of his “gray head and gray beard and the parts that are secret. This, for all sad mortality, is the sight most pitiful” (22.75–76).³ It has been suggested that this gruesome image has its origins in Assyrian art, as for instance in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh (704–681 BC) where a battle relief shows birds of prey pecking at corpses.⁴

Such references to and threats of the desecration or mutilation of corpses escalate in the latter half of the epic as it leads up to the fatal encounter of Achilles and Hektor. Although Hektor is finally felled by a spear thrust into his neck, vase-painters prefer to show multiple wounds – which in fact he received from the Myrmidons after he lay dead on the ground, his body stripped of its “bloody armor” by Achilles (*Iliad* 22.371: “none stood beside him who did not stab him”). His ultimate mutilation, however, is that inflicted on his body by Achilles when he pierces Hektor’s ankles, ties him to his chariot, and drags the hero’s corpse through the dust in the presence of his grief-stricken parents.

The most violent and gruesome form of body mutilation in the *Iliad* is decapitation. Dolon is beheaded by Diomedes in Book 10 (456), and in Book 14 (492–500) Peneleos carries off his enemy’s head, struck

though the eye, like a poppy-head on his spear – a graphic description that may have inspired one of the two vase-paintings of the beheaded Troilos.⁵ Beheading one's enemy was also an Assyrian battle practice, as illustrated on the same relief from Nineveh mentioned above.⁶

In this paper, however, I am not so interested in the act of mutilation per se, but in the display of the mutilated corpse, especially that of the enemy.⁷ The question posed is the following: can it be established that the corpses of the slain Trojans or their allies are treated differently by Attic vase-painters than the bodies of heroic Greeks who breathed their last at Troy? Have we, therefore, misinterpreted vase-paintings like the magnificent krater with the dead Sarpedon signed by Euphronios (formerly owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Fig. 7; Color Pl. 15A) as heroic images meant to inspire rather than as desecrated corpses intended to repulse the viewer? Can the image of the mutilated Sarpedon be described accurately, in ancient Greek terms, as “a fine work of epic pathos”?⁸ Should it be summed up as “a poignant reflection on the tragedy of war and the grief of parents that afflict even Zeus”?⁹ I will return to these questions after first examining the imagery of the corpse of the enemy, namely Hektor in the popular scene of its ransom by King Priam.¹⁰

To begin this brief survey, I start somewhat far afield with the well-known ‘garden party’ relief of Assurbanipal (Fig. 1).¹¹ The Assyrian king is shown lounging on a couch in his luxurious garden, enjoying a feast with his enthroned wife. What is not often noticed is the decapitated head of his enemy, King Te-umman of Elam, hanging in the tree at the left. Te-umman's hand holding his scepter hangs in another tree, under which are carefully stacked his weapons, a bow and quiver case. Thus, Assurbanipal is celebrating his military victory by feasting in the presence of the slain, dismembered corpse of his enemy and his captured weaponry.¹² What looks at first glance like a benign ‘garden party,’ turns out to be a gruesome celebration of slaughter, whereby the dismembered body of the enemy king and the arms stripped from his corpse serve to magnify the victory of the Assyrian ruler.

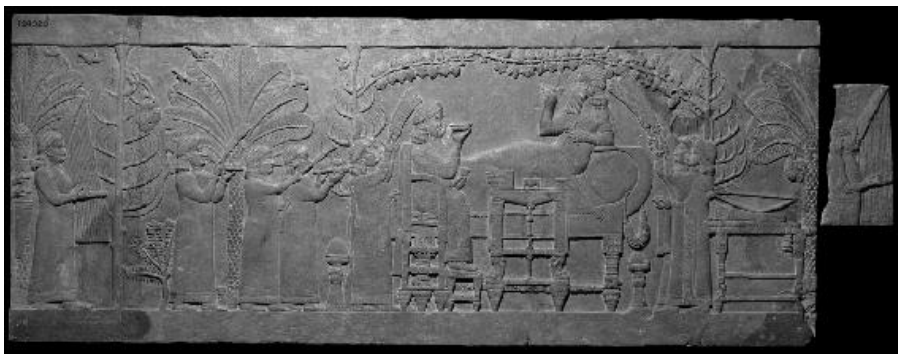


Fig. 1. Victory celebration of King Assurbanipal. Limestone relief from the Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh. London, British Museum. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 2. Ransom of Hektor. Attic black-figure column-krater from Vetulonia, ca. 570 BC. Florence, Museo Archeologico 98903. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3. Ransom of Hektor. Attic black-figure amphora, ca. 570 BC. New York, private collection. Photo: after J.M. Padgett, *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (2003) 305.

Carved in the mid-seventh century BC, this scene of Assurbanipal has several points in common with one of the earliest Attic depictions of the ransom of Hektor, a blackfigure krater from Vetulonia now in Florence and dated ca. 570 BC (Fig. 2). It was originally attributed to Nearchos, but more recently it has been assigned to the circle of Lydos.¹³ In a format that will continue for over a century, Achilles lies at right on his *kline*, a table laden with food before him, while the suppliant Priam approaches from the left. The nude body of Hektor lies beneath the table, and his stripped armor (formerly Achilles's) decorates the background at far right. According to Homer (*Iliad* 24.471) the episode takes place in the tent of Achilles, but it is here uniquely placed outdoors like Assurbanipal's feast, with a large tree at the far left, causing me to speculate that this episode, like the birds pecking the enemy corpses, is inspired by some version of the Assyrian victory celebration. Trees are a rarity in any period of Greek art, and especially so this early and on this scale, such that foreign inspiration may well be warranted.¹⁴ If inspiration from Assyrian art can be detected in so many other scenes of battle, it seems entirely possible that the scene of Hektor's ransom also owes its origins partially to a Near Eastern victory celebration.

Thus far, the Vetulonia krater bears the only depiction of the ransom with a tree; other early vase-paintings, like those by the

Painter of London B 76 in Zurich,¹⁵ show the canonical scene with the corpse of Hektor lying near or under the *kline*, the weapons on display – in fact, often both sets of armor, that captured from Patroklos by Hektor and Achilles’s new set – and strips of meat hanging from the table.¹⁶ Achilles usually holds a phiale or drinking cup in his right hand, referencing the meal of which he is partaking. A similar vase by the same artist (Fig. 3; Color Pl. 15B), published recently by Michael Padgett, is in a private collection in New York. Padgett has suggested that the waiting chariot on the reverse of the vase might be that which dragged Hektor’s body around the walls of Troy, and that the added red on the crown of the corpse’s head could recall the lines of the *Iliad* in which Homer states that Hektor’s once handsome head “was tumbled in the dust” (22.401–404).¹⁷ Here the armor (cuirass, helmet, and greaves) is prominently displayed on separate shelves at the right, just above Hektor’s head, and the Boiotian shield hangs at the upper left – all accentuated with added red.



Fig. 4. Ransom of Hektor. Attic black-figure amphora attributed to the Rycroft Painter, ca. 520–510 BC. Toledo Museum of Art, Edward Drummond Libbey Fund, 72.54. Photo: Museum.

Another shape, the cup, such as the one painted by Oltos in Munich or that of the Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos in New York,¹⁸ offers a

more expansive surface, thus enabling the painter to depict the tribute brought to Achilles. Notable is the blood-red meat hanging from Achilles's table directly over the corpse, reinforcing the idea of raw, bloody flesh. Contemporary with Oltos's cup is one of the latest black-figure images of the ransom: a Type A amphora in Toledo (Fig. 4)¹⁹ where Achilles has lost his beard and become youthful – as he will be in most Attic red-figure depictions – in contrast to the bearded Hektor. Difficult to observe in the black-and-white image is the added red on the chest of Hektor, indicating his wounds, although again according to the *Iliad* (22.324–27) he was stabbed once in the throat by Achilles. Blood shows up better in red-figure as on the hydria by a Pioneer at Harvard²⁰ (Fig. 5), where the scene is reduced to its essentials and Hektor's corpse streams with blood rendered in deep dilute glaze. It is also noteworthy that Achilles's wine cup has been replaced with a knife – recalling his savage speech over the dying Hektor in Book 22 (345–346): “Would that the violent anger of my heart would let me cut your flesh and eat it raw.” Even here Achilles cuts into his meat, and the added red blood drips from the table onto the chest of Hektor. The tondo of the cup by Makron in the Louvre²¹ displays the bruised and bound naked body in an impossible pose that mirrors that of the draped and alive Achilles who holds forth his knife as if still uttering his violent words. Finally, there is the famous skyphos of the Brygos Painter in Vienna,²² where Achilles almost seems to be licking his knife, and the strips of meat on his table literally overlap the dead (but still bleeding) flesh of Hektor – this is perhaps the goriest image of them all.



Fig. 5. Ransom of Hektor. Attic red-figure kalpis, ca. 510–500 BC. Harvard University Art Museums, Bequest of Frederick M. Watkins, 1972.40. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 6. Tekmessa covering the body of Ajax. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos Painter, ca. 480 BC. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.286. Photo: Museum.

Not only in death, but also in life, Hektor receives more blows from Achilles than the text indicates, as we see, for example, in the painting of their duel by the Berlin Painter on the neck of his volute-krater in the British Museum.²³ On the other hand, the wounds incurred by the Greeks at Troy are not usually depicted, except to be bandaged by a comrade, as on the famous Sosias cup where Achilles wraps the wounded arm of Patroklos – an image apparently invented by the painter.²⁴ Even suicidal heroes like Ajax, who die an ignominious death, are honored with a funeral shroud, as we see on the Brygos Painter's cup at the Getty (Fig. 6; Color Pl. 16A).²⁵ Tekmessa's words in Sophocles, *Ajax* (916–920) reveal the Greeks' revulsion at the sight of an unclean corpse: "He must not be seen. I will cover his body, I will wrap him completely in my mantle. No one who loved him could bear to see the dark blood pouring from his nostrils and the raw wound in his breast."²⁶

Returning to the work of Euphronios, there are two extant versions of the carting away of Sarpedon's body from the Trojan battlefield – a tale told in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad* (16.677–83). The earlier is found on a signed cup in a private collection²⁷ in which two warriors carry the heavy (nude except for greaves) body aloft in the presence of

a third – all are labeled: Thanatos in front and presumably Hypnos behind. Sarpedon's body has the appropriate wound in the midriff as in the poem (*Iliad* 16.479–81), as well as one in the neck. Before his body is rescued on the orders of Zeus, there is much back and forth between Trojans and Greeks about the fear of and desire to respectively “strip away his arms and dishonor his body” (*Iliad* 16.545–46). This looks to be exactly what happened to Sarpedon in this image.

The masterpiece of Euphronios is the signed krater now repatriated to Italy (Fig. 7; Color Pl. 15A).²⁸ There are major variations from Homer's version that I will not enumerate, except to note the profusely bleeding body, tilted up frontally toward the viewer, a body which has obviously not been cleaned and anointed by the healer Apollo.²⁹ Admittedly Sarpedon's body is large, heavy, and beautiful with its flowing hair, but also limp and soft.³⁰ Looking at it in light of the imagery of Hektor, we should, I believe, view it not as necessarily heroic, but rather as a desecrated or defiled corpse – stripped of its armor and displaying multiple wounds – although Patroklos delivered a single death blow to his abdomen (*Iliad* 16.479–81).³¹ In the repertoire of Euphronios other mythological figures who bleed profusely from their wounds are the opponents of Herakles: Kyknos on the calyx-krater in New York, and the dying Amazon on the volute-krater in Arezzo.³² Clearly in these instances the viewer is not meant to empathize with them as fallen hero or heroine, but rather to view them as the dead and barbaric opponents whom the mighty Greek hero has managed to slay. Although in several instances Euphronios has lavished considerable attention on the corporeal beauty of these opponents (Kyknos, Antaios), this does not imply that he was in any way intending to heroize them.³³



Fig. 7. Recovery of Sarpedon's body. Attic red-figure calyx-krater signed by Euphronios, ca. 515 BC. Ex-New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10; Lent by the Republic of Italy (L.2006.10). Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fortunately, to contrast with the Sarpedon krater, there is preserved a very similar krater by a contemporary artist from the Pezzino Group which was found in Agrigento (Fig. 8).³⁴ One is instantly struck by the parallel image, although this one lacks names. The Italian archaeologist, Griffo, who published it, argued persuasively that it represents the dead Greek Patroklos, removed from the battlefield after his slaying by Hektor. Patroklos was stripped of Achilles's divine armor, but the artist does not show us a nude body, rather one covered with a beautiful cloth of honor, and with the hero's *psyche* or soul flitting above. The contrast with Sarpedon could not be more striking and highlights the importance of honoring the corpse in Greek tradition.

Three other major differences are worth noting in this context. First, it takes an action of the gods to remove the corpse of the enemy, as opposed to the Greeks whose heroes heroically carry off and tend to their own war dead. Second, there is a distinction in the direction in which the corpse is being carried: that of Patroklos to the left, and

Sarpedon to the right. In the scenes previously discussed of the dead Hektor, his body is almost universally lying with the head at the right, and this orientation may suggest his position when fighting, that is moving to the unlucky left, whereas we should read Patroklos as being killed when he was moving to the right, the direction in which the victors fight in Greek art. A third difference is the proveniences of these vases: the Euphronios krater was exported to Etruria (Cerveteri) where such gory scenes were savored, and the Patroklos krater to a Greek colony (Agrigento) where the decorum of the shrouded body was more palatable.



Fig. 8. Recovery of Patroklos's body. Attic red-figure calyxkrater of the Pezzino Group, ca. 500 BC. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico C 1956. Photo: after Veder Greco. Le necropoli di Agrigento. Mostra Internazionale. Agrigento, 2 maggio–31 luglio 1988 (1988) 221.

Sarpedon is not the only Trojan ally to be treated in this fashion: the bleeding and stripped bodies of other allies are retrieved from the battlefield by divine action moving to the right, as on the famous cup by Douris showing Eos with the stiff and bloody corpse of her son Memnon.³⁵ Likewise dead Amazons, as the one at far right on the Penthesilea Painter's name-piece,³⁶ bleed, even if not stripped in

deference to their female form.

As for the dead Achilles, one of the earliest images shows him stripped of his armor (François Vase³⁷) but on later vases, such as those by Exekias, he still wears his divine armor.³⁸ The poorly preserved, early cup by Euphronios in the Getty³⁹ also shows Achilles still wearing his cuirass as Ajax carries him off the battlefield, preceded by Thetis. The fragment of a vase attributed to Euphronios and recently acquired by Princeton⁴⁰ shows Ajax both stooping to pick up the body of Achilles and grabbing his helmet as well. Therefore, one wonders if the cup tondo by Douris,⁴¹ in which one warrior is carrying the bleeding, nude corpse of another (bearded) that has always been identified as Ajax with the body of Achilles, is correctly identified. The theme of the recovery of the body from the battlefield is common on shield-bands from Olympia, and in one instance the figures are labeled Ajax with Aristodamos, which suggests that not all these dead warriors should be identified as Achilles. Alternatively, the arms alone can evoke the presence of the dead Greek hero, as in the tondo of the famous cup in Vienna by Douris.⁴²

What reinforces this reading of the Sarpedon vase is the scene on the reverse (Fig. 9). It is one of arming, that is young warriors (whom I take to be contemporary Greeks) putting on hoplite armor, that is protecting their bodies. The shield devices on the two visible shields reinforce this concept of bodily protection: a crab and a scorpion. With their exoskeletons their bodies are protected, just as those of the youths will be with their armor – and as Sarpedon pointedly is not. Because these are relatively rare *eipsemas* and do not appear in combination, except here, they are certainly significant for the narrative.⁴³

So, this large krater, which must have served as the centerpiece of a symposium, proclaims the glory of the Achaeans in two distinct ways – one with the young warriors preparing to go to battle for their city, and secondly with the *kleos* gained from slaying and defiling the mighty enemy.⁴⁴ It represents the same concept that we see in other examples of Greek art, such as the Pergamene dedication on the Akropolis with its wounded and dying Giant, Amazon and Gaul. In his publication of this monument Stewart has analyzed the meaning of wounds, stating “When translated into art, wounds take over the image like a kind of carbuncle or cancer, especially when the victim is removed from the naturalizing context of battle and offered up for scrutiny like meat on a tray.”⁴⁵ This analysis characterizes the painted images of Hektor’s body, which literally lies next to bloody strips of animal flesh, and also that of Sarpedon, whose body is tilted frontally in an obvious mode of display.

So why has the Sarpedon krater been misunderstood? Partially, I

believe, it is because of the Christian image of the dead Christ. Portrayed with a gaping chest wound and a blood-stained body, the *corpus* of Christ is often shown carried by winged angels in Renaissance and Baroque painting and sculpture. This potent image is so imbedded in the western tradition that it colors our interpretation of similar imagery. We are, thus, conditioned to view pagan scenes, like Euphronios's death of Sarpedon as an *Andachtsbild*, just as we have viewed the ancient image of Eos with her dead son Memnon as a *pietà*. The stripped body of the dead or captured enemy has a much longer tradition in western art, going back to the Palette of King Narmer, and even nudity in Greek art can carry connotations of vulnerability and defeat, as on the Dexileos Stele.⁴⁶ When positing a post-classical analogy, however, I would take one from the current war in Iraq where the media presents the bodies of dead American soldiers only in flag-draped coffins, not lying on the field of battle as we regularly see the dead enemy. Given the importance of a cleaned and anointed corpse, honorably wrapped in a special shroud, in Greek funerary ritual, this image of the mutilated enemy is one that celebrates not the hero Sarpedon, but the Greeks who managed in the words of Homer to "strip away his arms and dishonor his body".



Abbreviations

Euphronios der Maler. Eine Ausstellung in der Sonderausstellungshalle der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem 20.3 – 26.5.1991 (1991).
Recke 2002 Gewalt und Leid. Das Bild des Krieges bei den Athenern im 6. und 5. Jh. v. Chr. (2002).

Notes

- 1See G. Ahlberg, Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art (1971) 31–45; on piles of corpses and their derivation from Assyrian art, see 88–102. See also eadem, Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art (1971) 17: “corpses lying in the battle-field are usually completely despoiled of their weapons and armour.”
- 2Athens, National Museum 2495, relief pithos fragment from Tenos; see G. Ahlberg, Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art (1992) 132. 388 fig. 238. On the similar but more complete pithos from Eretria see P. Themelis, in: N.X. Σταμπολίδης (ed.), ΓΕΝΕΘΛΙΟΝ (2006) 95–106.
- 3For further passages of this sort see S.E. Bassett, TAPA 64, 1933, 47–49.
- 4E. Akurgal, The Art of Greece: Its Origins in the Mediterranean and Near East (1966) pls. 9–11.
- 5LIMC 1 (1981) 87, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). A scene with a warrior cutting off a child’s head on a Chalcidian amphora in the Louvre (E 799) may be Achilles decapitating Astyanax.
- 6See supra n. 4. Sarah Morris has shown the influence of the custom of Near Eastern child sacrifice on representations of the death of Astyanax in the *Ilioupersis*; see S.P. Morris, in: J.B. Carter – S.P. Morris (eds.), The Ages of Homer (1995) 221–245. See also W. Burkert, in: J. Bremmer (ed.), Interpretations of Greek Mythology (1987) 10–40; W. Burkert, The Orientalizing Revolution (1992).
- 7The most complete study of the mutilation of the corpse in Homer is C. Segal, The Theme of Mutilation of the Corpse in the Iliad (1971). For the corpse in Greek black-figure vase-painting see M. Halm-Tisserant, Ktema 18, 1993, 215–226. For an overview of the corpse in Attic art see M. Söldner, in: M. Sahin – I. Hakan Mert (eds.), Ramazan Özgan’a Armağan (2005) 373–390. For the treatment of the corpse in ancient Rome, see E. Varner, Mortality 6, 2001, 45–64. I thank Sheramy Bundrick for this reference.
- 8N. Spivey, Greek Art (1997) 19.
- 9D. von Bothmer in: LIMC VII (1994) 700, s.v. Sarpedon.
- 10On the ransom of Hektor in general, see W. Basista, Boreas 2, 1979, 5–36; A. Danale-Giole, Τα Λύτρα του Έκτορος (1981); LIMC I (1981) 147–161 pls. 121–129, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); O. Touchefeu-Meynier, Metis 5, 1990, 157–165; H.A. Shapiro, Myth into Art (1994) 38–45.
- 11British Museum WA 124920. See J. Reade, Assyrian Sculpture (1998) 88, fig. 106.
- 12See R.D. Barnett, Erets-Israel 18, 1985, 1–6.
- 13Florence 98903, from Costa Murata, Vetulonia, possibly from an archaic residence. See M. Cygielman, in: G. Capecchi et al. (eds.), In Memoria di Enrico Paribeni (1998) 133–140 (attribution to the circle of Lydos); Recke 2002, 290 no.

- 1,2 pl. 49a. I thank Mario Iozzo for the first reference and the photographs of the vase.
- 14On landscape in Trojan War scenes, see G. Hedreen, *Capturing Troy: The Narrative Functions of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Greek Art* (2001). The palm tree is often associated with Troy in Attic vase-painting, and deciduous trees appear often in conjunction with fountain houses or bathing areas, as on the Attic blackfigure amphora by the Painter of the Vatican Mourner (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1970.8; ABV 140,2) where Achilles is ambushing Troilos.
- 15Zurich University 4001; Para 32,1bis. See H.P. Isler, *NumAntCl* 15, 1986, 95–114; Recke 2002, 290 no. 3 pl. 48.
- 16Another black-figure vase which shows two sets of armor is Kassel T 674, from Vulci, near Group E (Para 56,31bis); see Recke 2002, 290 no. 5 pl. 49b. The dead, but ithyphallic Hektor has never been adequately explained; it could be a sign of lack of control or simply a large, and so non-Greek or ‘unheroic’ phallus. On the ‘unheroic’ penis, see T. McNiven, *Source* 15, 1995, 10–16.
- 17See J.M. Padgett, *The Centaur’s Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (2003) 304–306 no. 81. Mutilation appears in another form on the other side of this amphora, namely the decapitated Medusa.
- 18Oltos: Munich 2618, from Vulci; ARV² 61,74; Para 327; BAdd² 165. See Recke 2002, 291 no. 13 pl. 51a. Painter of the Fourteenth Brygos: New York, Shelby White; see H.A. Shapiro, *NumAntCl* 23, 1994, 23–48.
- 19Toledo Museum of Art 72.54. See CVA Toledo 1 pls. 4–5; Recke 2002, 290 no. 8 pl. 50a.
- 20Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Art Museums 1972.40; Para 324,13bis. See Fogg Art Museum, *The Frederick M. Watkins Collection* (1973) 48–49 no. 19.
- 21Paris, Louvre G 153; ARV² 460,14.
- 22Vienna 3710, from Cerveteri; ARV² 380,171.
- 23London, British Museum E 468; ARV² 206,132. For the duel of Achilles and Hektor see LIMC 1 (1981) 133–138, s.v. Achilleus (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).
- 24Berlin 2278; ARV² 21,1.
- 25Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.286; Para 367,1; BAdd² 224. See M.I. Davies, *AntK* 16, 1973, 60–70; CVA J. Paul Getty Museum 8 no. 49 pls. 418–420.
- 26A red-figure lekythos attributed to the Terpsalos Painter in Geneva (21132) shows a woman bringing a cloak to cover a dead or dying warrior who is held in the arms of a winged woman (Eos?). The warrior (Memnon?) still wears his armor and holds his sword. See LIMC VI (1992) 457 no. 76, s.v. Memnon (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); Recke 2002, 289 no. 20 pl. 47a. Recently M. Tiverios has argued that the woman with the cloak is Athanasia; see M. Τιβερίος, in: Χρυσανθος Χρήστο: αφιέρωμα, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Τομέας Ιστορίας της Τέχνης, Θεσσαλονίκη (2006) 117–128.
- 27Ex-Hunt collection; BAdd² 404. See Euphronios 182–186 no. 34; M. Turner, *Hephaistos* 21/22, 2003/2004, 53–79.
- 28Formerly New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10, from Cerveteri; BAdd² 404. See Euphronios 93–105 no. 5.
- 29The god Hermes replaces Apollo, perhaps in his guise as *psychopompos*. However, I see the removal of Apollo as relating to his role as a god of purification and his “well-known abhorrence of human decay” according to R. Garland, *BICS* 36, 1989, 9.
- 30Cf. the adjective used by the Myrmidons in speaking of the corpse of Hektor (*Iliad* 22.373): μαλακώτερος.
- 31Sarpedon received an earlier wound in the left thigh which is indicated by a dot near the groin, as argued by H. Johnson, *Lancet* 357 no. 9265, 2001, 1370. I thank David Saunders for this reference.

32See Euphronios nos. 6. 13.

33For a different view of the idealized body of the hero, see R. Nakamura, *The Izura Bulletin* 10, 2003, 73–96 (in Japanese).

34Agrigento C 1956, from Agrigento; ARV² 32,2; Para 324; BAdd² 157. See P.E. Arias, *ArchClass* 21, 1969, 190–209.

35Paris, Louvre G 115 from Capua; ARV² 434,74; Para 375; BAdd² 237. See D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* (1995) 31 no. 119 pl. 71.

36Munich 2268; ARV² 879,1.

37Florence 4209; ABV 76, 1; Para 29; BAdd² 21. See E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976) pls. 51–57.

38On Ajax carrying the body of Achilles see S. Woodford – M. Loudon, *AJA* 84, 1980, 25–40. See also F. Lissarrague, *L'autre guerrier* (1990) 71–96.

39Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 77.AE.20. See Euphronios 187–189 no. 35; J.M. Padgett, *Record of the Princeton Art Museum* 60, 2001, 7 fig. 7.

40Princeton University Art Museum 1997–488a. See Padgett (supra n. 39) 2–17.

41Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 537 from Tarquinia?; ARV² 429,19; BAdd² 236. Buitron-Oliver (supra n. 35) 15. 74 no. 32 pl. 21.

42Vienna 3695; ARV² 429,26; BAdd² 236. See Buitron-Oliver (supra n. 35) 75 no. 42 pl. 26. For the notion of the armor alone evoking the heroic death of the Greek warrior see H. Hoffman, *Metis* 5, 1990, 127–136.

43Euphronios has a wide repertoire of shield devices (gorgoneion, lion, raven, cock, kantharos, and horseman) and the scorpion reappears as the *episema* of an Amazon on the volute-krater in Arezzo; see Euphronios 135–137, no. 13. The crab, which is here playing auloi, is a fairly rare shield device; examples in early red-figure include London E 255 (ARV² 31,2), New York 59.11.20 (ARV² 224,1), Swiss market, hydria by the Dikaios Painter (Phoenix Ancient Art, *The Painter's Eye* [2006] 38–43 no. 9).

The scorpion is relatively more common; examples in early red-figure include Hamburg 1983.277 (Pedieus Painter: Oxford, Beazley Archive no. 1558; JHS 97, 1977, pls. 3–5); Athens NM 861 (Oxford, Beazley Archive no. 46856; B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II* [1909–1933] pl. 81); Louvre G 47 (Eucharides Painter, ARV² 227, 11). For other examples see G.H. Chase, *The Shield Devices of the Greeks* (1979) 63.

44A.R. Steiner, *Reading Greek Vases* (2007) 115, sees the arming on side B as that of Trojan reinforcements responding to the death of Sarpedon because of the repetition of the armed adult male warrior figure at far right on both sides.

45See A. Stewart, *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis* (2004), especially 166–170 on wounds.

46For nudity in pre-Greek cultures see Source, *Notes in the History of Art* 12, 1993. On the various types of male nudity in Greek art, see most recently J. Hurwit, *AJA* 111, 2007, 45–58.

22 Attic Imports at Marion: Preliminary Results of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Polis Chrysochous, Cyprus

J. Michael Padgett

For Elisabeth Childs

Since 1984, the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Polis Chrysochous, under the direction of William A.P. Childs, has been excavating the area of ancient Marion and its Ptolemaic successor, Arsinoe, located on the northwest coast of the Republic of Cyprus.¹ Marion was one of the kingdoms of Archaic Cyprus and had extensive trade relations with the Greek mainland, Egypt, and the Levant.² Attacked and possibly taken by Cimon in 451/450 BC,³ it was destroyed by Ptolemy I in 312 and the population moved to Paphos. The city was reborn as Arsinoe under Ptolemy II, sometime in the 270s. The Princeton excavations have uncovered parts of both cities, which partially overlap one another and underlie the modern town of Polis Chrysochous. Extensive remains from the Roman, Byzantine, and Lusignan periods lie over the disturbed remnants of Marion, but significant portions of the earlier levels survive. Excavations have revealed at least two Archaic sanctuaries, one of which was destroyed around 500 BC,⁴ and another, probably destroyed at the same time, that was succeeded by a Classical sanctuary that continued well into the fourth century. These have yielded tens of thousands of terracotta sculptures, ranging from small votives to over life-size figures, as well as a small amount of stone sculpture and other finds.⁵

At the eastern edge of the Peristeries plateau, near where the larger of the Archaic sanctuaries was located, have been found parts of a large Archaic secular building with ashlar foundations, possibly a

palace, although this is far from certain.⁶ Among the finds from this structure, the remains of which lie just under the topsoil and have been damaged by modern building activity, are a shard from a Late Corinthian column-krater and several examples of imported East Greek pottery, including a nearly complete Chian transport amphora with red stripes on a ground of cream slip.⁷ The Corinthian fragment is one of only five discovered in 23 years of excavation at Polis, but the East Greek material has many parallels from trenches throughout the Marion area, including a particularly fine Fikellura neck-amphora, attributable to the Altenburg Painter, featuring a centauromachy around the body and, on the shoulders, fallow deer confronted by sphinxes and griffins.⁸ The fact that no Attic pottery was found at the “palace” site is not telling, since finds of any kind were scarce due to the shallowness of the deposits (the Chian amphora was discovered in a cistern, along with a banded-ware amphora, also East Greek). The present paper will concentrate on the Attic pottery from the Princeton excavations, leaving the East Greek and other imported wares for a separate study. In this preliminary report, only a selection of representative types will be presented to indicate the range of the Attic material.

The Archaic and Classical cemeteries of Marion were discovered in the 1870s, their tombs yielding hundreds of imported Attic vases that now reside in museums around the world.⁹ Increased development in the area of Polis Chrysochous brings new graves to light every year, many containing complete Attic vases and cups. The Princeton expedition has purposefully avoided ancient cemeteries to concentrate on discerning the extent and plans of the ancient cities and the location of their sacred precincts. As a consequence, most of the Attic pottery discovered is fragmentary and comes from secondary deposits, often much disturbed by later building activity.

No Attic Geometric ceramics have been found at the site, and precious little Cypro-Geometric. A tomb discovered in the nineteenth century yielded a Deianeira lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter (ca. 580 BC), but the earliest black-figure from the Princeton excavations dates from the second quarter of the sixth century.¹⁰ Among these are a fragment of a lekanis lid with a seated sphinx (Fig. 1, lower left), attributable to the Painter of Louvre F 6 and dating just before mid-century.¹¹ To judge from similar lids by the artist, particularly a wellpreserved example in a private collection,¹² the black strip at the far right edge is the himation of a draped male who stood between a pair of sphinxes. Another lid fragment of similar date (Fig. 2), with a dancing nymph wearing a nebris, is more petite (th. 0.21–26 cm.) and is probably from a pyxis.¹³ Of later date, after 530, are two additional lekanis lid fragments (Fig. 1, upper right), with

part of the rays that circled the knob and Odysseus – or one of his crewmen – hiding beneath a sheep, as he escapes from the cave of Polyphemos.¹⁴



Fig. 1. Nine black-figure fragments, various shapes.

Closed shapes – amphorai, hydriai, oinochoai; it often is difficult to be certain from which shape each fragment comes – are more common than kraters, accounting for some 20% of all black-figure, while kraters make up only 9%.¹⁵ One fragment, perhaps from a hydria, preserves a single Doric column (Fig. 1, upper left);¹⁶ two drill holes evince an ancient repair, a phenomenon not uncommon among the Attic pottery from the site.¹⁷ From another closed shape comes a shard with two bearded, red-haired men, who face one another so closely that one almost fears for their virtue (Fig. 1, center top).¹⁸ Five fragments from what was probably a belly amphora, ca. 540–530, derive from a scene of Herakles battling the Nemean lion before at least one draped male onlooker.¹⁹ A piece of a lekythos with some pendant drapery is the only example of Attic white-ground to have been discovered (Fig. 1, lower right).²⁰

Only about seven black-figure fragments can be securely identified as coming from column-kraters, but at least six more are likely of this shape. Most are mere scraps, but two non-joining fragments preserve a pair of boxers exchanging blows (Fig. 3), the right one getting the worst of it with an uppercut to the chin.²¹ One shard, with a bold key-pattern, is clearly from the rim of a volute-krater, probably a black-bodied type of about 525 BC.²²

Wine cups by far account for the majority of blackfigure from the

excavations: 115 out of 152, or 75%. Of these, 50% are Little Master cups, which in fragments can be difficult to distinguish as being from lip-cups or bandcups. The Pegasus from the rim of a lip-cup resembles that on another cup of this shape, also from Marion and possibly by the same artist (Fig. 4, left).²³ The coursing hare decorating another lip-cup (Fig. 4, right) is likely by the same painter as the hare on a fragmentary cup in Florence.²⁴ Comparison with other examples makes it likely that the finely drawn hindquarters of an animal, obviously male, on a third lip-cup are those of a ram (Fig. 5).²⁵ Earlier than these is a single shard from a Siana cup, preserving part of the tondo frame with red lotus buds, alternately closed and open.²⁶ This type of tondo ornament apparently is confined to cups by Brijder's Red-Black Painter, active in the period 560–550 BC, and the piece may be tentatively attributed to his hand.²⁷

Clearly the pace of Attic cup imports at Marion did not really accelerate until the third quarter of the sixth century, continuing in the fourth quarter not only with late examples of Little Master type, but also with several Cassel cups and Floral band-cups of the usual type.²⁸ From this period also come portions of two eye-cups, one with a warrior armored in a striking white cuirass,²⁹ and single examples of a top-band stemless with an eye in the handle zone,³⁰ a Haimonian cup-skyphos with a large palmette³¹ and an early cup of type-C with a silhouetted horse in the tondo.³²

Far less red-figure has been found by the Princeton expedition, although classical tombs in the area, excavated by the Antiquities Service, consistently yield complete vases in a variety of shapes.³³ Since, by comparison, contemporary Attic black-glaze is much more abundant, we may speculate that the fragmentary remains of both types derive not only from tombs destroyed by later building activity, but also from disturbed domestic contexts where the more utilitarian black-glaze may have predominated. Of sixty-five registered red-figure fragments, thirty-one (48%) are identifiable as from kraters, twenty-four (37%) from closed shapes of one kind or another, and only eight (12%) from cups: four kylikes and four skyphoi. These statistics are not entirely trustworthy, since it can be difficult to tell if a particular handle, foot, or body fragment is from a red-figure work or a black-glaze vessel of similar shape. For example, parts of two owl skyphoi have been identified,³⁴ but there are many more fragments that might be from such cups, or even from some other type of painted skyphos, such as the St. Valentin Class. In many such cases, these pieces, perforce, have been catalogued as black-glaze. The handles of black-glaze kylikes and cup-skyphoi very often have reserved handle panels like their red-figure counterparts. Parts of only four red-figure kylikes have been securely identified, however, and it is likely that most

orphaned handles derive from black-glaze cups.



Fig. 2. Fragment of a black-figure pyxis lid with maenad: R37209/PO1210.

The well-preserved foot and stem of one red-figure kylix, which

preserves part of the decorated interior, is clearly from a cup of Type C (Figs 6–7).³⁵ In the tondo, a nude youth stands on his left leg and raises his right, possibly to allow a now missing second party, probably an older man, to tie a long red fillet around his thigh. Youths so adorned are well known from other vases. Usually thought to be athletic victors, Jenifer Neils has made a good case for linking them with the *euandria*, a kind of male beauty contest associated with the Panathenaia.³⁶ This example probably dates around 490 BC.

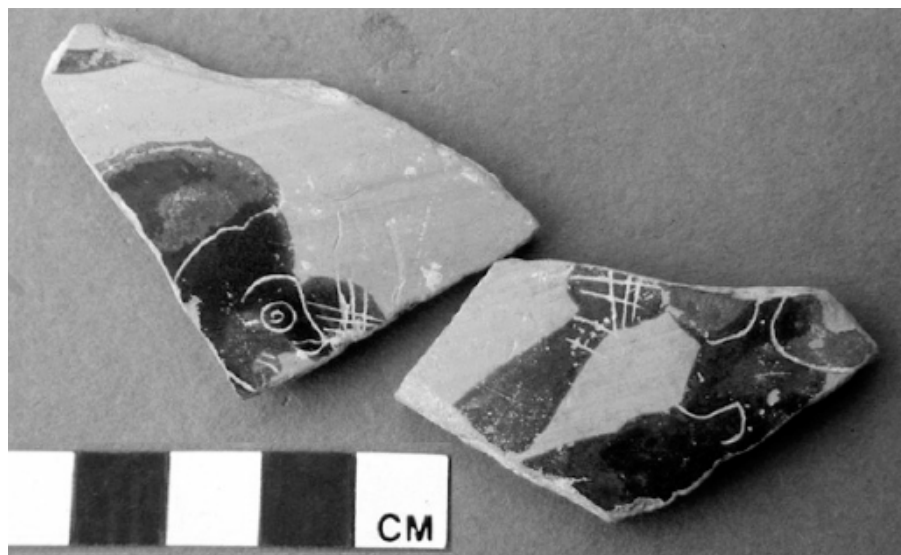


Fig. 3. Fragment of a black-figure column-krater with boxers: R21025/PO554 and R1330/PO75.



Fig. 4. Fragments from black-figure lip-cups: Pegasus (R4296/PO130); coursing hare and nonsense inscription (R4305/PO132).

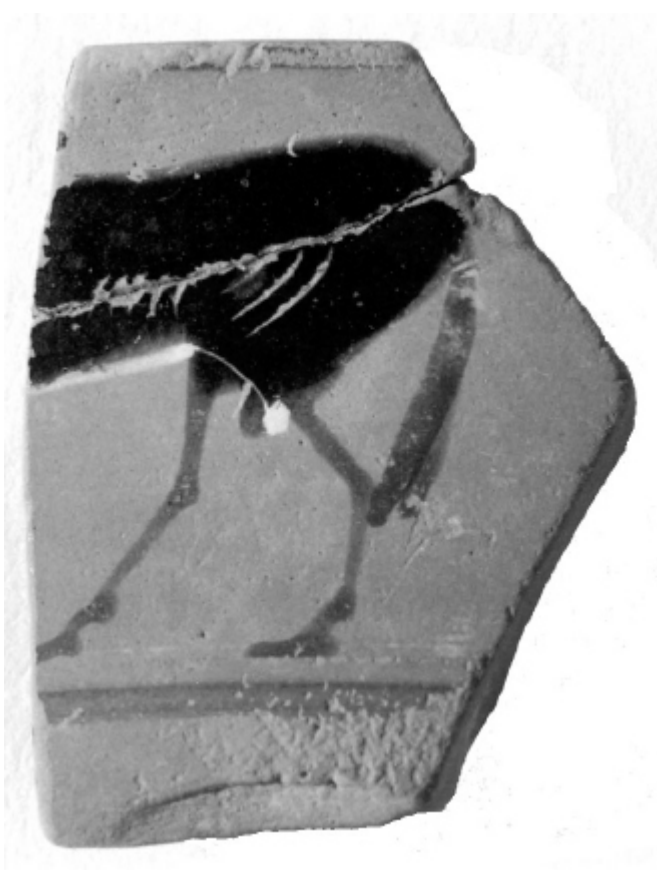


Fig. 5. Fragment of a black-figure lip-cup with ram: R25813/PO743.

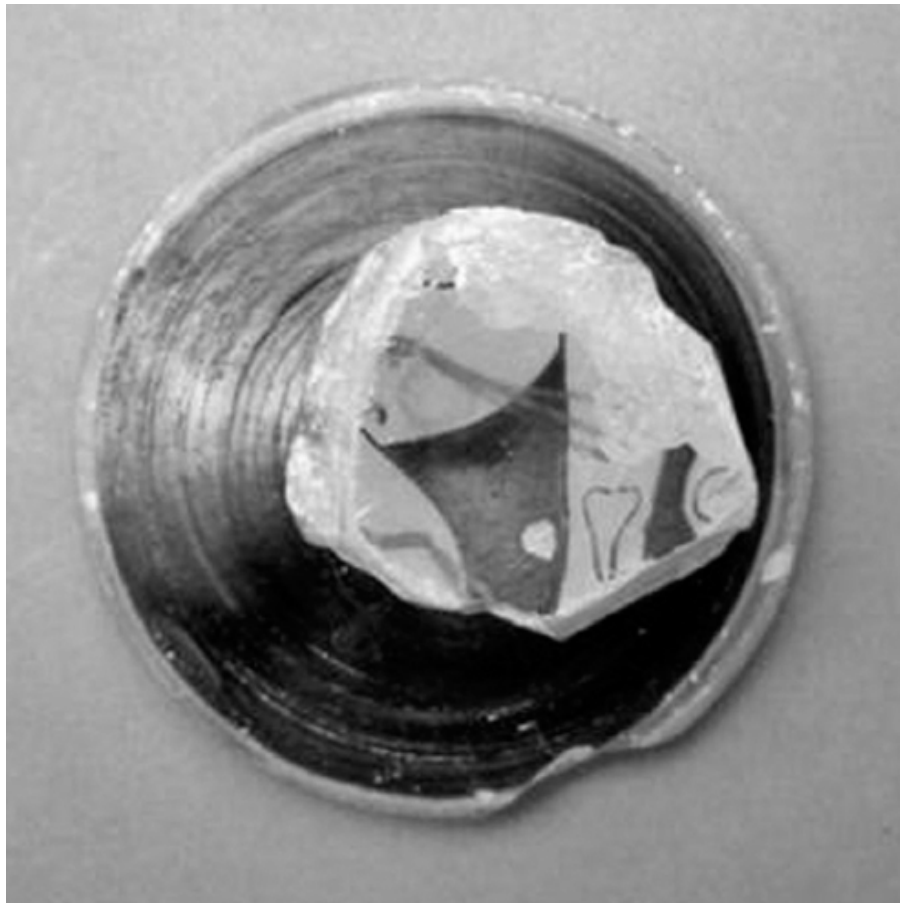


Fig. 6. Fragment of a red-figure cup of Type C: R33014/PO994.

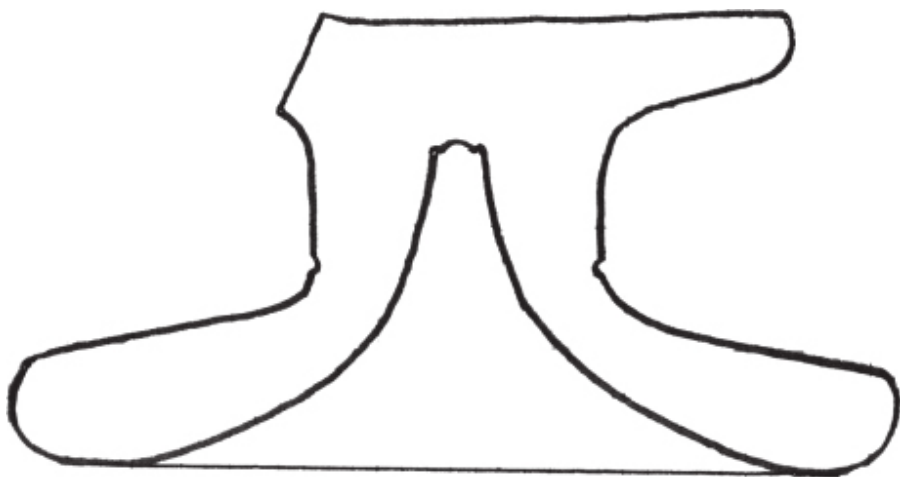


Fig. 7. Red-figure cup of Type C: R33014/PO994. 1:1



Fig. 8. Fragment of a red-figure bell-krater with draped youth: R1244/PO51.

Most of the red-figure fragments, whether from cups, kraters, or closed shapes, preserve only scraps of drapery, limbs, or ornament, scarcely enough to support dating, let alone identification of the subject or attribution to a specific vase-painter. Most are Early Classical or later, with none later than the early years of the fourth century. There is a satyr from what was probably a belly-amphora, and a draped youth from a small pelike, both ca. 460–440 BC.³⁷ Of later date is another draped youth from a bell-krater, probably the reverse, who may have been gesturing at a second figure (Fig. 8).³⁸ Column-kraters are represented in just three certain examples, while the four fragments identified as from red-figure lekythoi preserve no figural decoration.

We are on surer ground with the remains of six askoi, a popular shape in the tombs of classical Marion; all have their counterparts in the museums at Polis, Paphos, and Nicosia. Most are of the type with a lentoid body, single strap handle and a tilted, trumpet-shaped spout. These may be decorated with large palmettes, an olive wreath, or animals.³⁹ One, with a central knob surrounded by a terraced molding painted with egg pattern, is decorated on the body with facing heads of Arimasps, sufficiently preserved to allow an attribution to the Group of the Cambridge Askos.⁴⁰ Another askos is of a different type, with a ring handle and recessed strainer; the body is painted with both

black and reserved palmettes.⁴¹

The superior quality of Attic black-glazed ceramics, potted in a variety of shapes and fired to a glossy black, clearly was as evident to ancient consumers as it is today: in a box of native Cypriot shards even the smallest Attic fragment stands out like a flower in the desert. From the Princeton excavations, some 171 pieces of black-glaze have been inventoried, and there are nearly half again as many unregistered wall fragments, whose small size and lack of distinguishing features do not permit meaningful classification or association with other pieces.⁴² Based on comparison with similar examples from the Athenian Agora, the majority were made in the last half of the fifth century or the first half of the fourth. Some may date as early as the mid-sixth,⁴³ but few have parallels later than 350 BC.⁴⁴ Amid the fragments, only a few small, thick-walled bowls and salt cellars are preserved whole, the exception being a complete stemless kylix of “Rheneia” type (Fig. 9).⁴⁵ Cups of all kinds, including kylikes, skyphoi, mugs, and bolsals, account for 55% of registered finds (95 pieces), while bowls, salts, and onehandlers make up 29% (50). Many cups fragments are of undetermined type, but there are at least twelve of Type C, two of which are relatively early, from the last quarter of the sixth century.⁴⁶ In addition to seven Rheneia cups, there are a dozen other stemless cups of various types, as well as thirteen bolsals, four Vi-cups, six Acrocups, eight skyphoi, seven mugs, a cup-skyphos, a late fourth-century kantharos, and a single cup of type B, most likely Late Archaic. Three of the skyphoi have inscribed graffiti on the base, as do eight other fragments, all open shapes. One cup or bowl fragment has rouletting and stamped palmettes inside and, on the base, an inscription in Cypro-Syllabic script (Fig. 10).⁴⁷ Another completely preserved base, from a small bowl, is inscribed in Greek: AMΦ.⁴⁸



Fig. 9. Black-glaze Rheneia cup: R1561/PO92. 1:1



Fig. 10. Cypro-Syllabic graffiti: R24169/IN63. 1:1



Fig. 11. Black-glaze bowl: R11924/PO322. 1:1



Fig. 12. Fragment of a black-glaze bowl with stamped design: R22967/PO606.

Of the black-glaze bowls, most (22) are of the wide, thin-walled variety, with a high ring foot and an outward projecting rim; by the second decade of the fourth century, the resting surface is grooved and there is a pronounced “nipple” in the center of the black base

(Fig. 11).⁴⁹ As with the bolsals and stemless cups, the interior is frequently decorated with bands of rouletting (more accurately “chattering”) around a central design of stamped palmettes and other motifs (Fig. 12).⁵⁰ In addition to this type of bowl, there are eleven small, thick-walled bowls of various types, as well as five salts, four one-handlers, and the lower body of what was probably a covered bowl.⁵¹ Of other black-glaze shapes represented, there are pieces of three plates with thick, molded rims; elements of a bell-krater; two column-kraters; a lekane; and the rim from what could be called a collared basin.⁵² A solitary fish-plate was of a type imitated in local black-glaze.⁵³ Several fragments remain of what was apparently a kind of spouted basin, no parallels for which have been found.⁵⁴ Only a handful of shards, five at most, are from closed shapes, including three oinochoai. One fragment, with a wreath of raised clay, is of uncertain shape but may be from the neck of a small hydria.⁵⁵

Among the most aesthetically pleasing of the Attic ceramics from Marion are those decorated with coralred gloss, sometimes called intentional red.⁵⁶ Lacking figural decoration and combining both black and coralred elements, these technically are a species of “blackglaze,” but their distinctive character warrants separate consideration. Of forty-eight registered pieces, forty-two are from kylikes. In addition, there are fragments from four salt cellars and two “Achaemenid phialai.” The salts are small, sturdy dishes with convex walls and incurved rims. One example is all red, but in the other three the top and exterior of the lip is black.⁵⁷

The Achaemenid phialai are so named for their resemblance to silver Persian cups with tall, inset lips and horizontal fluting on the bowl.⁵⁸ The Attic ceramic version appears before the Persian Wars, but it is generally accepted that they mimic the Achaemenid type. They occur both in monochrome black-glaze and in striking bichrome, with the fluted bowl in coral-red and the straight rim a glossy black.⁵⁹ All the black examples known to me – none have been found at Marion – are proper phialai mesomphaloi. In contrast, those with coral-red bodies have only a small circular depression at the base and probably functioned as drinking cups, like their Persian counterparts.⁶⁰ Coral-red examples have been found not only in Athens but at numerous sites from Israel to Olbia, as well as in Italy and Spain.⁶¹

The coral-red phialai from Marion date to the first quarter of the fifth century, the same period when the first stemless kylikes with red bodies and black rims were produced. These are of the Class of Agora P 10359, with a rounded bowl, a high inset lip, slightly concave, two horizontal handles, and a solid disk foot with a small sinking in the center (Figs 13–14; Color Pl. 17A).⁶² In both black-glaze and coral-red examples, the underside of the foot normally is reserved, with a dotted

circle in the sink. In those with coral-red, which predominate at the site, the body is red inside and out, the rim a glossy black, the handles black with reserved panels, and the side of the foot black. Of the five coral-red cups of this class found in the Princeton excavations, four preserve a portion of the interior decoration, a small dotted circle within a much wider circle, which in the best preserved example has a diameter of 4.0 cm.⁶³ Sparkes and Talcott are surely correct in attributing these widely exported cups to the same Attic workshop that produced the Achaemenid phialai.⁶⁴

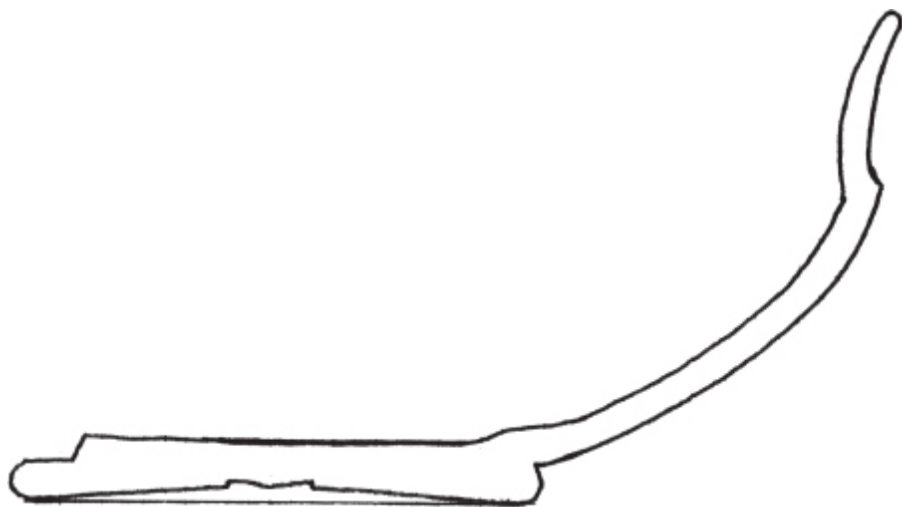


Fig. 13. Coral-red cup, Class of Agora P 10359: R36163/PO1110. 1:1

In the second quarter of the fifth century, stemless cups of the Class of Agora P 10359 evolve into the Rheneia cup, which in sleeker form lasts until the end of the century (e.g. Fig. 9).⁶⁵ The early examples are very similar to the Class of Agora P 10359, differing only in having a low ring foot instead of a disk. Sparkes and Talcott emphasize this distinction but include in their list of coral-red cups of the Class of Agora P 10359 a cup in London with a ring foot.⁶⁶ This transitional type, of which other examples are identified by Shefton,⁶⁷ generally retains the fuller, rounded body of the Class of Agora P 10359, but in truth they do not differ significantly from early Rheneia cups.⁶⁸ Three coral-red cups from the Princeton excavations have less rounded bowls, and can confidently be classed as Rheneia cups (Figs 15–17; Color Pl. 17B–C).⁶⁹ Their ring feet are low and convex on both faces, and the offset black rims have a notably convex inner profile. The panels of the black handles are again reserved. There is no other ornament – no dotted circles – resulting in a pleasingly austere, bichrome design. Based on their mature shape and their development

from the earlier Class of Agora P 10359, these cups likely were produced and exported late in the second quarter of the fifth century.⁷⁰

A similar date can be assigned to the third type of coral-red kylix found at Marion, a variety of Vi-cup, with a straight inset lip, a shallow bowl, and a slender stem running into the bowl without interruption.⁷¹ The cups at Marion differ from ordinary Vi-cups in one important respect: instead of having a foot with a concave outer face, they have a hollow foot with a convex profile that contained small clay pellets that rolled freely around the interior. These are “rattling cups,” a rare type but well-documented in black-glaze, always in the form of Vi-cups or cups of Type C.⁷² The foot of a single black-glaze example from the excavations also is from a Vi-cup.⁷³ It is joined by four fragmentary coral-red examples, the best preserved of which retains part of the black inset lip (Figs 18–19; Color Pl. 17D).⁷⁴ As in the Class of Agora P 10359, there is a black dotted circle in the center of the interior, but without a larger circle around it. The underside of the foot is black with a reserved inner cone, a standard feature of Vi-cups. The bowl is coated with coral-red gloss inside and out, and the stem and the exterior of the foot are red as well. A fragment from a second cup of this type shows that the side of the foot also was red, while the resting surface was reserved.⁷⁵ Except for the dotted circle, all of these features recur in the only two other coral-red rattling cups known to me – indeed, the only two other coral-red Vi-cups – an intact pair in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, from tombs excavated at Marion in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁶ These show that the panels of the black handles were reserved and that a black stripe ran around the top of the foot at the edge, a feature preserved on a third fragmentary foot from the excavations.⁷⁷ Like the Rheneia cups, the rattling cups in Nicosia are all red inside, with no black stripes or circles. The purpose of these unusual cups is unknown; they may have been amusing novelties or, as one scholar has suggested, used for libations at symposia.⁷⁸

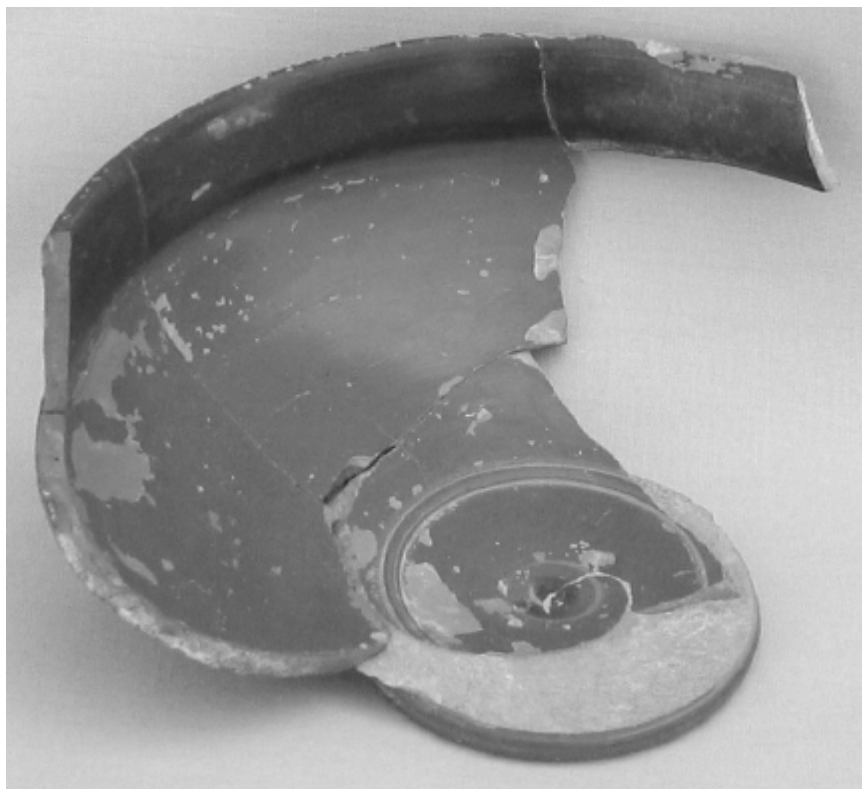


Fig. 14. Coral-red cup, Class of Agora P 10359: R36163/PO1110.

This remarkable series of distinctive coral-red kylikes must have originated in the same Attic workshop. There are several elements – innovative forms and construction, delicate potting, awareness of models in metal ware, an interest in contrasting surfaces and unusual glosses – that point to the workshop of the potter Sotades, which Dyfri Williams has demonstrated also included the potter Hegesiboulos II.⁷⁹ In this same period, late in the second quarter of the fifth century, these potters produced a small number of remarkable kylikes that combine coral-red exteriors with interiors decorated with figural drawing on white-ground.⁸⁰ These elegant cups, with straight rims and slender wishbone handles, differ significantly from those discussed here, but it is notable that one coral-red shape, found in the Athenian Agora but not represented at Marion, is a large bowl with a black rim and black wishbone handles.⁸¹ It was Sotades who potted the mastoi and phialai mesomphaloi with polychrome fluting and white ground interiors that develop from the phialai of Achaemenid shape.⁸² This development surely took place in the same workshop, and we already have seen that the Achaemenid phialai likely were produced in the same workshop as the coral-red cups we have been discussing.

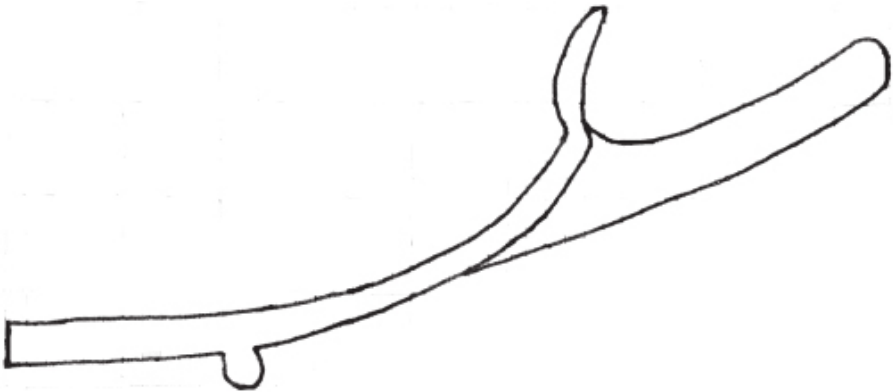


Fig. 15. Coral-red Rheneia cup: R48540/PO1751. 1:1



Fig. 16. Coral-red Rheneia cup: R48540/POT751.



Fig. 17. Coral-red Rheneia cup: R48540/PO1751.

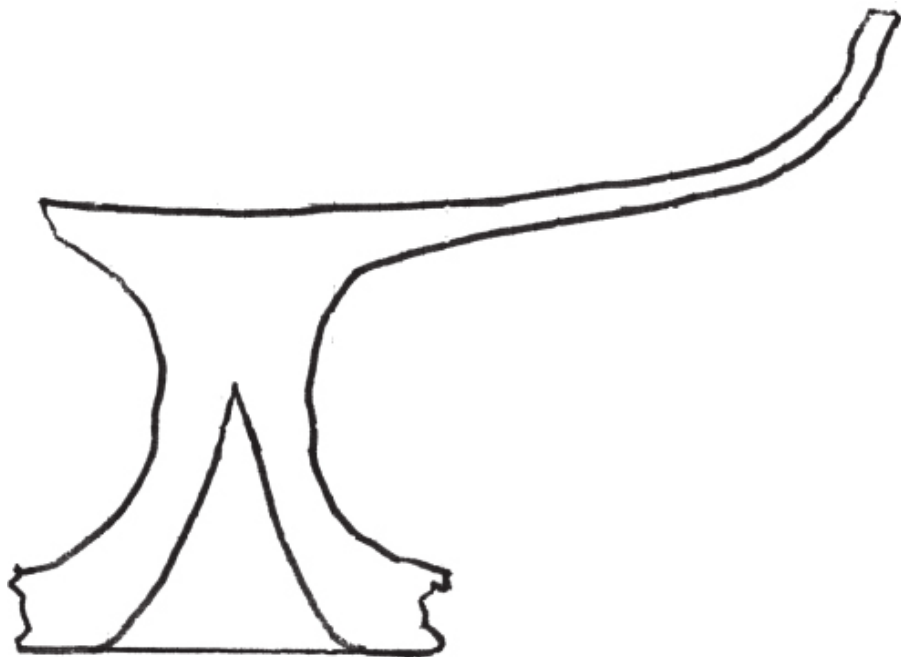


Fig. 18. Coral-red rattling cup: R20008/PO532. 1:1

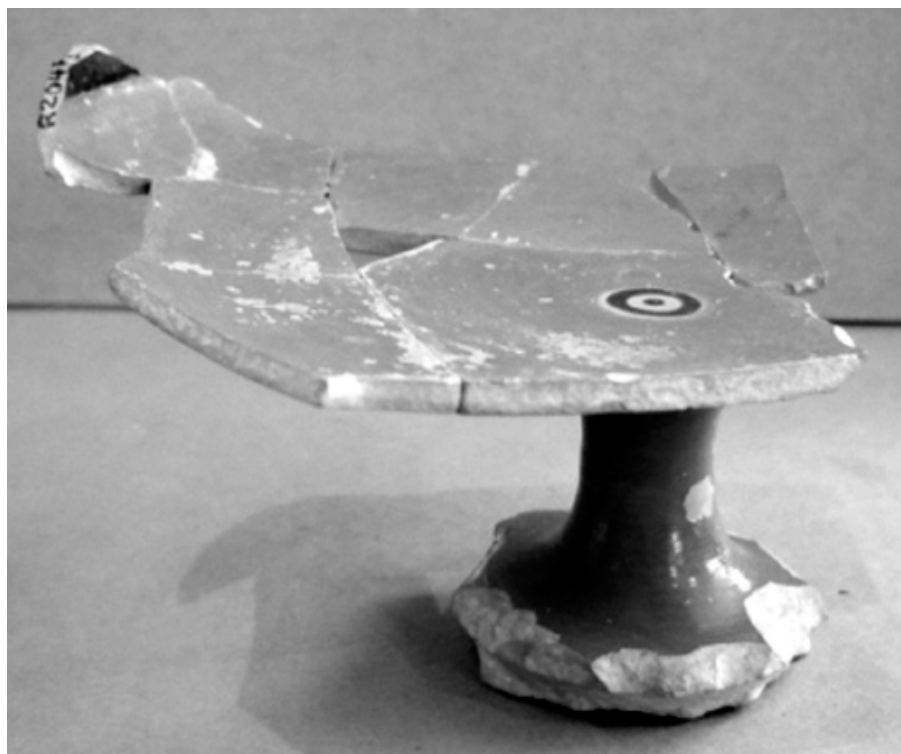


Fig. 19. Coral-red rattling cup: R20008/PO532.

The black-glaze Vi-cups from Marion and other sites around the Mediterranean may have been another popular export ware from the same workshop, whose interest in white-ground is reflected in a series of less prepossessing Vi-cups decorated with black silhouette designs on whiteground.⁸³ Sparkes and Talcott argued that the workshop responsible for creating the Vi-cup also developed the Acrocup,⁸⁴ several fine black-glaze examples of which were found in the excavations at Marion. Indeed, we may wonder if the same large workshop was responsible for many of the black-glaze imports at Marion, a profitable sideline to its production of figural fine wares and plastic vases.

The final link connecting Sotades and the production of these non-figural coral-red cups is a large stemless cup in Würzburg with a lipped ring foot and a plain exterior rim.⁸⁵ The exterior of the bowl and the side of the foot are coral-red, while the handles, the fillet between foot and body, and the offset inner rim are black. The rest of the interior is coral-red and decorated with a black dotted circle within a larger circle, a design that in coral-red we so far have seen only on cups of the Class of Agora P 10359. This cup is identical in shape to some black-glaze cups of the "Delicate Class" that have incised interior designs very close to those decorating stemless cups by the Sotades Painter and others working in his manner.⁸⁶ Hölscher is surely correct in attributing the Würzburg cup to "Sotades oder Werkstatt," and we may confidently assign to the same workshop the three different but related classes of coral-red cups found at Marion, along with their black-glaze brethren.

Based on the premise that the color and design of these widely exported black and coral-red cups and phialai were meant as "a nod towards the gold or silver gilt work so much associated with eastern luxury vessels," Shefton has suggested that these Attic products were designed especially to appeal to foreign clients. If they apparently had equal appeal to the inhabitants of native hill sites from Marseilles to Ampurias, that may be because "Celtic chieftains were gold rich too."⁸⁷ In the case of the phialai, there is little question that early examples were inspired by Persian models in precious metals, although the ceramic type then developed independently. However, not only do the forms of the coral-red cups lack known models in precious metals, their red surfaces do not really resemble gold, and the notion that their glossy black portions in any way mimic silver has long been put to rest.⁸⁸ Popular exports though these vessels be, the same is even more true of the associated black-glazed wares, which are found wherever Attic pottery was imported. Rather than purposely creating these handsome wares for gold-loving barbarians and provincial Greeks, it is more likely, as Boardman has suggested, that

- 1For preliminary reports on the Princeton excavations at Marion/Arsinoe, see W.A.P. Childs, RDAC 1988, 121ff.; idem, in: F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur (eds), *Cypriote Stone Sculpture. Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Cypriote Studies*, Brussels-Liège, 17–19 May, 1993 (1994) 107ff.; idem, BASOR 308, 1997, 37ff.; J.S. Smith, BASOR 308, 1997, 77ff.; T. Najbjerg, C. Nicklies and A. Papalexandrou, RDAC 2002, 139ff.; A. Papalexandrou, RDAC 2006, 223ff.
- 2For the Iron Age kingdom of Marion, see Childs 1997 (supra n.1).
- 3For the uncertain interpretation of Diodorus 12.3.3, see F.G. Maier, JHS 105, 1985, 36.
- 4See Smith (supra n. 1).
- 5For the terracottas from the site, see N. Serwint, in: F. Vandenabeele and R. Laffineur (eds), *Cypriote Terracottas. Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies*, Brussels-Liège-Amsterdam, 29 May – 1 June, 1989 (1991) 213ff.; P. Flourentzos, RDAC 1994, 161ff. For the stone sculptures, many of which come from disturbed deposits not associated with recognizable sanctuaries, see Childs 1994 (supra n. 1) 107ff.
- 6For a preliminary report on the excavation of this structure, see A. Papalexandrou, RDAC 2006, 223ff.
- 7A. Papalexandrou, RDAC 2006, 233f. figs 12. 14.
- 8The Fikellura neck-amphora (R2045/PO57, etc.), as yet unpublished, comes from area E.F2, scattered through deposits much disturbed by the later construction of an Early Byzantine basilica. For the fallow deer with griffins and sphinxes, cf. another fragmentary neck-amphora by the Altenburg Painter, also from Cyprus, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 74.51.365 a–b: Gjerstad, pl. 19,3–5 no. 164; G. P. Schaus, BSA 81, 1986, 252 no. 1 pl. 13a–b. Centaurs are rare on Fikellura vases; cf. those on a fragmentary neck-amphora in the National History Museum, Bucharest: A. Tempesta, *La Raffigurazioni mitologiche sulla ceramica greco-orientale arcaica* (1998) 171 no. 71 pl. 34 fig. 3.
- 9For the early explorations at Marion and vicinity, see P. Herrmann, *Das Gräberfeld von Marion auf Cypern* (1888); M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer* (1893); J. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* (1899) 9–10. For a corpus of the known decorated Archaic Greek vases from Cyprus, not limited to Attic and not classified by site, see Gjerstad. Many of the finer vases from Marion are featured in J.D. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, ed. D.C. Kurtz (1988). A group of vases found in a box in the Cyprus Museum in 1990, almost certainly from the early excavations at Marion, represents a cross section of types from the site: Flourentzos 1992, 161ff.
- 10This accords well with the introduction of imported East Greek ceramics as well. So far no fragment in the Wild Goat style has been found, while other East Greek wares from the site – Chian chalices and pointed amphorae, Little Master cups, Ionian cups, banded wares, Fikellura – do not predate the second quarter of the century. For the lekythos in the manner of the Gorgon Painter (Nicosia 1958/IV-22/3), see Para 8,19 bis; Gjerstad, 54 no. 513 pl. 63,1. 4.
- 11R482/PO16 (trench A.H9.t17); 7.8 × 7.4 cm. Interior black. This is one of five black-figure lids from the excavations.
- 12In the Zimmermann collection, Bremen: M. Steinhart, *Töpferkunst und Meisterzeichnung. Attische Wein- und Ölgefässe aus der Sammlung Zimmermann* (1996) 31–33 no. 3.
- 13R37209/PO1210 (trench B.F8.c20); 4.19 × 1.84 cm. Interior reserved.
- 14R8702/PO193 (with joining fragments), and R7520/PO177 (rays); trench E.G0.f06. Fragment with Odysseus: 7.9 × 9.8 cm.; th. 0.6–0.8 cm. Interior black, with paired red stripes.

15 Out of a total of 152 registered black-figure fragments, 31 are from closed shapes and 14 are from kraters.

16 R3210/PO101 (trench A.H9.u15); 5.8 x. 7.2 cm.; th. 0.5–0.8 cm.

17 For example, R21052/PO555 (trench A.H9.r13), a fragment from an early (ca. 570–560 BC) black-figure column-krater with parts of three draped female figures, so crudely drawn that one wonders why it was repaired. A later black-glaze handle fragment retains a substantial lead rivet from a repair (R24729/PO665).

18 R4295/PO129 (trench B.D7.t13); 3.12 × 4.50 cm.; th. 0.43–0.71 cm. Their emphatic features recall figures by the Bucci Painter, but they are perhaps earlier, ca. 550–540 BC. For their intimacy, cf. Gjerstad, pl. 55,2; Beazley (*supra* n. 9) pl. 5.

19 R1809/PO107; R1931/PO108; R2007/PO111; R2249/PO120; R4029/PO124; all from trench B.D7.q17.

20 R3209/PO (trench A.H9.t16); 2.1 cm. × 2.1 cm.; th. 3.8 cm. Date: ca. 500–490 BC.

21 R21025/PO554 and R1330/PO75 (trench A.H9.r13); 5.5 × 3.6 cm and 5.1 × 3.2 cm. Interior glazed. The subject is common in black-figure; for another example from Cyprus, see Gjerstad, pl. 39,1–2 no. 428. Cf. especially the himantes, the red hair and beards, and the emphatic collar bones of the boxers on column-krater fragments by the Painter of Acropolis 606 (Athens, Acr. 633; ABV 81,2), suggesting a date around 560 for these pugilists.

22 R11898/PO301 (trench E.G0.g07); 1.86 × 6.64 cm.; w. top of rim 1.89 cm.

23 R4296/PO130 (trench B.D7.t13); 2.2 × 1.7 cm. For the other Pegasus lip-cup from Marion, at one time in the Hadjiprodromou collection, Famagusta, see Gjerstad, pl. 36,6–7 no. 413.

24 R4305/PO132 (trench B.D7.t13); 1.8 × 2.8 cm. I am indebted to Pieter Heesen for drawing my attention to the unpublished lip-cup in Florence (inv. 151084). Like another lip-cup fragment from the same trench (Fig. 4, below), the Florence cup has a nonsense inscription in the handle zone. This trench yielded several Little Master fragments, including rims with Pegasus (see note 23) and a ram (see note 25), neither of which are from the cup with the hare.

25 R25813/PO743 (trench B.D7.t13); 2.70 × 2.05 cm. Cf. the rams on a band-cup from the 1886 excavations at Marion: Gjerstad, pl. 42,5 no. 444. Closer still are the rams on the band-cup Munich 2208 and the lip-cup Munich 2148: K. Vierendeel and B. Kaeser (eds), *Kunst der Schale – Kultur des Trinkens* (1991) 98 fig. 12,9; 137 fig. 19,7.

26 R36696/PO1170 (trench B.F8.c20); 2.91 × 2.24 cm.

27 For the Red-Black Painter, see H.A.G. Brijder, *Siana Cups III: The Red-black Painter, Griffin-bird Painter and Siana Cups resembling Lip-cups* (2000) 569–599 pls 173–185. For this type of ornament, cf. especially pls 174g. 177be, which Brijder dates to the painter's early and middle periods, in the decade before 550 BC.

28 Both types seem to have been popular export wares; for other examples from Cyprus, see Gjerstad, pls 44,2–4 (Cassel); 45–46 (Floral band); M. Robertson, in: *Excavations at Kition IV. The Non-Cypriote Pottery* (1981) pl. 39 no. 18 (Floral band); Flourentzos, 1992, pls 44–45 (Floral band). One Cassel cup fragment (R39487/PO1282; trench E.G0. f05) has a combination of patterns identical to those on a cup found at Olbia, where Floral band-cups are found in nearly every tomb of this period: Hermitage 0.1912.263; A.A. Trofimova, *Greeks on the Black Sea: Ancient Art from the Hermitage* (2007) 104 no. 23.

29 R41316–21/PO1358–63 (trench E.F2.h10); 4.32 × 5.39 cm. Eye-cups are uncommon in Cyprus; Gjerstad lists only two: pl. 47,4–6 no. 472; pl. 48,4–5 no.

475. No doubt there are others.
- 30R16136/PO502 (Test Trench 24, 1994); h. 2.6 cm. w. 3.3 cm.
- 31R33645/PO1016 (trench E.F2.L10); 3.90 × 4.73 cm. Cf. Robertson (supra n. 28) pl. 38 nos. 8–11.
- 32R48401/PO1717 (trench A.H9.v15); 2.39 × 4.07 cm. For the shape, cf. Agora XII, fig. 4, no. 398.
- 33For example, in 2000 a tomb beneath Odos Arinios yielded a stemless kantharos with Apollo on one side and a youth in petasos and chlamys on the other, which Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter (personal communication) confirms is a work of the Shuvalov Painter: Polis Museum, MMA 538, T.15.
- 34R1446/PO81 and R36589/PO1158, both from trench E.F2. r09, but not from the same cup.
- 35R33014/PO994 (trench E.F2.h10). Pres. h. 3.83 cm.; diam. foot 7.25 cm.; tondo 4.01 × 3.50 cm. Relief lines for all contours.
- 36J. Neils, in: W. Coulson et al. (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (1994) 151ff. Though many such bedizened youths stand in isolation, like the one on a neck-amphora by Douris in St. Petersburg (Hermitage 5576; ARV² 446,263), the presentation by older men occasionally is portrayed: e.g., on a cup by the Euaion Painter (Boston 10.181; ARV² 792,60); and on fragments of an unpublished calyx-krater in a Centre Island private collection, attributable to the Pezzino Painter.
- 37Amphora: R40483/PO1312 (trench E.F2.h11). Pelike: R42111/PO1407 (trench E.G0.b07). For the latter, cf. Flourentzos 1992, pl. 46,1–6.
- 38R1244/PO51 (trench E.F2.r09); 8.4 × 5.9 cm.; th. 0.6–0.65 cm. No relief line contours.
- 39Palmettes: R25354/PO675 (trench E.F2.r06). Olive wreath: R22781/PO602 (trench A.H9.p06); cf. J.-F. Salles, *Kition-Bamboula II* (1983) 44–45 no. 125. Griffin: R23722/PO636 (trench E.F2.h10). Animal paw: R26376/PO791 (trench A.H9.r13); cf. Flourentzos 1992, pl. 46,5 (deer and sphinx).
- 40R19077/PO528 (trench E.G0.d08). For the group of the Cambridge Askos, see ARV² 1505. 1697.
- 41R25353/PO674 (trench E.F2.r09). For the shape, see Agora XII, pl. 39, no. 1188 (ca. 400–375 BC). Cf. also CVA Goluchow 1 pl. 41,10.
- 42All the figures for black-glaze exclude vessels with coralred, which are considered separately.
- 43E.g., the foot and lower body of a Cracow Class cup, with a reserved disk and dotted circle in the floor: R 48528/PO 1739 (trench A.H9.v15). Cf. Agora XII, pl. 18, no. 392 (550–525 BC).
- 44One strap handle is probably broken from a kantharos of ca. 350–310 BC: R48685/PO1784 (trench E.G0.b04). Cf. Agora XII, fig. 7, nos. 720–721.
- 45R1561/PO92 (trench E.F2.s09); h. 3.4 cm. Diam. rim 11.8 cm. No stamped ornament; handles all black; underside reserved, with dotted circle within larger black stripes. For the shape, cf. Agora XII, pl. 21, no. 461 (ca. 420 BC).
- 46Both preserve part of the foot: R29484/PO885 (trench E.G0.g10); R30158/PO898 (trench B.D7.p19). Cf. Agora XII, fig. 4 pl. 19, nos. 398–399.
- 47R24169/IN63 (trench E.G0.d09); 2.9 × 1.8 cm.
- 48R6905/IN4 (trench E.F1.g06). Diam. 4.5 cm. For the shape, cf. Agora XII, fig. 9, no. 882 (ca. 380 BC). Considering the shape, it is unlikely the inscription is short for “amphora,” but of course there are other possibilities. Cf. the equally varied assortment of inscribed bases from Kition: A. Johnston, in: *Excavations at Kition IV. The Non-Cypriote Pottery* (1981) 45–49 pls 34–37; Salles (supra n. 39) 49 fig. 20.
- 49The example in Fig. 11: R11924/PO322 (trench E.F2.r09); 3.4 × 9.8 cm.; approx.

- orig. diam. foot 8.1 cm. Cf. Agora XII, fig. 8, no. 806; Salles (supra n. 39) 32 fig. 1, no. 29; Flourentzos 1992, pl. 49,8.
- 50The example in Fig. 12: R22967/PO606; trench E.F2.h10; 10.1 × 2.4 cm.
- 51Covered bowl: R36590/PO1159 (trench E.F2.r09). Cf. Agora XII, pl. 42, no. 1270 (ca. 480–450 BC).
- 52Collared basin: R48409/PO1725 (trench A.H9.v15); width top of rim 1.51 cm.; th. wall 0.82 cm. For the shape, cf. Agora XII, fig. 20, no. 1903, though the vase from Marion instead is wheel-made black-glaze.
- 53R25349/PO670 (trench E.F2.r09). Reserved band around the central depression. Approx. orig. diam. foot 8.0 cm. Cf. Agora XII, fig. 10, no. 1071 (ca. 350 BC). The red, micaceous clay and dull black glaze (dipped) of another fish-plate (R22691/PO598; trench E.F2.h10) indicate it is a local imitation.
- 54R25357/PO678 (trench E.F2.r09). Four fragments from a large, thick-walled krater or spouted basin, with two shallow, torus moldings on the side of the rim, separated by a red stripe; flat, slanted lug handles (one preserved); a tapering lower body; and a trough-like spout, rectilinear in profile and of uncertain placement. All surviving surfaces are black.
- 55R25538/PO704 (trench E.F2.r09). Cf. Agora XII, pl. 3, no. 51.
- 56For a summary of past and recent research on Attic coralred, including its composition and modes of application, see B. Cohen, in: *Colors of Clay*, 44–53. For its use on black-glaze forms, see Agora XII, 19–20. Its first appearance in Cyprus predates the vessels discussed here, occurring in the zone of a kylix of Type C in the Cyprus Museum (Nicosia C.654), connected by Beazley with cups by the potters Chelis and Kachrylion, ca. 510 BC: ARV² 1626; Gjerstad, 57 no. 548 pl. 73,1–3; Beazley (supra n. 9) 31 pl. 12,1.
- 57All red: R25786/PO725 (trench E.G0.g07). With a black rim: R23918/PO645 (trench E.G0.c08); R26020/PO750 (trench E.G0.g03); R26798/PO822 (trench E.G0.f09). The last is the best preserved: pres. w. 5.56 cm.; th. rim 0.66 cm.; orig. diam. ca. 9 cm. A coral-red salt with a black rim was found in the Athenian Agora: see Agora XII, 303 no. 954 pl. 34 (listing other examples). Cf. also P. Rouillard, *Les Grecs et la péninsule ibérique du VIIIe au IVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ* (1991) fig. 17,4.
- 58For the type, complete examples of which are rare, see Agora XII, 105–106; M.C. Miller, *AMI* 26, 1993, 118–120, pls 19–22. Of the two examples from the Princeton excavations, only one preserves the depression on the base: R25711/PO714 (trench E.F2.s09); 3.65 × 3.14 cm.; diam. depression 1.0 cm.). A black rim fragment from the same trench is probably from the same vase, distinguished from those of coral-red kylikes by its greater height and thickness. The second example (R39552/PO1283; trench E.F0.v09; 1.97 × 2.05 cm.), which preserves the juncture of fluted red body and black rim, differs in having a flat fillet between each flute instead of a sharp arris, a design similar to that on later polychrome mastoi by the potter Sotades (see note 59).
- 59A third type, later in date and originating in the workshop of the potter Sotades, is polychrome, with fluting painted alternately white, red, and black: Miller (supra n. 58) 119f. pl. 22; D. Williams, in: *Colors of Clay*, nos. 96–99. On these vessels, which include fluted mastoi as well as phialai, the red is not coral-red gloss, but rather a matt pigment applied after firing (Williams [supra] 311f.).
- 60For some black fluted phialai, see Miller (supra n. 58) pl. 21; Agora XII, 272 pl. 23 fig. 6, no. 521. For examples of those with black rims and coral-red bowls, see Miller (supra n. 58) pls 19,2–5; 20; Agora XII, 272 fig. 6, no. 520; S.I. Rotroff and J.H. Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Place in the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 25 (1992) cat. no. 190 pl. 46.
- 61Their distribution, along with coral-red cups of the Class of Agora P 10359, is

- charted with admirable thoroughness by Shefton, 466–467. 472–474 ns. 33–45.
- 62For the Class of Agora 10359, see Agora XII, 99–100. 267 fig. 5 pl. 21, nos. 452–455.; only one coral-red example is catalogued there (no. 453; P 16001), but its entry mentions seven more from the Agora: e.g., P 2772; *Hesperia* 15, 1946, pl. 63, 239. Sparkes and Talcott list twelve other coral-red cups of this type, including two from Cyprus (Idalion): New York 74.51.1384 and 74.51.1385; CVA New York 2 pl. 335, 56–57. Another in their list, Berlin 3140.44, is said elsewhere to be from Marion (Shefton, 473 n. 38), and there is another (from Marion?) in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. Shefton adds several other examples from sites around the Mediterranean and the Black Sea; to his list of cups from Italy (473 n. 44), add a fragment from Monte Iato in Sicily: H.-P. Isler, *AntK* 37, 1994, pl. 8, 4.
- 63The cup in Figs 13–14 Color Pl. 17A: R36163/PO1110 (trench E.F2.h10); h. 4.55 cm., diam. foot 5.07 cm., th. rim. 0.24 cm. The black circles in the interior are not painted over the coral-red, but in carefully reserved gaps. The other four examples of the Class of Agora P 10359: R26033–4/PO757–8 (trench E.G0.f06); R36397/PO1128 (trench A.H9.t17); R48525/PO1736 (trench A.H9.v15); R48542/PO1753 (trench A.H9.u15). In addition, there is a single fragment from an all black cup of this class: R48532/PO1743 (trench A.H9.v15).
- 64Agora XII, 99.
- 65For Rheneia cups, see Agora XII, 100–105. 267 nos. 456–463 fig. 5 pl. 21.
- 66London 64.10–7.327; Agora XII, 100 no. 7. Sparkes and Talcott list this cup with the Class of Agora P 10359, reserving the term “transitional” for another, unillustrated cup, P 5135. It would seem logical, however, to make the ring foot the marker of transition. Miller discusses the evolution of Rheneia cups from the Class of Agora P 10359, finding no indication of direct influence from Persian metalware on either type: Miller (supra n. 58) 130f. pl. 34.
- 67Shefton, 473 n. 39. He notes that the London cup (supra n. 66) is from Rhodes, Fikellura Tomb 128. Another cup, Agora P 15952, is restored with a disk foot – i.e. as Class of Agora P 10359 – but it apparently lacks the usual black circle in the interior and may, instead, have had a ring foot: see E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, 318 no. 239 pl. 63.
- 68For example, Agora P 15015: Agora XII, 267 no. 456 fig. 5 pl. 21. The foot, rather than the bowl, is the diagnostic feature. If one compares the profiles of two coral-red cups from Ampurias, one with a ring and the second with a disk, it is the latter that has the less rounded bowl: Rouillard (supra n. 57) fig. 17, 1–2.
- 69The example in Figs 15–17 Color Pl. 17B–C: R48540/PO1751 (trench A.H9.v15); 4.27 × 11.77 cm., diam. ring foot 5.34 cm., h. rim 1.37 cm. The other two coral-red Rheneia fragments are R27349/PO842 (trench E.G0.c08) and R48523/PO1734 (trench A.H9.v15 and Test Trench 13, 1984).
- 70One trench (A.H.9.v15) yielded parts of both coral-red Rheneia cups and a cup of the Class of Agora P 10359 (see ns. 63. 69), as well as a fragment from a black-glaze “rattling cup” (see n. 73). There are thirty registered fragments from coral-red cups that cannot be assigned with certainty to a particular class, although each can confidently be said to come from one of the three types discussed here.
- 71For Vi-cups, see Agora XII, 93. 265 nos. 434–438 fig. 5 pl. 20; J. Gaunt, *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University*, 54 no. 1, 1995, 30ff.
- 72For rattling cups, see M. Vickers, *JHS* 90, 1970, 199–201; idem, *AJA* 78, 1974, 429ff. Some fourth-century Attic black-glaze cup-kantharoi have pellets in the rim, rather than the foot: e.g., Malibu 82.AE.152; J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*² (1988) 59 fig. 123 pl. VI.
- 73R48398/PO1714 (trench A.H9.v15).
- 74Composed of several separately registered fragments, all from trench E.G0.c08; the principal one, with the stem and foot, is R20008/PO532.

- 75R22593/PO593 (trench E.G0.d09). Part of the stem (R25534/PO701) is preserved but does not join.
- 76Nicosia C.1032 and C.1033; Flourentzos 1992, 152, pls 47,7; 48,1 (not identified as rattling cups). The foot of one (C.1033) is unbroken and retains its rattling pellets; the foot of the second is broken, revealing its construction from joined halves. I thank Pavlos Flourentzos for allowing me to examine these cups, whose shape, aside from the feet, is mirrored in black-glaze examples from the same cache of Marion tomb finds: Flourentzos 1992, pls 47,3–4; 48,2.
- 77R41166/PO1351 and R41172/PO1352 (trench E.G0.b06). Several black rim fragments likely are to be associated with this foot and stem. The fourth example of a coral-red rattling cup from the excavations also preserves part of the hollow foot (R25359/PO680, trench E.G0.g07).
- 78Vickers (supra n. 72) 199–201.
- 79Williams (supra n. 59) 296–297; D. Williams, in: S. Keay and S. Moser (eds), *Greek Art in View: Essays in Honour of Brian Sparkes* (2004) 113.
- 80Williams (supra n. 59) 300–303 nos. 90. 91. 94.
- 81Agora XII, 241 pl. 4, no. 68 (P 16753).
- 82See n. 59.
- 83See Gaunt (supra n. 71) 30ff.
- 84For Acrocups, see Agora XII, 93–94 266 nos. 439–445 fig. 5 pl. 20.
- 85Würzburg H 5388; CVA Würzburg 2 41–42 pl. 29,2. 4. 6; attributed by F. Hölscher to “Sotades oder Werkstatt.”
- 86A particularly close parallel is a black-glaze cup from the Athenian Agora (P 23661; Agora XII, no. 483 fig. 5 pl. 22), whose shape is nearly identical to the cup in Würzburg and whose interior design, an incised rosette surrounded by tongues, is the same as that on a stemless red-figure kylix by the Sotades Painter: Naples 2628; ARV² 764,5; Williams (supra n. 59) 298 figs 6–7. Cf. also the incised design in another black-glaze cup in Würzburg (H 5355), of the same shape as the coral-red example and also attributed by Hölscher to the workshop of Sotades: CVA Würzburg 2 pl. 30,1–3. Williams suggests that Sotades was the first to introduce the idea of decorating the interiors of cups with incised floral patterns, which along with stamping thereafter became a favored mode of decorating blackglaze vessels, as attested by numerous examples from Marion.
- 87Shefton, 467.
- 88J. Boardman, RA 1987, 279ff.
- 89J. Boardman, RA 2001, 387.
- 90Robertson (supra n. 28) 51ff. Robertson makes a good case for earlier Greek imports at Kition being drawn from the trade with Al-Mina in Syria.

23 The Relocation of Potters and the Dissemination of Style: Athens, Corinth, Ambrakia, and the Agrinion Group

John K. Papadopoulos

Introduction

It may seem paradoxical to focus on Corinthian potters and pottery in a volume dedicated to Athenian potters and painters, but my starting point is the very heart of the Athenian Kerameikos – the Potters' Quarter – and, indeed, the earliest potter's kiln thus far known in Athens. The kiln dates to the Late Geometric and early Archaic period, but it is not in the area of the German excavations in the Kerameikos but rather in the area that was to become, in the early Classical period, the Athenian Agora, the area that was the original Kerameikos of Athens.¹

Between June 1 and 7, 1938, Homer Thompson, while excavating to the southwest of the Tholos, came across a potter's kiln, a general description of which he published in 1940 (Figs 1–3).² The kiln provides an illuminating context for the firing of Athenian Early Iron Age pottery. The material catalogued from the kiln and its associated deposits includes all the likely items one would expect in a pottery production site: wasters and production discards, test-pieces, as well as damaged loom weights and spindle whorls, suggesting that the same workshop produced a variety of pottery as well as small terracotta objects.³ The most prominent, and in many ways surprising, pottery recovered from the kiln was Corinthianizing kotylai, including two production discards (Figs 4–5) and a test-piece cut from a similar kotyle base.⁴ Similar Corinthianizing kotylai made of Athenian clay were found in another, slightly later (early Archaic), deposit (S 17:2) in the area of the Classical Agora containing potters' debris (Figs 6–7).⁵ The most interesting aspect of the Tholos kiln deposit is the fact that the earliest kiln known in Athens produced not canonical Attic

pottery, but fairly standard Corinthian wares of no great distinction.



Fig. 1. View of the Tholos of Athens and general area around it on the west side of the Classical Athenian Agora, after excavation and completion of conservation work. View from the southeast, May 3, 1950. Photo: Courtesy ASCSA Agora Excavations.

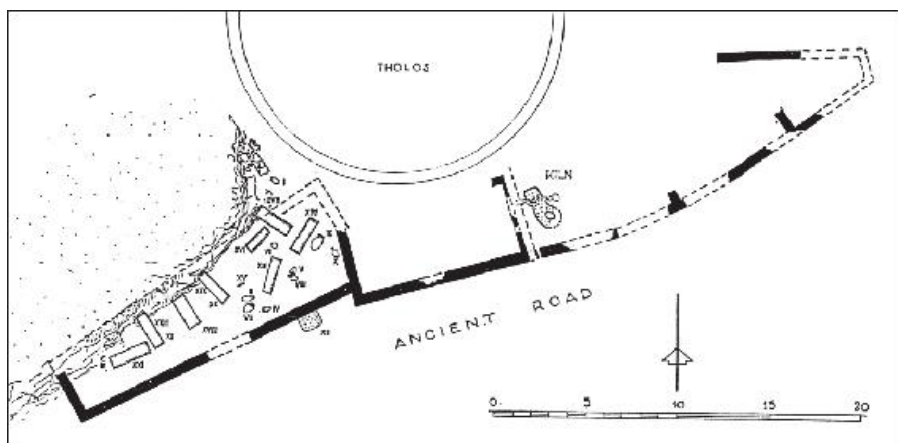


Fig. 2. Plan showing the remains of seventh-century BC house, kiln H 12:17, and the Tholos Cemetery in relation to the later Tholos of Athens. Drawing: after Agora VIII 110 fig. 9.

The Tholos kiln brings to the fore one of the most interesting and enduring aspects of Athenian pottery production: the phenomenon of Corinthianizing through émigré potters. It is this phenomenon, seen so clearly in the case of the Tholos kiln, which forms the basis of this paper. More particularly, I would like to take this phenomenon as a model and apply it to another later case study in Greek painted pottery in an attempt to resolve the place of production of another

type of pottery. Before doing so, it is important to review what evidence there exists for Corinthian-trained potters in the Athenian Kerameikos.

Corinthian Potters in Athens

The Corinthianizing pottery from the Tholos kiln and other Late Geometric and early Archaic deposits in the area of the Classical Athenian Agora should be seen in the broader context of the dissemination of the Corinthian pottery style. In addition to making Corinthian-style pottery in Athenian clay (Figs 4–7), Athens was importing Corinthian pottery, such as the Protocorinthian kotyle P 7143 from the Agora reproduced in a watercolor by Piet de Jong (Color Pl. 16B, left), and even adapting Corinthian to the highly idiosyncratic Protoattic idiom, such as the Middle Protoattic kotyle, P 7023 (Color Pl. 16B, right).⁶ In her study of the Late Geometric and early Archaic pottery from the Athenian Agora, Eva Brann believed that the Athenian versions of the kotylai like Figs 4–7 were copied directly from Corinthian imports, with minimal time-lag between prototype and copy.⁷ I want to dispel this notion and replace it with another idea, first noted by Tom Dunbabin. In his publication of an Athenian bowl formerly in the possession of Humfry Payne (Fig. 8), the excavator of Perachora, Dunbabin presented a penetrating analysis, one involving direct human agency:

“But this vase, though Attic, is not painted in Attic style. The animals are pure Corinthian, the use of filling ornament is Corinthian. Payne pointed this out to me, and indicated the workshop in which the painter was brought up; it is that of the Sphinx Painter.”⁸

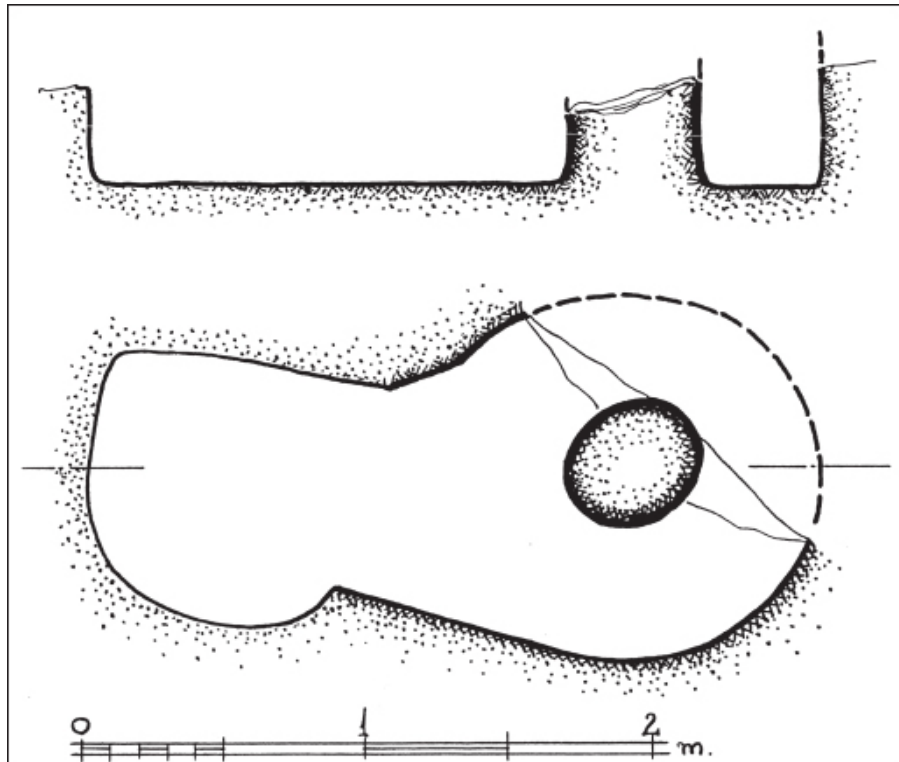
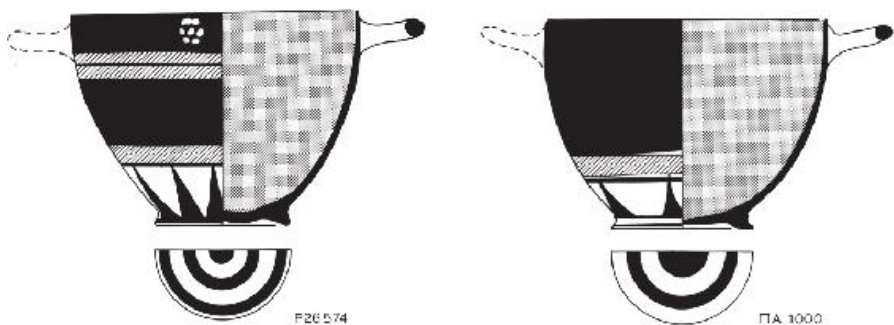


Fig. 3. Plan and section of kiln H 12:17. Drawing: after H.A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 4 (1940) 6 fig. 5.



Figs 4–5. Two Athenian Corinthianizing kotylai (P 13329 and P 32495), a production discard (left) and a likely waster (right), from kiln deposit H 12:17. Photo: Courtesy ASCSA Agora Excavations.



Figs 6–7. Two Athenian Corinthianizing kotylai from deposit S 17:2, Cutting F 1, both production discards. Drawing: Courtesy ASCSA Agora Excavations.

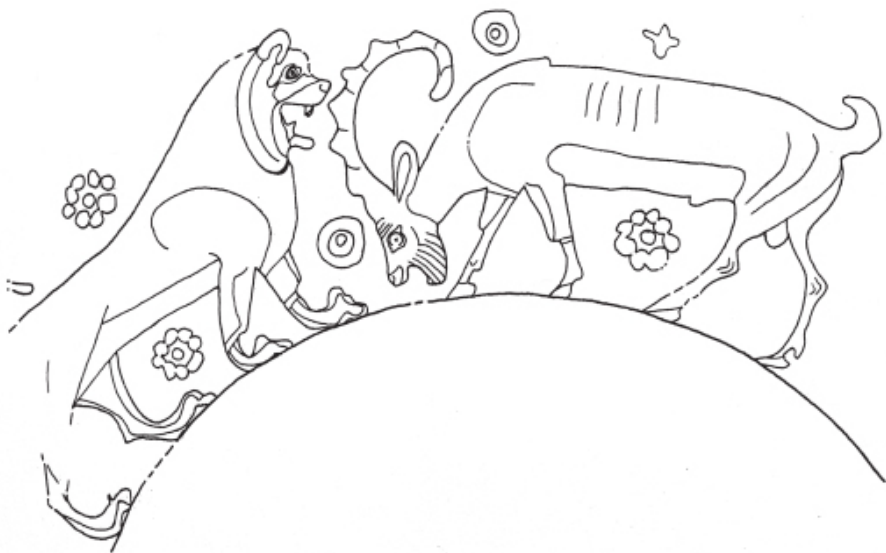


Fig. 8. Detail of Athenian Corinthianizing lekane formerly in the possession of Humfry Payne. Drawing by Patrick Finnerty. Drawing: after T.J. Dunbabin, BSA 45, 1950, 193 fig. 1a–b pl. 17b.

Dunbabin went on to place Payne's lekane at the head of a Corinthian current that reached its flood in the second quarter of the sixth century BC and from there saw this trend against the backdrop of Solon's offer of Athenian citizenship to immigrants who came to practice a trade.⁹ Whatever the reality of Solon's reforms, and whatever the complexities of Solonian economics,¹⁰ Dunbabin's model of the relocation of potters from Corinth to Athens is compelling. Moreover, the Corinthian-trained vase-painter who painted Payne's lekane worked in Athens a generation before the traditional date of Solon's reforms, and the material from the Tholos kiln now takes the reality of Corinthian-trained potters in Athens to an even earlier time.

Indeed, the potter who set up his workshop and kiln in the Athenian Kerameikos under the later Tholos of Athens may be among the earliest *metoikoi* in Athens that we can identify.¹¹

While standing on the shoulders of giants like Dunbabin, I would like to quote from Sir John Beazley: “Black-figure seems to have been invented not in Athens, but in Corinth, where the technique of silhouette with incised details appears soon after the beginning of the seventh century before Christ.”¹² Elsewhere, Beazley writes: “In the creation of *types*, or say of *standard forms*, Athens did not take the lead; a greater part was played by seventh-century Corinth.”¹³ And he goes on to say that lions in early Attic black-figure “are descended from Protocorinthian lions; the neat filling-ornaments, too, and the thoroughly ornamentalized plants, are derived from Corinthian originals. In this period, and for a long time to come, we shall continually be referring to Corinth.”¹⁴

In dealing with the Nettos Painter’s name vase, Beazley notes: “Corinth also seems to have created the type of the gorgoneion, the gorgon-head alone; Corinthian artists, that is, stylized and made shapely a primitive and artless thing, the hideous face that must long have been used in Greece as a counter-charm to the evil eye. The gorgoneion is found in Corinthian art before the middle of the seventh century, but the earliest Attic example is by the Nettos Painter.... The thick band of intricate floral pattern above the picture is derived from Corinthian models, and so is the discreet filling ornament....”¹⁵

The evidence of potters migrating to Athens is compelling. For example, in addition to Plutarch’s statement about Solon and the offer of citizenship to artisans (Plutarch, *Solon* 24), Brann discussed several Protoattic painters either as foreigners or, at least, welltraveled:

“The Ram Jug Painter shows some signs of having learned abroad about such things as Cycladic outline protomes and the use of brown paint, but one likes to think of him as an Athenian, albeit a traveler. The Polyphemos Painter, on the other hand, was an Aeginetan, or at least he worked in Aegina.”¹⁶

The idea of émigré potters closely connected with Athens is a phenomenon seen in later periods. In 1981, Brian Macdonald suggested that potters emigrated from Athens to cities such as Olympia, Corinth, Old Smyrna, and Olynthos, as well as to Lucania and Apulia, Etruria, Sicily and the Lipari Islands.¹⁷ Macdonald’s focus was on a very specific historical context, namely the troubled period during and immediately after the Peloponnesian War. But there is ample additional evidence for the relocation of potters not only *from* Athens, but also *to* Athens.

There is, first of all, the evidence of words written on Athenian

vases, including names. Athenian black-figure and red-figure pottery is full of misspellings, intrusive foreign letters not known in Attic dialect, and foreign-sounding names. Paul Kretschmer in his seminal 1894 study listed Gaurion (Gauris), Myspios, Oltos, Priapos, Oreibelos, Taleides, Thypeithides (Typhaithides), Chelis, Sakonides, Psiax, Hilinos, and Phintias as being either foreign names or at least not demonstrably Attic.¹⁸ To these Alan Boegehold added Amasis, whose name suggests Egypt, Sikanos and Sikelos, presumably from Sicily, Kolkhos from Kolchis, ho Lydos (“the Lydian”), Skythes (referring to Skythia), Thrax (as in Thrace), Mys (from Mysia), Syriskos (“the little Syrian”), and Wekhekleides, the latter evidently signing the first letter of his name with a *digamma*.¹⁹ Boegehold also discusses a number of instances of well-known vasepainters, including Exekias and the Brygos Painter, who use non-Attic letters either in their signatures or for words painted on their pots, as well as instances of spellings that are wrong for Athens.²⁰ Boegehold even discusses a possible example of a corrected spelling in the case of the Net[t]os Painter’s name vase.²¹

More recently, Seth Pevnick has taken one of these “Athenian” vase painters and elaborated an idea, first aired by Martin Robertson, that Syriskos (“the little Syrian”) was one and the same painter as Pistozenos (“the trustworthy foreigner”).²² It is noteworthy that one of the earliest signed kraters by Syriskos depicts a seated man named ΒΑΛΟΣ, which must refer to the Oriental god Baal (or Bel), shown in company with Themis and Epaphos: this is the only known representation of Balos in Greek art.²³ Although painted in Athenian style, the krater depicts a Syrian deity painted by someone who signs as the little Syrian. This pattern of foreign craftsmen in Athens in the Archaic and Classical periods, seen so clearly on many of the signed black and red-figure vases, is one that goes back to the earliest extant potter’s kiln in the city.

To return to the Tholos kiln in the Agora, whatever the identity of the Corinthian – or Corinthian-trained – potter who set up shop in Athens sometime in the later eighth century BC, the idea of the relocation of potters involves the most direct form of human agency and explains the phenomenon of Corinthianizing much more cogently than processes or notions of imitation.²⁴ I want now to take this idea of the relocation of potters and apply it to another case:

Where was the Agrinion Group made?

In 1979 Ian McPhee isolated a small group of 26 minor red-figure vases, exclusively small squat lekythoi, mostly decorated with a single figure flanked by spiral tendrils, on display in the Agrinion and

Ioannina museums, with a few examples from the Balkans and Italy. These vases he believed represented a local fabric from northwest Greece that he dubbed the “Agrinion Group.”²⁵ Eight of the 26 vases were in the Agrinion Museum; of these, six were found in the neighborhood of Agrinion, no doubt from tombs, and brought to the museum by villagers, while two were found in graves at Stratos.²⁶ An additional five now in the Ioannina Museum were found in tombs at Michalitsi in the region of Preveza, not far from Nikopolis, and two were unearthed at Garitsa on Korkyra.²⁷ Of the remaining lekythoi, two were found in Tomb 73 of Tumulus 1 at Apollonia in Albania, another two in tombs at Spina, another from the island of Vis in Croatia, and one from Lipari; the provenances of the remaining five, in the Volos, Benaki, Locarno, and Milan museums were unknown.²⁸ In addition to these 26 vases, McPhee noted, among others, two oinochoai, which he believed were by the same hand, one from Vitsa Zagoriou Tomb 64, the other from Spina, Valle Trebba, Tomb 256.²⁹ McPhee, followed by Vokotopoulou, was hesitant to place the two oinochoai categorically as northwest Greek, since Beazley had attributed one of them, that from Spina, to the (appropriately-named) Worst Painter and added: “I have always taken the vases of the Worst Painter to be Attic in spite of the barbarous style, but I ought to say that a squat lekythos in Ferrara, from Spina, T. 795, is rather like them and must be Italiote.”³⁰ As for the two oinochoai from Vitsa and Spina, McPhee concluded: “....but I wonder whether they were not in fact made in north-west Greece, in the first quarter of the fourth century, and be among the redfigure precursors of the Agrinion Group.”³¹ If the vases attributed by Beazley to the work of Worst Painter are, in fact, examples of McPhee’s Agrinion Group, then at least 21 more vessels may be added to the group, all from Spina and Bologna.³² Moreover, the range of shapes expands to include not only the numerous squat lekythoi and oinochoai, but an amphoriskos and probably two skyphoi.

Since McPhee’s seminal article, more examples of the group have come to light, several from tombs in one or other of the now 11 excavated tumuli from Apollonia, well over a dozen from the necropoleis of ancient Epidamnos, others from graves in and around Ambrakia (Arta), and Martin Bentz (personal communication) has mentioned several examples of the Agrinion Group from Olympia. To begin with the examples from Greece, I know of at least seven more examples of the so-called “Agrinion Group” that I saw in the Arta Museum, including six lekythoi and a lebes gamikos (there may well be more), and there are two more lekythoi mentioned by Angelika Douzougli.³³ The fabric of the “Agrinion Group” – at least of those examples of the group that I have seen – is fine and dense, not unlike

Attic, but lighter in color, closer to reddish yellow 7.5YR 7/6 on the Munsell scale (one or two can be a little redder, closer to reddish yellow 5YR 7/6), with absolutely no mica. A few of the vessels have a dirty reddish miltos wash, quite thick, that is different to that normally used on Attic red-figure.³⁴ The glaze or gloss is interesting: on the neck and body immediately under the handle, the gloss is normally applied in a rather streaky manner, elsewhere it is thicker or more dilute. In the area immediately around the figures, the gloss is of a higher quality, often a good black, preserving on a few pieces a sheen or luster, though in the vast majority of examples the gloss though good, is dull or matt. Where more dilute, the gloss has sometimes fired a dark reddish brown. In the majority of cases, the figures, like the subsidiary decoration, are outlined in gloss and there is usually no relief line visible (silhouette style).

In Albania, the new examples from Apollonia are believed by the Director of the Apollonia Museum, Vangel Dimo, to be locally-made and await more definitive publication.³⁵ Many of the red-figure vessels from the tumuli of Apollonia are kraters, and these may very well prove to be local and of a fabric different to that of the Agrinion Group proper. In the newly reopened Epidamnos Museum at Durres in July 2007, I counted at least ten more lekythoi that are without doubt of the Agrinion Group, and there are more likely, both on display and in the storerooms.³⁶ Two of these are presented in Figs 9–10. There is also a small red-figure chous from Epidamnos (Fig. 11), recently published by Jack Davis and his collaborators, that is described as follows: “Vessel type (chous, not the taller, late version) and decorative style basically Attic of ca. 420–370 BC, but the fabric is Corinthian or colonial Corinthian. Probably not an early South Italian product of similar date.”³⁷ Judging from the photograph, the oinochoe is not Corinthian, and the decoration – a single female figure flanked by spiral tendrils – is precisely in keeping with McPhee’s Agrinion Group, though a little earlier in date. Furthermore, the term “colonial Corinthian” is precisely what I am arguing for the “Agrinion Group” as a whole.

Before looking at the distribution of the “Agrinion Group” more closely, it is important to note that together with the red-figure there may well have been a thriving trade in black-gloss pottery as well. The cemeteries associated with Vitsa, together with the cemetery adjacent to another Molossian settlement more recently excavated at the site of Liatovouni near the confluence of the Aoös and Voidomatis Rivers in the interior of Epirus, have yielded a great array of black-gloss pottery.³⁸ Some of this pottery is clearly imported, and both Attic and Corinthian can be numbered among the imported black-gloss ware from both sites. A large quantity of this black-gloss pottery, however,

particularly that from Liatovouni, is neither Attic nor Corinthian, nor is it locally produced, and it shares much in common in terms of fabric, gloss, and feel with the Agrinion Group.³⁹ Given their location, the only large urban centers from which commodities such as pottery could have been transported to sites like Vitsa and Liatovouni are Ambrakia and Apollonia.⁴⁰ Consequently, red-figure pottery of the “Agrinion Group” may be the tip of a much larger iceberg, and the production center where the “Agrinion Group” was made also exported black-gloss pottery, the latter in arguably greater quantities than the red-figure.

To focus on just the red-figure, the distribution of the Agrinion Group in the Ionian islands, the mountainous interior of Epirus (Vitsa), as well as the western Peloponnese (Olympia), together with sites in the eastern Adriatic (Apollonia, Epidamnos, Vis) makes sense with Ambrakia or Apollonia or Epidamnos as the center of production. Of these three sites, Ambrakia, seems to be the one best placed, particularly with regard to the interior of Epirus. Indeed, any commodities, including pottery, produced in central or southern Greece found at sites such as Vitsa Zagoriou and Dodone in Epirus must have gone through Ambrakia, as the river valleys north of Arta provide the only straightforward means of transportation into the mountainous interior. With sites like Liatovouni on the Aoös/Vjosë River, commodities may well have traveled from Apollonia south via the river. As for the quantity of the Agrinion Group in Italy – both in the north (Spina, Bologna) but also the south (Lipari) – Ambrakia and Apollonia and Epidamnos are ideally situated. All three cities were strategically located economic giants in the Graeco-Roman world. The Via Egnatia, named after an early Roman proconsul, was constructed following the Roman annexation of Macedonia in 148 BC and was the principal military and commercial highway between Italy and the east.⁴¹ The road started from the ports of Epidamnos and Apollonia (later Aulon), ultimately reached the Aegean at Thessalonike, from which it continued to Byzantium.⁴² In an earlier period, before the Via Egnatia was constructed, it was from his capital in Ambrakia that Pyrrhus (319–272 BC) not only controlled Epirus and southern Illyria, but launched campaigns in the west in Italy and Sicily against the Romans and Carthaginians, as well as against the Macedonians and the Peloponnese to the east and southeast.⁴³ Moreover, it was through Ambrakia and its harbor at Ambrakos, some 18 km to the south, that Epirote produce was exported, not only in Classical antiquity, and Ambrakia and Ambrakos served as the primary conduits through which imported commodities entered Epirus.⁴⁴



Figs 9–10. Two “Agrinion Group” pots from the necropoleis of Epidamnos in the Durrës Museum: left, inv. 1754; right, inv. 2850. Photo: Author.



Fig. 11. Colonial Corinthian red-figure chous, no. AO48-02, from Epidamnos. Drawing: M. Dajliani.

The distribution of the Agrinion Group mapped out above would make sense for a Corinthian colony located more or less half-way between Corinth and the Italian peninsula, and Ambrakia, Apollonia, and Epidamnos were all colonized or co-colonized by Corinth. The Corinthian colonies include Poteidaia in the north Aegean, Ambrakia and Anactorion/Anactorium in the Ambracian Gulf, the Ionian islands of Korkyra and Leukas, Apollonia (founded by Corinth and Korkyra) and Epidamnos (Korkyra is the metropolis of Epidamnos, and included some Corinthians) on the Illyrian coast, and, of course, Syrakoussai in Sicily.⁴⁵ Of these, Poteidaia can be quickly ruled out as the purveyor

of the Agrinion Group, as can Syrakoussai, on the basis of the distribution of the Agrinion Group and the fact that no examples of the class have been found there. Moreover, Sicily went on to produce its own very idiosyncratic style of red-figure pottery.⁴⁶ The foundation dates for Apollonia, especially, and Epidamnos have come under close scrutiny recently, but both were traditionally founded after Ambrakia.⁴⁷ As for the foundation of Ambrakia, its oikists, together with Leukas and Anactorium, were the sons of Kypselos.⁴⁸ Nicholas Hammond elaborates:

“A second wave of Corinthian colonization in the north-west area is described in Strabo 10. 2. 8, C 452: ‘Corinthians sent by Cypselus and Gorgus occupied this coast (the Acarnanian coast) and advanced as far as the Ambraciote Gulf, and Ambracia and Anactorium were colonized.’ Ambracia itself was founded by Gorgus, son of Cypselus (Str. 7. 7. 6, C 325, reading Γόργου for Γαργάσου). The approximate date was 625 BC, as Cypselus came to power about 657 BC and Gorgus was of mature age.”⁴⁹

In dealing with the origins for the “Agrinion Group,” McPhee stated: “The inspiration for these small vases of the Agrinion Group seems to have come not from Attic but South Italian red-figure, more especially Apulian, in which small squat-lekythoi decorated with a single figure between floral tendrils occur first among the minor vases connected with the Iliouspersis Painter in the second quarter of the fourth century.”⁵⁰ Although there is a strong link between McPhee’s Agrinion Group and Apulian red-figure, the possibility that the style derives from Corinth cannot be categorically dismissed. Corinthian potters began to produce red-figure pottery in the Corinthian Kerameikos late in the third quarter of the fifth century BC and, as Sharon Herbert has noted, Corinthian red-figure has been found at the Argive Heraion, Mycenae, Perachora, and Olympia, among other sites.⁵¹ Although Corinthian red-figure, like Apulian, enjoyed a wider range of shapes than the Agrinion Group, small vases with spiral tendrils are known in both styles. Wherever the style of the Agrinion Group ultimately derives from, the important point is that it was brought to the production center by émigré potters.

I am not sure whether McPhee’s Agrinion Group was produced in Ambrakia or Apollonia or Epidamnos, nor am I sure that all of the vases attributed to this group were produced in the same center. The possibility that all three cities had a thriving local pottery industry producing redfigure and black-gloss pottery seems only natural and it is important to await the detailed publication of material from all three sites, as well as that from inland sites in Epirus. On the basis of what I have seen to date, I would favor Ambrakia over Apollonia and

Epidamnos as the primary production center of the Agrinion Group.

In so many ways, Ambrakia has been something of a neglected center that played a much more pivotal role in the production and movement of commodities, as well as people and ideas, than is currently conceded, both between Greece and the interior of Epirus and Illyria, and between the Greek mainland and Magna Graecia. For example, the possibility of the existence of an important bronze workshop in northwest Greece had long ago been put forward by Winifred Lamb and K.A. Neugebauer, and more recently Ioulia Vokotopoulou pointed to the importance of Ambrakia as a center of bronze-working; in addition, ancient authors mention the Ambrakian sculptor Polystratos who was active in the middle of the sixth century BC.⁵² As we have seen, Ambrakia may well have been an important producer of both red-figure and black-gloss pottery and, in an earlier period, I believe that Ambrakia was the production center for the Thapsos Class of Late Geometric pottery, but this should form the basis of another study in a more appropriate venue.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper I have sought to do three things by providing evidence, in some cases, and an educated guess in others, for the following: First of all, that the earliest potter's kiln in Athens thus far known was set up by émigré potters from Corinth and that Corinthian potters contributed a great deal to the trajectory that Athenian painted pottery was to take in the Archaic period. Secondly, that the later red-figure "Agrinion Group," which is certainly northwest Greek, was probably produced in Ambrakia (or perhaps in Apollonia or Epidamnos or in several of these centers). Finally, I would argue that the inspiration for the "Agrinion Group" may owe a lot, as did Athenian painted pottery of the Archaic period generally, to Corinth.

Abbreviations

HN = *Handbook of Epirus*, Epirus: The Geography, the Ancient Remains, the History and the Topography of Epirus and Adjacent Areas (1967).

McM = *McMullen*, 1974, 159–162.

IP = *Ioulia Papadopoulos*, *Ceramicus*

CR = *Ceramicus Redivivus*, *The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 31 (2003).

Notes

¹Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* 1–6. 21–22. 271–316. I am grateful to the

- conference organizers, John Oakley and Olga Palagia, for the invitation to participate, and also to the many participants for useful feedback, particularly Michalis Tiverios, Martin Bentz, and Lela Walter-Karydi. For providing access to material in their care and for useful discussion, I am grateful to Maria-Grazia Amore, Vangel Dimo, and Rudenc Ruka with regard to material in Albania, Angelika Douzougli and Konstantinos Zachos for the material from Liatovouni in Epirus, and Seth Pevnick for discussion on Syriskos.
- 2H.A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 4 (1940) 6.
- 3The material from the kiln, designated Deposit H 12:17, is presented in detail in Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* 126–143, with further discussion on 222–223. In another deposit (S 17:2) from the area of the Athenian Agora containing potters' debris, terracotta lamps and a wide variety of terracotta figurines were also recovered as production discards, see Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* 143–189.
- 4Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* 132–135 figs 2,68; 2,69 for one of the kotylai and the kotyle base (nos. 104–105), and 136–137 fig. 2,72 no. 108 for the other fragmentary kotyle.
- 5Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus* 165–169 figs 2, 102–2, 105 nos. 145–148.
- 6Both kotylai on Fig. 6 are published in color in J.K. Papadopoulos, *The Art of Antiquity: Piet de Jong and the Athenian Agora* (2007) 146–147 fig. 135. For further information on these vessels, see R.S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh-Century Well in the Agora*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 2 (1939) 143–144. 149–150 nos. C 8. C31 figs 101. 104. 105; E.T.H. Brann, *Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery: Mid 8th to Late 7th Century BC*, *Agora VIII* (1962) 51 no. 165 pl. 9 (P 7023).
- 7Brann (*supra* n. 6) 51.
- 8T.J. Dunbabin, *BSA* 45, 1950, 194 with reference to H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period* (1931) 31 n. 1 for the Sphinx Painter.
- 9Dunbabin (*supra* n. 8) 196. 200; see further Plut. *Vit. Sol.* 24. For sixth-century BC “Corintho-Attic” vases, see H.R.W. Smith, *The Hearst Hydria: An Attic Footnote to Corinthian History* (1944) 252–253.
- 10For the most recent studies on the historical Solon, his laws, and the times in which he lived, see the collection of 18 essays in J.H. Blok – A.P.M.H. Lardinois (eds), *Solon of Athens: New Historical and Philological Approaches* (2006).
- 11For the prehistory of metics, see J.K. Papadopoulos – E.L. Smithson, *Hesperia* 71, 2002, 149–199.
- 12J.D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, rev. ed., by D. von Bothmer – M.B. Moore (1986) 1.
- 13*Ibid.* 12.
- 14*Ibid.* 12–13.
- 15*Ibid.* 13.
- 16Brann (*supra* n. 6) 24.
- 17B.R. Macdonald, *AJA* 85, 1981, 159–168.
- 18P. Kretschmer, *Die griechische Vaseninschriften ihrer Sprache nach Untersucht* (1894) 74–75.
- 19A.L. Boegehold, *AJA* 87, 1983, 90.
- 20*Ibid.*; for the Attic dialect see further L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece: A Study of the Origin of the Greek Alphabet and Its Development from the Eighth to the Fifth Centuries BC*, rev. ed., with a supplement by A.W. Johnston (1990) 66–78.
- 21A.L. Boegehold, *AJA* 66, 1962, 405–406; cf. L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic*

- Inscriptions 1: Phonology (1980) 24. 540.
- 22S.D. Pevnick, *A Little Syrian and the Assimilation of Trustworthy Foreigners in the Athenian Kerameikos*, MA thesis, University of California, Los Angeles (2006); M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* (1992) 135–140.
- 23LMC VIII (1997) 540, s.v. Belos II (M. True); H.A. Shapiro, *Personifications in Greek Art: The Representation of Abstract Concepts, 600–400 BC* (1993) 219–220 fig. 181 no. 145. As Belos, he is a mythical king of Egypt; great grandson of Zeus and Io, grandson of Epaphos and Memphis, son of Poseidon and the nymph Libya.
- 24See further J.K. Papadopoulos, in: R. Laffineur – P.P. Betancourt (eds), *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen, and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 6th International Aegean Conference, Philadelphia, Temple University, 18–21 April 1996*, *Aegaeum* 16 (1997) 449–462, where Bronze Age examples are discussed, including the evidence in the Linear B tablets for the relocation of potters.
- 25McPhee, Agrinion.
- 26McPhee, Agrinion 160. 162.
- 27For bibliography on the Michalitsi graves, see MCPhee, Agrinion 160 n. 4 (and n. 5 for Garitsa).
- 28For bibliography, see MCPhee, Agrinion 159–161. It is likely that those in Italian museums without provenance derive from Italy.
- 29McPhee, Agrinion 161 (with references); the oinochoe from Vitsa Zagoriou (inv. 2124) is now more fully published in I. Vokotopoulou, Βίτσα: Τα νεκροταφεία μίας μολλοσσικής κώμης (1986) 12–13. 284–285 pl. 7:α–β fig. 75:γ. Additional “local” red-figure pieces in the Agrinion and Ioannina museums are listed in MCPhee, Agrinion 161 n. 12.
- 30ARV² 1353.
- 31McPhee, Agrinion 162.
- 32ARV² 1353–1354; 18 examples are from Spina, one from Bologna, and the provenance of two in the Louvre is unknown. An additional two vases placed by Beazley as Near the Worst Painter are also from Spina. A few more vases are listed in BAdd² as by or near the Worst Painter, one of which is stated to be “Precursor of the (Italiote) Agrinion Group” on the basis of MCPhee, Agrinion.
- 33The lekythoi include inv. nos. 4758. 4768. 4771. 4772. 5242. 5667; two had miltois (4768 and 4771). The complete lebes gamikos with lid is inv. 5502α–β. For two more lekythoi, see A. Douzougli, *ADelt* 48, Chr. B’1, 281–282 pl. 91ε only one of which is illustrated.
- 34For miltois wash on Corinthian red-figure vessels, see S. Herbert, *The Red-Figure Pottery, Corinth VII*, 4 (1977) 1–2. 6–11. 14–15. 18. 20.
- 35For fruitful discussion on the red-figured pottery from Apollonia I am grateful to Maria Grazia Amore, Vanghel Dimo, and Kathleen Lynch.
- For published examples of the Agrinion Group from Apollonia, see A. Mano, *Illiria* 1, 1971, 130 fig. 26 (lower right, two examples). 135 fig. 30 (bottom center, two examples). pl. 23 various examples; V. Dimo, *Illiria* 21 (1–2), 1991, 90 pl. 14 nos 170/3959. 3665. 3710. 285/3676. and perhaps 180/3709. 236/3677.
- 36I am grateful to Rudenc Ruka for showing me material in the Durres Museum and for providing information on it. The lekythoi whose numbers I could see include: inv. 1338. 1755. 1756. 12658. 13139, plus five others whose numbers were not clearly visible. Published examples in H. Hidri, *Vazot antike të Dyrrahut* (Antique vases of Dyrrah) (2005) include: 101 nos. 94–97 (inv. 1754. 1761. 1771. 3277); 102 nos. 98–101 (inv. 9844. 1976. 1755. 2685); 103 nos. 105–106. 108–109 (inv. 1760. 1969. 9835. 1981); several of the lekythoi illustrated on 104–105, esp. nos. 111. 113. 115–118. 121; 106, nos. 125–128 (inv. 1763. 1785. 1984. 1777). In

- addition to these, many of the small lekythoi decorated with a human head illustrated on 102–105 should also belong to the Agrinion Group.
- 37J.L. Davis et al., *Hesperia* 72, 2003, 88–89 figs 47–48 no. A048–02. Note also another red-figure fragmentary vessel from the vicinity of the cemetery at Epidamnos: 47 fig. 8.
- For Agrinion Group vases elsewhere in Albania, see, among others, H. Shabani, *Illiria* 13(1), 1983, 272 fig. 7 (near Konispol); V. Bereti, *Illiria* 25(1–2), 1995, 222 pl. 7 (top right) (from the territory of ancient Amantia).
- 38For Vitsa, see Vokotopoulou (supra n. 29); for Liatovouni, see A. Douzougli, in: *Η Επαρχία Κόνιτσας στο Χώρο και το Χρόνο* (1996) 11–61.
- 39I am grateful to Angelika Douzougli and Konstantinos Zachos for allowing me to work on the very interesting material from the cemetery at Liatovouni.
- 40For Ambrakia, see below. The site of Liatovouni is located right at the confluence of the Aoös and Voidomatis Rivers in the Valley of Konitsa. From this confluence, the Aoös flows north into Albania, where it is known as the Vjosë River, before reaching the Adriatic just south of Apollonia. Indeed, the Aoös/Vjosë is largely responsible, together with the Seman River, for the extensive alluvial fill east of Apollonia that has left the ancient city today many kilometers from the sea. Before reaching the Adriatic, the Aoös/Vjosë merges, not far from Tepelenë, with another great river, the Drinos. The ancient Antigoneia, a hilltop settlement exploited by Pyrrhus of Epirus, is located at the confluence of the Aoös/Vjosë and the Drinos. A joint Albanian-Greek project has been investigating Antigoneia since 2005 under the direction of Konstantinos Zachos and Shpresa Gjongecaj. Other important ancient settlements of the Classical and Hellenistic periods located on or near the Aoös/Vjosë include Byllis and Klos-Nikaia, as well as Nymphaion; for the location of these sites see J.K. Papadopoulos et al., *AJA* 111, 2007, 107 fig. 2. The valley of the Aoös provides one of the most important natural routes between the mountainous interior of Epirus into southern Illyria and onto the Adriatic, a route that must have been exploited for millennia, as it is still today. For a useful discussion of the inland route from Ambrakia to Apollonia via the Aoös, see R.L. Beaumont, *JHS* 72, 1952, 62–73.
- 41J.J. Wilkes, in: L. Bejko – R. Hodges (eds), *New Directions in Albanian Archaeology: Studies Presented to Muzafer Korkuti* (2006) 171.
- 42Ibid. 170–171.
- 43For Pyrrhus see, among others, G. Nenci, *Pirro: Aspirazioni egemoniche ed equilibrio mediterraneo* (1953); P. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (1957).
- 44For Ambrakia and Ambrakos see Hammond, *Epirus*.
- 45For a succinct and cogent overview of the Corinthian colonies see A.J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (1964) 118–153. For Illyrian Apollonia and Epidamnos see also Hammond, *Epirus* 425–428; Papadopoulos et al. (supra n. 40) 108 ns. 6. 10. The ancient city of Ambrakia (modern Arta) is situated on the Arachthos river 18 km from its harbor Ambrakos on the north shore of the Gulf of Arta. See Hammond, *Epirus*; P. Cabanes, *L'Épire de la mort de Pyrrhos à la conquête romaine* 272–167 av. J.C. (1976).
- 46For which see LCS.
- 47Apollonia, according to Strabo (8.316) and Ps.-Scymnus (439), was a joint foundation of Corinth and Korkyra; Thuc. (1.26.2) describes it as a Corinthian *apoikia* (so, too, Dio Cas. 41.45 and Plin., *HN* 3.23; cf. Steph. Byz. [s.v.], who only mentions 200 Corinthians under the oikist Gylax), whereas Paus. (5.22.4) refers to Korkyra as the sole metropolis: see Graham (supra n. 45) 130; see further S.R. Stocker – J.L. Davis, in: Bejko – Hodges (supra n. 41) 85–93, who, following R. van Compernelle, *AntCl* 22, 1953, 56 n. 1, deconstruct the foundation date of 588 BC for Apollonia as an eighteenth-century invention by Désiré Raoul-Rochette;

- see further Papadopoulos et al. (supra n. 40) 108 ns. 6. 10; 138 n. 72. Epidamnos boasts a Korkyran and Corinthian pedigree: see Hammond, Epirus 425–426. The colony was at first a mixture of Greeks and Illyrians, specifically the Taulantii, who had called in the Korkyrans. The traditional founder was Phalius, a Corinthian of Heraclid descent: see Hammond, Epirus 425.
- 48See Graham (supra n. 45) 30. 118–153; Hammond, Epirus 425. The ancient sources for the colonization of Ambrakia are Ps.-Scymnus 435f; Strabo 10.2.8 (C 452).
- 49Hammond, Epirus 425. As Hammond notes, the date of ca. 625 BC for the foundation of Ambrakia derives from the traditional link of the colony with the sons of Kypselos. This should be seen in the context of the foundation myths that were in the process of being elaborated in the Archaic period, and the myth-historical nature of these myths does not need to be stressed (for which see J.K. Papadopoulos *Hesperia* 70, 2001, 444–448). Hammond, Epirus notes that the name of the colony was taken from Ambrax, son of Thesprotos, or from Ambrakia, daughter of Melaneus, implying that the name was local and not introduced by the Corinthians.
- 50McPhee, Agrinion 161 with n. 11.
- 51Herbert (supra n. 34) 1.
- 52W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes* (1929) 96–99; K.A. Neugebauer, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der statuarischen Bronzen in Antiquarium*, Bd. I: *Die minoischen und archaisch griechischen Bronzen* (1931) 106–112; I. Kouleimane-Vokotopoulou, *Χαλκαί κορινθιοῦργες πρόχοι. Συμβολή εις την μελέτην της αρχαίας ελληνικής χαλκουργίας* (1975) 155–166.

24 White-ground Lekythoi in Athenian Private Collections: Some Iconographic Observations

Maria Pipili

To the memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood

Among the vases from Athenian private collections which will appear in a forthcoming fascicule of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, there are some white-ground lekythoi which are worth a closer look, as they can give us the opportunity to touch on some of the problems connected with the iconography of this particular type of vessel. The most important of these are part of the Dimitris Dinopoulos Collection: three whole lekythoi which survive in good condition, a fourth which is much restored and preserves very little from its decoration, and fragments of at least three more, all works of the Achilles Painter's Middle II Period in John Oakley's classification; that is, the years 445/40 BC when the best of this artist's vases were made;¹ and there is one lekythos by the Bosanquet Painter, an important artist of the same period.² Most vases in private collections, unfortunately, have no archaeological context attached to them; for the Dinopoulos lekythoi, however, we seem to have some information about their provenance: they are said to have been found together in the area of Koukaki in Athens, information which is not to be doubted since the district of Koukaki, south of the Acropolis, is the site of a well-known Athenian cemetery which extended along an ancient road leading from the Haladai Gates (the Seaward Gates) to Phaleron at the sea.³ "Found together" does not necessarily denote a single burial, but the chances are that all lekythoi were deposited in the same grave since they constitute a uniform whole. They are all but one by the same hand⁴ and, as we shall see, their imagery presents some consistent features.

So, although we know nothing about the type of grave which probably contained these vases, its other furniture or the sex and age of the deceased, the fact that the lekythoi seem to have the same grave context makes them less mute than most other vases in private collections.⁵

Of the Dinopoulos lekythoi one is decorated with a domestic scene, while all the others show the visit to the grave. The lekythos with the domestic scene (Figs 1–2; Color Pl. 18A–B) shows a typical Achillean “mistress-and-maid” composition, with two women standing facing one another.⁶ The one on the right, in a sleeved chiton on which there are very few traces of red, has just received, or is about to hand over, a bundled red himation. The other woman is shorter and, thus, meant to be younger or of a lower status. She wears a peplos which was once painted red. An oinochoe and a red sakkos hang in the background indicating the interior setting.⁷ There is a *kalos* inscription here as on so many other of the Achilles Painter’s Early and Middle lekythoi; it praises Hygiainon, a name which occurs frequently on the Achilles Painter’s vases.⁸

Domestic scenes are by far the most popular subject on the Achilles Painter’s white lekythoi. Of the approximately 130 white lekythoi by him, some 90 have an interior setting: most of them show two women as on our vase, while a few of his late vases show a woman facing a youth, or sometimes a warrior in a so-called departure scene. Only 35 lekythoi, less than a third of the whole, show the visit to the grave which is otherwise the most common subject, by far, on white lekythoi after the middle of the fifth century BC.

Two women in a domestic setting, one seated, the other standing, or both standing as on our vase, an image conventionally labelled “mistress and maid,” is the prevalent decoration on the earliest canonical whiteground lekythoi of the years 470/60 BC.⁹ The women are either carrying baskets full of wreaths and fillets, presumably for the decoration of the grave, or handling other objects and dealing with occupations which have no immediate funerary association. The Achilles Painter, who started his career around 460 BC, took over this type of scene and brought it to perfection.¹⁰ During the decade 460/50 BC he produced only domestic scenes and never the visit to the grave which had already been introduced to funerary imagery on white lekythoi. His preference for domestic scenes was retained even after the middle of the fifth century, when the other white lekythoi painters showed almost exclusively the visit to the grave or, less often, some other explicitly funerary theme such as Charon in his boat, Hypnos and Thanatos carrying the deceased, or the *prothesis*. The fact that the Achilles Painter’s grave scenes do not outnumber the domestic ones is probably due to the conservative character of this artist, who went on

reproducing a certain type of scene, in which he had specialized and which was obviously very successful in the market.



Figs 1–2. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection
4.

Now, let us come to the meaning of these “mistress-and-maid” scenes. It is generally held that the whiteground lekythoi of the years after 460 BC were used in funerary ritual. The scenes shown on them are, therefore, taken to have a funerary significance, even though implied – a typical case where the interpretation of a scene on a vase is determined by the function of this vase.¹¹ There are two main theories about the Achilles Painter’s women in an interior setting. According to one, most of the women are mourners preparing to visit the grave since they hold funerary baskets, as well as other objects (plemochoai, pyxides, alabastra, wreaths, and fillets) which, though not exclusively funerary gifts, are often shown carried by visitors to the grave or deposited on the steps of the monuments.¹² The other view is that these images show aspects of the life of the deceased, as is the case with the later grave reliefs.¹³ And according to a more radical view, they all show the preparation of the bride, and are, therefore, an offering for a young woman who died unmarried, but also possibly for any woman “who, like the bride, was leaving the world she knew for one unknown.”¹⁴ Now, if we choose to see all these “mistress-and-maid” compositions as an idealized rendering of the dead, then we should suppose that this large production of the Achilles Painter (some 60% of his white lekythoi) and the many earlier works were made exclusively for dead women. Is it so? Only the burials themselves can give an answer to that, and unfortunately, very few of these vases

have a recorded provenience. Some white lekythoi decorated with “mistress-and-maid” scenes, to be sure, come from women’s graves in Eretria,¹⁵ but there is reason to believe that such lekythoi were not deposited only in women’s graves.

A recent find is very interesting for our discussion. In a rescue excavation at the Athens suburb of Maroussi during the construction of the Attica highway, the *Attiki Odos*, in 2002, a grave, which contained among others a typical “mistress-and-maid” lekythos by the Achilles Painter, came to light.¹⁶ One woman is standing on the left holding a plemochoe, and another on the right carrying a basket with fillets. The excavator, D. Schilardi, speaks of a youth’s grave which is not to be doubted since it contained a strigil and 55 natural astragaloi.¹⁷ Also, among other vases, it contained two white lekythoi showing the visit to the grave in the same way, with a woman holding a phiale on one side of the stele and a mantled youth on the other, a fact which seems to reflect a deliberate choice for vases showing the deceased as an adolescent. The “mistress-and-maid” scene from this grave, therefore, has nothing to do with a memorial to a dead woman, but should rather be seen as an image of family devotion to the deceased, of the care for his grave. These scenes and those of the visit to the grave would then be variations of the same theme as has aptly been remarked.¹⁸ And this would explain how the Achilles Painter continued producing so many domestic scenes at a time when most other white lekythoi painters showed exclusively the visit to the grave. To those who bought these lekythoi and offered them to their dead the message conveyed by both domestic and grave scenes was probably one and the same: family piety towards the dead.



The recent find from Maroussi shows how crucial the knowledge of who received these images is for their correct reading. The Dinopoulos domestic scene might also have been deposited in a grave which was not a woman's grave. Unfortunately, there are no skeletal remains from this burial, nor any gender-specific object, such as a strigil or a mirror, but most of its white lekythoi depicting the visit to the grave seem to show a preference for one particular image, that of the idealized Athenian ephebe, who may thus be regarded as the deceased. There are at least four vases with a youth by the stele, and possibly more, if there was also a youth standing opposite a mantled male figure on three very fragmentary lekythoi. Of course, it is methodologically unsound to speculate upon the gender of the deceased from the scenes of the vases deposited in the grave,¹⁹ but when there are so many images in a grave which repeat a certain motif, this is most likely not due to pure chance.²⁰ The Dinopoulos vases are very fine and are worth a closer look.

One lekythos shows a youth and an old man on either side of a stele which is topped by a stone with moulding and has red and black bands tied around it (Figs 3–4; Color Pl. 18C).²¹ The youth on the left is shown as an ideal Athenian ephebe: he is wearing a red chlamys and a petasos at the back of his neck, holds a spear in his left hand, and has his right hand resting on his hip – a posture which is not rare in the Achilles Painter's figures. He is a *peripolos*, one of the young Athenians aged between 16 and 18 who served their military service as lightly armed troops at the borders of Attica before being introduced into the citizen body.²² This type of lightly armed youth, who is often shown as a hunter too, is used very frequently in classical art in order to represent the ideal Athenian ephebe. The old man who stands on the right leaning on his stick and wrapped in his red himation is mourning. His hair and beard are rendered with a very dilute, almost yellow glaze and are stippled, probably as an indication of thinning hair. His hand is raised and resting on his forehead, and his eyes are shut: one of the very few cases in the Achilles Painter's work in which we have the expression of intense emotion. An old man lamenting by the stele appears on four other Achillean lekythoi, some of which are very close to ours.²³

Another lekythos is decorated with a youth and a man on either side of a stele (Figs 5–6; Color Pl. 18D).²⁴ The youth on the left is heavily wrapped up in a red himation, and looks like a young boy, younger than the ephebe we just saw. He is very clearly meant to be the deceased. The bearded man is a mature draped figure; he extends

a hand to touch the stele which is topped by a pediment and has two red bands tied around it.



Figs 5–6. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection 6.

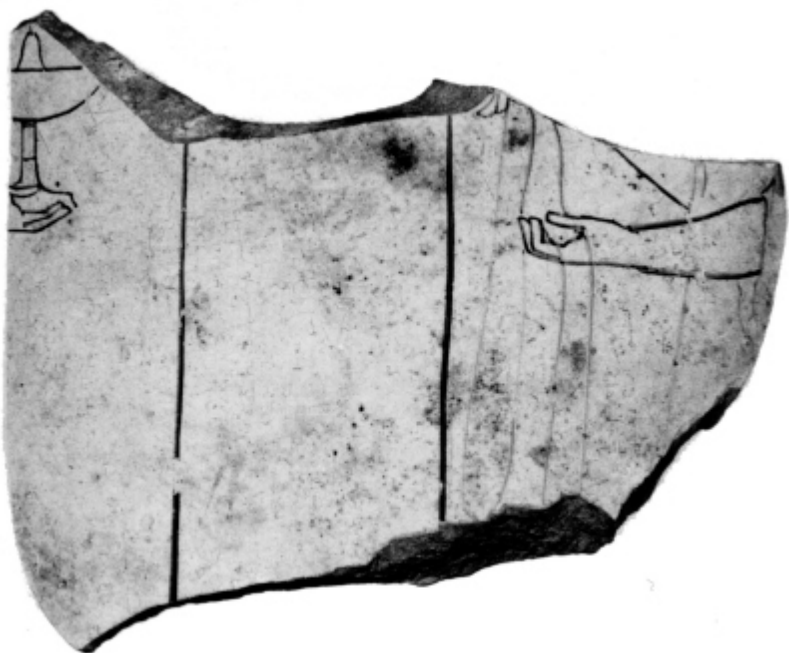


Fig. 7. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection 10d.

The fourth whole lekythos in the Dinopoulos collection was attributed to the Bosanquet Painter by Oakley (Color Pl. 19A).²⁵ A youth in red himation stands frontally on the right of the stele which is adorned with fillets by a woman standing on the left. On the base of the stele there are two lekythoi (one upturned) and a pyxis, a vessel which is characteristic of female graves, but perhaps not exclusively so.²⁶

The other lekythoi of the Dinopoulos Collection, all by the Achilles Painter and all showing the visit to the grave, are in a very fragmentary state of preservation. One is very restored and shows part of a male figure standing on the right wrapped in a red himation.²⁷ On another fragmentary work we have the rear part of another male figure in a red himation standing on the left, perhaps an elder like the one we saw.²⁸ Two other fragments preserve the figure of a mature man in a himation, his right shoulder bare, who stood on the left – a very fine work (Color Pl. 19B);²⁹ and a small fragment preserves part of the chlamys of a youth turned left who might, thus, have faced one of the above figures or have belonged to a separate vase.³⁰ Finally, there is a fragment showing two women flanking a stele (Fig. 7); the one on the left holds a plemochoe, the other a fillet.³¹

We supposed that the Dinopoulos lekythoi were chosen for a youth's grave. Would a scene showing a plemochoe brought to the grave be a suitable gift for a dead youth?³² The plemochoe was a perfume vase used in the women's rooms, but it seems that it had a more general use in funerary ritual. One of the graves from Piraeus Street presented by G. Kavvadias in this volume (Grave 37) belonged to a man in his 20s or 30s as shown by the osteological analysis. One of the white-ground lekythoi deposited next to him showed two women visiting the grave, and both held plemochoe which are clearly to be seen as funerary gifts, since one of the women bends to deposit hers on the steps of the monument. The evidence provided by this grave is very important since it shows that the image of the deposition of a plemochoe at a grave did not necessarily denote a woman's grave to the ancient viewer. We should suppose, therefore, that the plemochoe as grave gift belonged to the same category of non genderspecific objects as the lekythos or the alabastron.³³

The impression we get from the scenes on the Dinopoulos lekythoi is that they were all chosen for a dead youth. If this was the case, then we would have here another "mistress-and-maid" scene which had been deposited into an ephebe's grave like the one from Maroussi.

Let us now come to the iconographic motif on the Dinopoulos lekythos which is worth examining closer. There are 11 other white lekythoi, all of them by the Achilles Painter and all but one dating from the painter's Middle Period, that show a woman handing over a

rolled mantle to another in an interior setting.³⁴ This type of scene is usually regarded as dressing, with no funerary overtones, since a very similar bundled himation is often shown held by a woman or deposited on a chair in many red-figure scenes with a household context.³⁵ And it has been associated with another scene, that of a woman tying (or untying) her belt, which occurs on a few white-ground lekythoi.³⁶ The rolled garment on white lekythoi, however, appears not only in domestic scenes but also by the grave,³⁷ exactly like the baskets, plemochoai, alabastra, pyxides and fillets, and if we choose to see these objects both in the house and by the grave as funerary gifts, I think that this is how the rolled mantle should also be regarded.³⁸ There is ample literary evidence about the burning of garments as part of funerary ritual, as well as of the offering of clothing to the dead *after* the burial.³⁹ The most important of the latter, which refers to rites current in the fifth century BC when the white lekythoi were produced, is a passage in Thucydides (3.58.4) where the Plataians, in order to appease the Spartans, inform them that they honour yearly those Spartans killed by the Persians and buried in Plataiai “by presenting garments and all the proper offerings” (“εἰσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις”). And in Euripides’ *Orestes* (1436) Helen prepares red garments to offer to Klytaimnestras’s tomb (“φάρεα πορφύρεα δῶρα Κλυταμνήστρα”).⁴⁰

To the known examples of this interesting motif of the rolled mantle on white lekythoi, we may now add two more which come from another Athenian private collection, the Ioannis Passas Collection.⁴¹ One is a domestic scene, the other a visit to the grave. The lekythos with the domestic scene is an important vase (Fig. 8; Color Pl. 19C–D). It is one of the few “mistress-and-maid” scenes from the second half of the fifth century which are not by the Achilles Painter, but is clearly inspired by him, and there is good reason to attribute it to one of his pupils, the Phiale Painter.⁴²

Active between 450 and 425 BC, the Phiale Painter is primarily a painter of red-figure; we have only five white lekythoi by him, so this sixth lekythos is a welcome addition to his work.⁴³ The painter’s white lekythoi were produced in the decade 440/30 BC where the Passas lekythos also belongs. The woman holding the red garment on the left wears a peplos and has her hair bound up in a bun which is covered by a red bag. The woman on the right wears a sleeved chiton and holds a plemochoe. Of the five white lekythoi by the Phiale Painter known so far, four have explicitly funerary themes and are among the finest and more original white lekythoi ever made.⁴⁴ The fifth – in Berlin – has an Achillean mistress-and-maid, one seated the other standing.⁴⁵ So, we see that the painters who belonged to the Achilles Painter’s workshop – even such iconographically nonconformist artists

as the Phiale Painter – continued to reproduce the workshop’s favourite “mistress-and-maid” motif in the traditional way until well into the 430s.



Fig. 8. Attic white-ground lekythos. Phiale Painter. Athens, I. Passas Collection 37.

The other lekythos in the Passas Collection showing the rolled garment motif, this time as an offering to the grave, is a small vase, badly preserved and burnt (Figs 9–10).⁴⁶ The woman on the left wears

a sleeveless garment, puts one foot on a block and stoops slightly, presumably in order to deposit the purple bundle of clothing she is carrying. The artist here has shown much more clearly than on other vases that the bundled mantle is meant to be an offering at the grave.⁴⁷ The youth on the other side of the stele stands frontally and is naked, so that he should probably be identified with the deceased. But there are traces of a long fillet in the youth's hands, so did the artist intend to show another visitor bringing his offering at the tomb? If this is the case, we should suppose that the artist showed him naked in order to characterize him as an adolescent.⁴⁸

A final remark. We cannot fail to notice that those who stand quietly by the grave watching visitors bring offerings on white lekythoi before the last quarter of the fifth century are usually women and Athenian ephebes – very rarely mature men. The Sabouroff Painter, one of the most prolific painters of white lekythoi has a youth standing opposite a woman or, more rarely, opposite another youth on 70% of his white lekythoi with scenes at the grave.⁴⁹ In those scenes, where Charon leads the dead, we have the shades mostly of women or else youths; also in the prothesis scenes we have youths and sometimes women, but no mature men. Does this have something to do with who received these white lekythoi?



Figs 9–10. Attic white-ground lekythos. Athens, I. Passas Collection 41.

That the canonical white lekythos must have been a relatively expensive special vase is fairly certain. Only a small percentage of graves contained such vessels.⁵⁰ So, were these special offerings for

special dead? Children and ephebes – young people who did not reach maturity – were special dead,⁵¹ and so were also women who died before their wedding or during their first pregnancy or in childbirth. It would be interesting to know if these individuals were initially the primary recipients of white lekythoi.⁵²

Vases without provenance or archaeological context cannot give an answer to that. It is to be hoped that the study of the distribution pattern of grave goods, together with future finds to which due attention is paid to the skeletal remains and to the whole context of the graves, will let us know who received these vases, and at the same time help us read more accurately their much debated imagery.

Acknowledgements

For discussions and help with information I should like to thank M. Tiverios, V. Sabetai, E. Giudice, M. Pologeorgi and E. Baziotopoulou. I am also grateful to V. Kolomva (Athens), E. Stassinopoulou and E. Morati (Athens, National Museum), and to A. Coulié (Louvre) for permission to examine vases, for photographs and other kinds of assistance.

Abbreviations

APP. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings* (1997).

Oakley, AchillePt Achilles Painter (1997).

Oakley, Death Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi (2004).

Oakley, PhialePt The Phiale Painter (1990).

Schulz, Die Britische Bilder

Bilderattischen Vasen. Visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jh. v. Chr. (2005).

Tzachou-Alexandri, Λευκές λήκυθοι του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέως στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο (1998).

Notes

¹For the Achilles Painter the basic monograph is Oakley, AchillePt with the earlier bibliography. For the painter's white-ground lekythoi in the National Museum of Athens see also Tzachou-Alexandri with good colour photographs. The Dinopoulos lekythoi are listed by Oakley under nos. 206. 216. 223. 224. 269. 271 pls 109C–D. 116C–E. 118A–B. 119C–D. 139A–B. 140A.

²For the Bosanquet Painter see most recently J.H. Oakley, in APP 241–248 with earlier bibliography; for the Dinopoulos lekythos 243 figs 5–6.

³Rescue excavations held at times in this area have brought to light many graves:

- see, e.g., ADelt 19, 1964, B1, 57–60; ADelt 25, 1970, B1, 53–58; ADelt 32, 1977, B1, 23–24; ADelt 35, 1980, B1, 28–31. For a recent investigation during the construction of the Athens Underground in 1996–1997 see E. Lygouri-Tolia, in: L. Parlama – N. Stampolidis (eds), *The City Beneath the City: Antiquities from the Metropolitan Railway Excavations* (2000) 119–127.
- 4The only lekythos not by the Achilles Painter is, nevertheless, by an artist who seems to have been influenced by him and may have worked close to him in the Athenian Kerameikos (see J.H. Oakley, in: APP 244, 247).
- 5The number of lekythoi (at least eight vases) is large for a single grave but not unusual. In a selective list of grave contexts with many white-ground lekythoi put together by Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder* 293–299, there are several cases of graves containing at least five white lekythoi. A sarcophagus from Anavyssos (295 no. 21) contained as many as eleven white lekythoi, almost all from a single workshop, as is the case with the Dinopoulos vases. In the Anavyssos group, however, the imagery of some lekythoi seems to point toward a male grave and of some others to a female one. This gives us some reservations about whether all of the vases belonged to the same burial, the circumstances of the find having not been recorded.
- 6Dinopoulos Collection no. 4: Oakley, *AchillesPt* no. 206 pl. 109C–D. H. 35.8 cm. False bottom. The contours of the figures are in a brown glaze, dark brown in some parts and a diluted golden brown in others – often so dilute that it is almost matt and has faded away like most of the added washes of red colour on the vase.
- 7S. Schmidt, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 9, 2006, 1004 prefers to see such hanging objects as attributes characterizing the women rather than indicating an indoor location (cf. J.H. Oakley, *ibid.* 1014 for a refutation of this view).
- 8On the *kalos* inscriptions of the Achilles Painter's vases see Oakley, *AchillesPt* 10ff. with full bibliography. The name Hygiaionon occurs on 10 vases to which now add a white lekythos found recently near Athens (see *infra* n. 16).
- 9The main painters of such early white-ground lekythoi are the Timokrates Painter (ARV² 743–744) and the Painter of Athens 1826 (ARV² 745–748). The term “mistress and maid” is a conventional one, since in most cases nothing clearly distinguishes one woman as a servant. For the early white lekythoi see recently J.H. Oakley, in: D. Papenfuss – V.M. Strocka (eds), *Gab es das griechische Wunder? Griechenland zwischen dem Ende des 6. und der Mitte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (2001) 101–110.
- 10For the Achilles Painter's “mistress-and-maid” scenes see Oakley, *AchillesPt* 61–64; Tzachou-Alexandri 49ff. 70ff. 92f. The composition has been the object of many studies, notably: J. Reilly, *Hesperia* 58, 1989, 411–444; D.C. Kurtz, *AnnAstorAnt* 10, 1988, 141–149; E. Rystedt, in: E. Rystedt – Ch. Scheffer – Ch. Wikander (eds), *Opus Mixtum. Essays in Ancient Art and Society* (1994) 73–91; J.H. Oakley, in: B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (2000) 227–247; Oakley, *Death* 30–57.
- 11Once or twice the exclusive association of the Achilles Painter's white lekythoi with death has been questioned. G.M.A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases. A Survey* (1946) 121, for instance, supported the view that the Achilles Painter lived in the transitional period when the white lekythos was used both in daily life and in funerary ritual. For his part, J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period* (1989) 132 observed that the *kalos* inscriptions on many of these lekythoi seem inappropriate to a solemn offering and expressed doubts about the funerary intent of *all* white lekythoi from the mid-century on. Unless canonical white lekythoi of the years after 460 BC turn up in urban contexts, however, which would indicate that their funerary use was sometimes secondary,

we may continue regarding them as having been made for the grave.

- 12 Supporting this view, A. Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi I* (1907) 343; W. Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen* (1914) 19; Kurtz (supra n. 10); H.A. Shapiro, *AJA* 95, 1991, 651. For Oakley (*Oakley, AchillesPt* 62ff.; idem, in *Papenfuss – Strocka* [supra n. 9] 103–106; *Oakley, Death* 30ff.) only the scenes showing a funerary basket or wreath-making may be connected with funerary rites; the others are unspecific moments in the women's quarters.
- 13 Early scholars who saw a dead woman in these scenes are A. von Salis, in: *Juvenes dum sumus. Aufsätze zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft der 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner zu Basel* (1901–1907) 68–69; E. Buschor, *MJb* 2, 1925, 171–172; idem, *Grab eines attischen Mädchens*² (1941) 47. J.D. Beazley, *Attic White Lekythoi* (1938) 8–9, though preferring to see the women as mourners preparing to visit the grave, admits the possibility that the seated woman in these scenes is the dead. Recently, Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder* 45ff. also argues in favour of seeing the deceased in these images (for the scenes with the funerary baskets, though, he refrains from characterizing one of the women as dead: *ibid.* 61). C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Reading" Greek Death (1995) 328ff. sees the "mistress-and maid" scheme as an image of the dead woman's social persona which included her role as mourner, and at the same time as an image of family piety towards the dead, like the visit to the tomb.
- 14 This theory was put forward by Reilly (supra n. 10) who sees the objects held by the women as items belonging to the wedding imagery. Supporting this view, Rystedt (supra n. 10); R. Rehm, *Marriage to Death. The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy* (1994) 33f.; V. Sabetai, in: *APP* 319–335; G. Kavvadias, *Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff* (2000) 120.
- 15 K. Gex, *Rotfigurige und Weissgrundige Keramik. Eretria IX* (1993) 25, graves 6–8.
- 16 G. Steinhauer (ed.), *Αττικής Οδού περιήγηση* (2005) 69 fig. 10 (D. Schilardi). The lekythos carries a *kalos* inscription praising Hygiainon. It is exhibited together with the whole context of the burial in the Kephissia Museum.
- 17 The grave and some of the vases found in it are illustrated in Steinhauer (supra n. 16) 67 fig. 8; 69 fig. 9 (D. Schilardi). As S. Houby-Nielsen has shown (*Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1, 1995, 170), in fifth-century Athenian burials the strigil is a male gender-specific object, sometimes found with a male juvenile skeleton. The strigil's symbolic use changed in the late fourth and third centuries BC, when it could also be associated with a female burial (*ibid.* 170, n. 316).
- 18 Shapiro (supra n. 12).
- 19 The error to which this could lead is well shown in the case of one of the graves from Piraeus Street presented by G. Kavvadias and Anna Lagia in this volume. Grave 35 was regarded by the early excavators (A. Brückner – E. Pernice, *AM* 18, 1893, 181) as possibly female, because of two white lekythoi of secondary type found in it which showed a woman, one seated and the other by an altar. Bone analysis, however, has shown that this was a man's grave. The domestic scenes present here, out of place as they may look at first in a man's grave, might well have been chosen as images of family piety towards the dead.
- 20 For another example of a rich group of white lekythoi on which a certain type of figure (an idealized Athenian youth) is constantly present by the grave, thereby suggesting that this was an adolescent's burial, see Parlama – Stampolidis (supra n. 3) 251ff. nos. 232–236 with colour ill. (G. Kavvadias). Some scholars are cautious in identifying the figures standing by the gravestone as the dead: see, for example, D.C. Kurtz – J. Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs* (1971) 104–105; Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder* 62ff.
- 21 Dinopoulos no. 5: *Oakley, AchillesPt* 150 no. 269 pl. 139A–B. H. 31.6 cm. False bottom. Golden brown glaze, darker and shiny on the shoulder and the

- ornamental band above the scene, more dilute and matt on the scene itself.
- 22For the *peripoloi* see Kavvadias (supra n. 14) 111.
- 23These lekythoi are: a) Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 725 (Oakley, AchillesPt no. 270 pl. 139C–D), b) Athens, Acropolis Museum 6473 (Oakley, AchillesPt no. 272 pl. 140C–D), c) Berlin 1983.1 (Oakley, AchillesPt no. 273 pl. 141A–B; warrior instead of youth), d) Newcastle-upon-Tyne 206 (Oakley, AchillesPt no. 274 pl. 142A–B). A similar composition of a youth and old man, but no grave monument, on Chicago 1907.20 (Oakley, AchillesPt no. 268 pl. 138C–D). Closest to ours is the lekythos in the Acropolis Museum, on which, however, the old man stands on the left and the youth is shown frontally; also, the lekythos in the Kanellopoulos Museum on which the youth is draped. On all four lekythoi the old man brings his hand to his forehead, a sign of intense grief often displayed by elders or women.
- 24Dinopoulos no. 6: Oakley, AchillesPt 144 no. 223 pl. 118A–B. H. 30.9 cm. No false bottom. Shiny golden brown glaze.
- 25Dinopoulos no. 8: Oakley (supra n. 2). H. 39.3 cm. No false bottom.
- 26According to Houby-Nielsen (supra n. 17) 172, the pyxis in itself is not sex-specific. In the fifth century BC it is usually combined with feminine objects but is also found in graves of young men.
- 27Dinopoulos no. 7: Oakley, AchillesPt no. 271 pl. 140A. H. as restored, 32 cm. False bottom. The foot is modern.
- 28Dinopoulos no. 10β: Oakley, AchillesPt no. 216 pl. 116C.
- 29Dinopoulos no. 10α, γ: Oakley, AchillesPt no. 224 pl. 119C–D. Compare with the man on the whole lekythos Dinopoulos no. 6 (Fig. 6). There are just one or two other bearded draped figures on the Achilles Painter's lekythoi. His men are either beardless youths or elders weeping by the grave.
- 30Dinopoulos no 10ε: Oakley, AchillesPt no. 216 pl. 116E (above right).
- 31Dinopoulos no. 10δ: Oakley, AchillesPt no. 216 pl. 116D.
- 32I take it for granted that the objects held by the women standing next to the grave are offerings and not attributes of the women themselves, as has been proposed (Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder* 61–62).
- 33One of the women preparing to visit the grave in the “mistress-and-maid” scene from the youth's grave in Maroussi mentioned above is also holding a plemochoe. Outside Attica, and in an earlier period, a plemochoe was deposited into a man's grave at Sindos in Macedonia dated ca 520 BC: I. Vokotopoulou et al., *Sindos* (1985) 274–275 no. 449 with colour ill. (M. Tiverios).
- 34Oakley, AchillesPt no. 200 pl. 107A–B (London D 48); no. 201 pl. 107C (Princeton 64–108); no. 205 pl. 113D (Oxford 1928.507, fr.); no. 214 pl. 112C (Bonn 65); no. 221 pl. 116B (Vienna IV 3745); no. 239 pl. 126A (Athens, NM 12791); no. 240 pl. 127A (Berkeley 8.36); no. 248 pl. 130A–B (Toronto 919.5.15); no. 266 pl. 136C (Rouen 1877); no. 279 pl. 145A (New York 54.11.7); no. 291 pl. 149C–D (Basel BS 443; late). Oakley, AchillesPt no. 250 pl. 131A–B (Athens, NM 12746) on which the woman carries a folded himation on her shoulder. The composition occurs once in red-figure, cf. Oakley, AchillesPt no. 143 pl. 86C–D (Syracuse 24684). Identical to the Dinopoulos image but reversed is the scene in the British Museum which carries moreover the same *kalos* inscription. Apart from the Toronto vase, on which the woman carrying the mantle is frontal and holds also an alabastron, all other compositions are very similar. The attendant holds an alabastron on the vase in Rouen.
- 35Thus Oakley, AchillesPt 62–63; Oakley, *Death* 49; idem, in Papenfuss – Strocka, (supra n. 9) 104; Tzachou-Alexandri 72–74; Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder* 50, who stresses the erotic element in this type of scene; and, of course, the supporters of the wedding theory (see Reilly [supra n. 10] 414–416. 422–423) who see in this

image bridal preparations.

- 36The tying (or untying) of the belt in a domestic context on white-ground lekythoi occurs on an early lekythos by the Painter of Athens 1826 (Athens NM 1846: ARV² 746,10; unpublished; the other woman holds a girdle); another is by the Quadrate Painter (New York 06.1021.130: ARV² 1239,44; APP 326 fig. 10; the other woman holds a mirror and a plemochoe, and there is a youth present), and three more are lekythoi by the Achilles Painter (Bonn 65 and Toronto 919.5.15: supra n. 34; the other woman holds a rolled mantle; New York 08.258.17: Oakley, AchillesPt no. 247 pl. 129B; the other woman holds an alabastron).
- 37There are ten known examples of a woman standing by the grave holding a rolled mantle. Two are in the manner of the Achilles Painter which makes us suppose that he may also have produced similar scenes (Athens, NM 19333: ARV² 1687,1; ADelt 29, 1974, pl. 137; once London Market: ARV² 1004,33; Oakley, AchillesPt 161 no. M 28) while most of the other examples are connected with the Woman Painter. Three are by the painter himself (Athens, NM 1799: ARV² 1372,10; Riezler [supra n. 12] pl. 68; Athens, Kerameikos Mus. 4158: AM 91, 1976, pl. 34,3–4; Paris, Louvre MNB 505: ARV² 1372,15) and two are from his circle (Berlin F 2457: ARV² 1245,1; CVA Berlin 8, 43 fig. 5 pl. 27,6–8; Mississippi, Univ. [ex Robinson Collection]: ARV² 1244,2; CVA Robinson Collection 1, pls 44–45). There is also one example by the Reed Painter (Athens 1911: ARV² 1377,22), one by the Painter of Athens 1762 (Athens, NM 1896: ARV² 1241,3) and one unattributed (Paris, Louvre MNB 424).
- 38Thus Riezler (supra n. 12) and in recent scholarship A. Kalogeropoulou, ADelt 24, 1969, A, 211–229, esp. 222ff.; eadem, ADelt 29, 1974, A, 194–225, esp. 210ff. on the occasion of the publication of two fourth-century funerary stelai showing a woman standing by the deceased carrying a garment. Elvia Giudice, a specialist in the iconography of the white lekythoi, also believes that it is the offering of clothing as part of funerary ritual that is shown on these vases (personal communication).
- 39For the literary evidence see A. Kalogeropoulou, ADelt 29, 1974, A, 219–222.
- 40We may ask ourselves whether the “tying” of the girdle shown on a few lekythoi (supra n. 36), one of which has the woman standing by what is probably a grave topped by a hydria (Munich 7663: ARV² 1200,40; Oakley, Death 26 fig. 8), is not yet another funerary motif like the bundled mantle. That is, whether we do not have here the depiction of the untying of a girdle which will serve as an offering to the dead. We know that women’s girdles were offered to the dead (cf., for example, Sophocles’ *Electra* (451–452) where Electra offers her girdle and a tress of hair at her father’s grave), and the fillets shown in women’s hands on white lekythoi are usually considered to be girdles or hair-bands.
- 41The collection suffered much damage in the owner’s house during the September 1999 earthquake and has recently been transferred to the National Museum, where it will be restored and kept on loan.
- 42Passas Collection no. 37. H. 34.3 cm. No false bottom. As on the Achilles Painter’s lekythoi in the Dinopoulos Collection that we saw, the glaze is a lustrous dark brown to golden brown, in some parts thinned and very light in colour.
- 43On the painter see Oakley, PhialePt with the full earlier bibliography. For some later additions to this painter’s work, see idem, AA 1995, 495–501; idem, in: V.M. Strocka (ed.), MEISTERWERKE. Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler, Freiburg im Breisgau 30. Juni – 3. Juli 2003 (2005) 285–296; B.F. Cook, in: A.J. Clark – J. Gaunt (eds), Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer, Allard Pierson Series vol. 14 (2002) 99–105.
- 44Oakley, PhialePt no. 138 pl. 109; no. 139 pl. 110; no. 139bis pl. 111; no. 141 pl. 113.

- 45Berlin F 2449: Oakley, *Phiale* Pt no. 140 pl. 112, dated c. 440–435 BC.
- 46Passas Collection no. 41. H. 26.7 cm. There are no traces of ornament on the shoulder or the band above the scene. The style of drawing somewhat recalls the Woman Painter.
- 47On the two vases from the circle of the Woman Painter with the same scene (supra n. 37) the woman carrying the mantle is also holding it out in an offering gesture.
- 48For the meaning of nudity in Archaic and Classical Greek art see recently J.M. Hurwit (AJA 111, 2007, 35–60, esp. 45ff.) who recognizes many naked states in art, one of them being the “nudity of youth”.
- 49Of course not all such youths are meant to be the deceased. Athenian men and women by the grave are generic types which probably suited the needs of different potential buyers. A lekythos depicting an idealized Athenian ephebe in his cloak and petasos would have been a suitable offering to a dead youth, but the same image could have been bought as an image of a visitor to the grave.
- 50Oakley, *Death* 9–11 calculates that only about 12% of Attic graves of the years 470–400 BC contained white lekythoi. Cf. Schmidt (supra n. 7) who questions the worth of such a statistic as long as we do not know how the lekythoi were distributed in the various age or gender groups.
- 51On child burials in ancient Athens, which show how carefully buried these were, S. Houby-Nielsen, in: J. Derevenski (ed.), *Children and Material Culture* (2000) 151–166.
- 52Of course, white lekythoi were deposited in men’s graves too. But it is interesting to note that two certainly male burials from Piraeus Street might have been burials of important individuals (Kavvadias in this volume). As for the white lekythoi, from what has been recognized as the Demosion Sema, the public cemetery of Athens in which the war dead were buried (on the find see Oakley, *Death* 215–216. 251 n. 5), these vessels were also offered to distinguished dead.

25 Early Red-figure in Context

Susan I. Rotroff

The framework for the standard chronology of early redfigure pottery – the date of its inception and the pace of its early development – was developed close to a century ago.¹ Those who crafted that framework were obliged to rely primarily on stylistic arguments and in particular on comparisons between the painted compositions on the pottery and a handful of dated sculptural monuments. Ernst Langlotz, who laid out the sequence with admirable clarity, was well aware of the value of a second avenue of evidence – that of stratigraphical context – but little of it was available to him.² Since that time, however, such evidence has been gradually accumulating, to the point that it can now make a contribution toward adjustments in the received chronology. In what follows, I offer observations about early red-figure in the stratigraphical record and explore the implications of that record for the early chronology of the technique.

The Earliest Stratigraphic Contexts for Red-figure

A standard method of establishing the date of a ceramic innovation is to examine the archaeological contexts in which it first appears. The assumption is that the item in question will occur within a fairly short time of its invention, though in very small numbers. Identifying the latest deposits lacking the innovation and the earliest ones in which it does appear allows one to bracket the period during which a new type or technique was most probably introduced.

Over 75 years of excavation in and around the Agora of Athens have brought to light a large number of contained stratigraphic units – the contents of wells and pits, construction fills, clearly defined strata, graves – dating within the years that the standard chronology assigns to the invention and early history of the red-figure technique (ca. 525–480). Except for Persian destruction debris (which I will examine later), these units cannot be assigned absolute dates. They typically,

however, contain large amounts of wares that have been intensively studied: most importantly black-figure, but also fine black-gloss ceramics. Analysis of that material and observation of its position in a relative developmental sequence make it possible to arrange the deposits in approximate chronological order and to assign dates of deposit congruent with the black-figure and blackgloss they contain. This sequence, then, should provide a useful framework within which the chronology of an innovation such as red-figure can be positioned.

If red-figure was introduced in the years 530–525, as is generally maintained,³ one would predict a handful of fragments in deposits of the last quarter of the sixth century, with numbers becoming significant in the first quarter of the fifth century, as more and more objects were created, broken, and entered the archaeological record. Examination of the Agora deposits, however, reveals a troubling fact: not a single fragment of red-figure has been found in the 43 deposits that, according to our best estimates, were laid down there during the last quarter of the sixth century.⁴ Twelve of these are graves, which we can discount since the black-figure lekythos was the grave gift of choice at this time, but the remainder cannot be dismissed so easily. They include fills in 18 wells, as well as the construction fills of the Old Bouleuterion and the lowest layers of construction fill of the Temple of Triptolemos in the Eleusinion,⁵ which have been scrutinized in recent years by T. Leslie Shear Jr. and Margaret Miles.

Red-figure does not appear in the archaeological record at the Agora until the 490s, and even then only in miniscule amounts. For this decade we have 21 deposits:⁶ six wells, various fills associated with construction of both the Temple of Triptolemos and the expanded peribolos wall of the Eleusinion, and the earliest floor of Building J, on the west side of the Agora, along with an assortment of pits, layers, and fills, and a single grave. Small fragments of red-figure, or fragments that may come from red-figure vessels, occur in three of these deposits⁷ (for full details, see the Appendix at the end of this article):

H 12:18, lower floor of Building J: two rim fragments without figured decoration but possibly from redfigure cups (P 35210. P 35518: Fig. 1);

Well V 24:2, upper fill: one or perhaps two small cup fragments (P 35519: Fig. 2);

and perhaps E 19:7, strata associated with private houses: fragment from an open vessel (P 14850: Fig. 3).⁸

To this list can be added the lower part of the upper fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft,⁹ a deposit classed among Persian debris, but which accumulated gradually in the years *before* the sack. The

absence of ostraka in the lowest three meters of that fill (from a depth of nine to 12 meters) indicates that this material entered the well in the years before ca. 487. If the rate of accumulation was uniform from the time it began until 480, the formation of this earlier part of the fill should stretch back to the 490s,¹⁰ and the red-figure vessels recovered from the bottom of the accumulation can be added to an otherwise slim tally of red-figure from deposits laid down in those years.¹¹ With these, the total of red-figure vessels attested in Agora contexts of the 490s is about a dozen.

It is important to point out that the first generation of red-figure is not lacking altogether at the Agora. Using the vessels published in *Agora XXX* as a convenient sample, we find that 131 of them (ca. 8%) are conventionally dated within the sixth century, among them five dating to the earliest years of the craft (Fig. 4).¹² Over half of these 131 pieces were found in Persian destruction debris, but none in an archaeological context assigned to the last quarter of the sixth century on the basis of the conventional dating of the black-figure and black-gloss pottery they contain.

If we look elsewhere for early archaeological contexts for red-figure, the results are equally disappointing. Redfigure appears to be lacking from sixth-century graves at the Kerameikos, and published examples from early fifth-century graves are very few.¹³ Andrew Stewart's analysis of the difficult, late Archaic stratigraphy of the Acropolis pinpoints a few very early fifth-century strata that contain red-figure, but no context that can be pushed before 500.¹⁴ Red-figure has been found only in miniscule numbers at Archaic Clazomenae, which was abandoned some time in the 490s.¹⁵ The Marathon Mound, with a single cup fragment attributed by Dyfri Williams to Onesimos, provides one of the earliest fixed deposit dates, ten years before the Persian sack.¹⁶ Debris of the 490 Persian sack of Eretria holds out promise, but details have yet to be published.¹⁷ This completes the list I have been able to compile of the earliest securely dated contexts for red-figure.

It is, of course, impossible to know how long it took for any given fragment or even any class of objects to make its way into the archaeological record. Ethnoarchaeological studies suggest, however, that ceramics (especially drinking cups) have a short lifespan.¹⁸ For example, the median age for vessels of all types among the Fulani of Cameroon is 5.4 years, with serving bowls surviving only half that long, and among the Conibo of Peru the median is less than a year. Obviously, there are enormous differences between the lifestyles of modern South Americans and Africans and ancient Athenians, but the general point is surely valid. If so, the lag time between the production of a fine-ware pot and its breakage and final deposit is

likely in many cases to have been short.

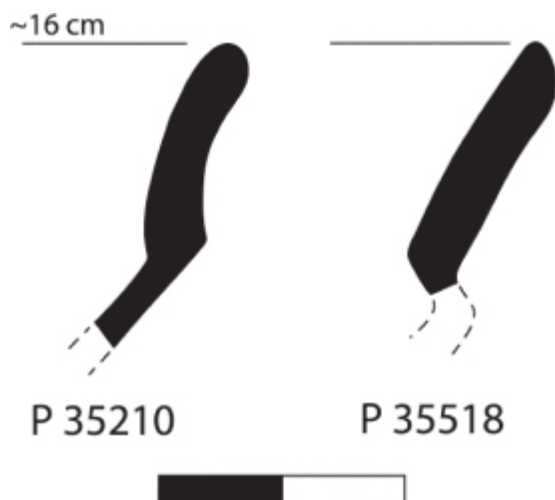


Fig. 1. Fragments of two cups from below the original floor of building J (deposit H 12:18: Agora P 35210, P 35518). Drawing: Author.

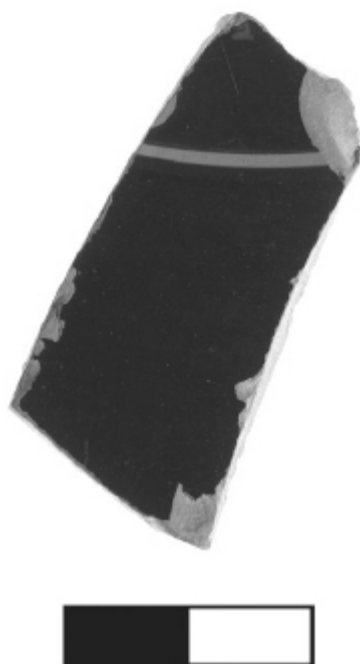


Fig. 2. Fragment of a cup from the upper fill of well V 24:2 (Agora P 35519). Photo: Agora Excavations.

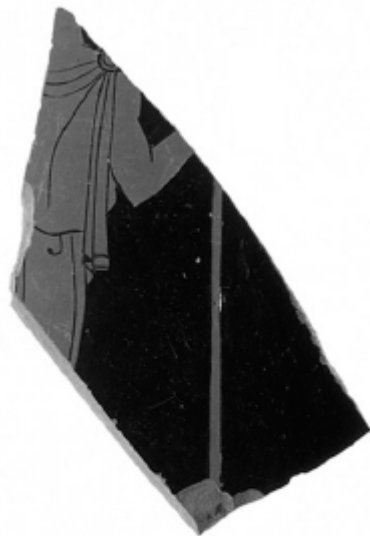


Fig. 3. Fragment from deposit E 19:7 (Agora P 14850). Photo: Agora Excavations.

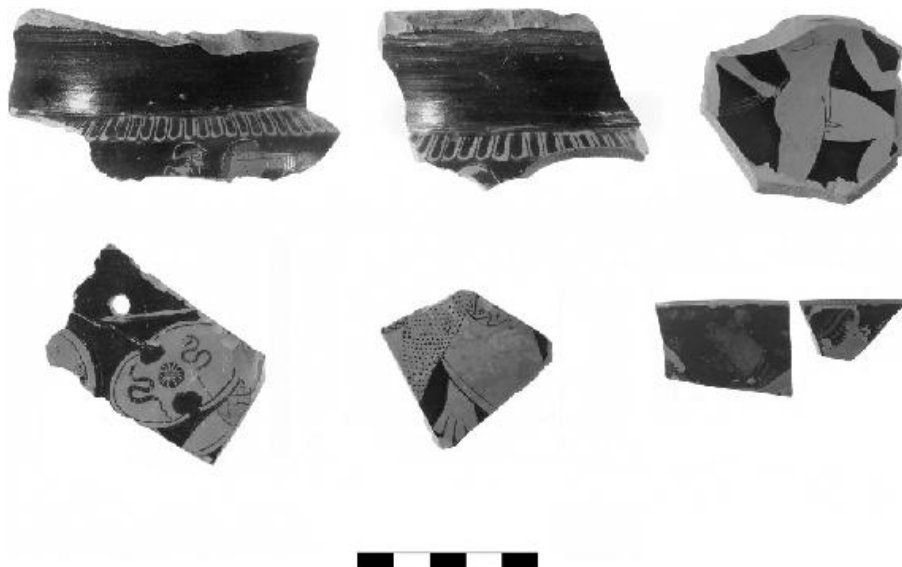


Fig. 4. Some of the earliest red-figure found at the Agora (Agora P 14948a-b. P 14805. P 9468. P 18012. P 8794a-b). Photo: Agora Excavations.

There is archaeological evidence to show that this was the case in at least one later instance, in which a ceramic innovation shows up

clearly in Agora deposits within a generation of its introduction. Incised and stamped decoration was first applied to Attic drinking cups around 450, a date based on the occurrence of such decoration on red-figure cups.¹⁹ The earliest form, rare and labor intensive, relies entirely on incised rather than stamped designs. One example, dated by Sparkes and Talcott to ca. 450, was found in a deposit laid down around 425.²⁰ Another, combining incision with an early form of stamped decoration and again dated ca. 450 on the basis of the red-figure chronology, was also deposited by 425.²¹ These dates of deposit are, again, based on the conventional dating of Attic ceramics (here, chiefly redfigure), but two other contexts can be associated with historical events. Thirteen stamped fragments, some of them of a more developed phase, were found in the debris from the dining room of the Athenian archons which, it has been asserted, was deposited in the wake of an earthquake in 426 BC.²² Finally, many examples were excavated from the purification pit on Rheneia, dated on the basis of the testimony of Thucydides (3.104) to 426/5.²³ In short, this particular innovation is well documented in the archaeological record within 25 years of its introduction. The fact that the expected handful of red-figure does not appear in archaeological contexts of the last quarter of the sixth century casts doubt on the hypothesis with which we began, that red-figure was introduced in the years ca. 530–525.

Before abandoning that hypothesis, however, let us consider alternative explanations for the phenomenon. One possibility is that in its first twenty-five years redfigure was produced in such small numbers that we could not expect to find any trace of it in contemporary deposits. But the total amount of preserved red-figure currently assigned to the sixth century (the works of the earliest practitioners, the Pioneers, and the contemporary cup-painters), though less than what would follow, is substantial,²⁴ and, although still overshadowed by blackfigure, the red-figure technique seems clearly to have been more than a spottily produced novelty.

Could it then be that so much early red-figure was exported that little remained in Athens to enter the archaeological record there? Studies of workshop practice in traditional ceramic industries show that between 12 and 20 percent of the contents of a kiln may be broken during firing.²⁵ Therefore, whatever the intended market of the vessels, the realities of pottery production ensure that a significant number must have remained in the city. The debris would have been focused around the workshops, at least some of which were not far distant from the Agora and its surrounding neighborhoods. Furthermore, while there seems to be little doubt that the lion's share of early red-figure was exported, data from the Beazley Archive suggest that about 12% of the attributed pots of the earliest red-figure

painters and the Pioneers were found in Athens; this is a not inconsiderable percentage of the production, especially considering that these vessels were never, it seems, placed in the protective confines of the grave. And, as John Boardman remarked long ago, early red-figure makes up about the same proportion of all redfigure finds at Athens as it does in red-figure production overall,²⁶ another statistic that seems to challenge the contention that this was primarily an export ware.

A third and more sobering possibility is that the common assumption that an innovation will become archaeologically visible within a generation is in error. This assumption – rarely articulated, but made all the same – operates widely in the archaeological literature. For example, returning to stamped black-gloss ware, Cedric Boulter saw the absence of stamped fragments (introduced ca. 450) in the contents of a fifth-century well as proof that it could not have been filled after about 440.²⁷ In the realm of figured pottery, the absence of red-figure at Tel Defenneh, a fort in the eastern Delta probably destroyed by Kambyes' invading army in 525, has been cited as a reason not to push the invention of the ware into the early 520s.²⁸ Examples could easily be multiplied, and consequently hard evidence that this assumption is poorly founded would have an impact on archaeological chronologies generally, especially for those periods for which fine-grained chronologies have been built entirely or largely on stratigraphic dates. This is a possibility that should be further examined, but that is beyond the scope of the current paper. Leaving it aside, we may turn to a fourth explanation, that the red-figure technique was introduced some years later than the standard chronology maintains.

Persian Destruction Debris

As I have reiterated perhaps too frequently above, most of the deposits so important to this inquiry are dated solely on the basis of the black-figure and, to a lesser extent, the black-gloss pottery that they contain; there are no historically fixed points in the last quarter of the sixth century to which they can be linked. Such dates float, and the danger of circular argument is great. The debris from the Persian sack of the city of Athens in 480–479 – in which red-figure is well (though not abundantly) represented – provides welcome relief from this situation. Numerous deposits of this debris have been identified in and around the Agora and have recently been subjected to intensive study. In 1993, in response to radical revisions to the traditional chronology that were proposed by David Francis and Michael Vickers,²⁹ T. Leslie Shear Jr. explored evidence for the Persian incursion excavated at the

Athenian Agora. He examined the fills of 21 wells and a series of strata and floor levels that he considered incontrovertible instances of Persian destruction debris, and he published detailed sherd counts of each.³⁰ Subsequently, more Persian debris has been excavated from a well that served a private house to the north of the Agora. This well has been studied by Kathleen Lynch, who has also re-examined many of the deposits studied by Shear.³¹ We are therefore in possession of a large body of closely scrutinized and quantified data that bears on the present question.

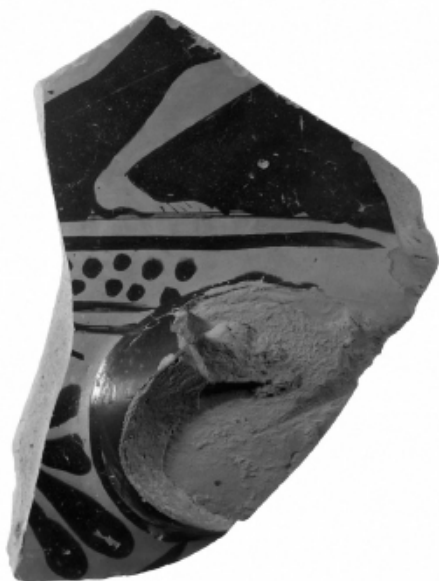


Fig. 5. The latest red-figure from the Stoa Gutter Well (Agora P 30996) and two fragments probably from the same krater but found elsewhere (Agora P 22490. P 13366). Photo: Agora Excavations.

Recently Richard Neer, in the context of a reexamination of the chronology of the Pioneer style, has drawn attention to an interesting feature revealed by this analysis of the Persian debris. Focusing exclusively on the red-figure that can be associated with specific hands (a total of 56 vessels), he observed that, aside from obvious intrusions, almost all the red-figure vases in these deposits date before 500, according to the standard chronology, while most of the black-figure pottery dates in the decade 490–480, a clear indication, in his opinion, that the red-figure dates are too high.³²

An expansion of the inquiry to a larger number of deposits supports the validity of Neer's observation. If we compare the average terminal date of all of the red-figure found in Persian debris published in Mary Moore's *Agora XXX* (a total of 86 vessels) with that of black-figure in the same deposits (590 vessels published in *Agora XXIII*, also by Mary Moore), the same discrepancy emerges.³³ The average lower date of the red-figure is ca. 499, while that of the black-figure is ca. 492.³⁴ On average, then, the red-figure vases in this Persian destruction debris have been dated seven years earlier than the black-figure ones, at least in the estimate of one and the same authority. The same is true of the material from the Persian well north of the Agora (Well J 2:4), which includes 20 red-figure and about 100 black-figure vessels among the inventoried finds.³⁵ According to Lynch's preliminary analysis, two sets of red-figure cups from the well date stylistically to ca. 500 and a decade or so earlier, while the more numerous black-figure ranges evenly in date between 500 and 480. She explains this discrepancy by postulating the owner's careful curation of the red-figure cups, which were reserved for special occasions; ancient mends to the two cups of the earliest set support this contention.³⁶

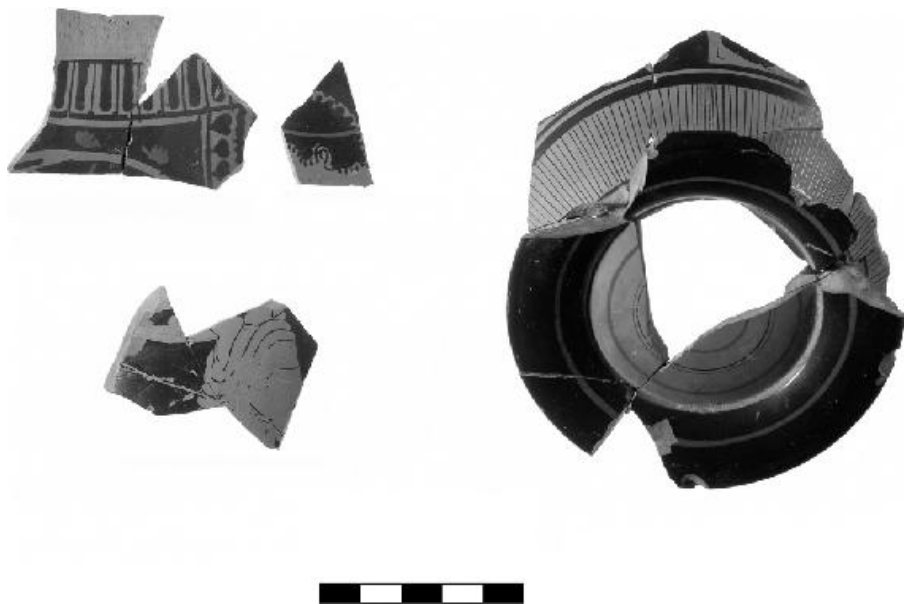


Fig. 6. The latest red-figure from the upper fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (Agora P 2619a-b. P 2585. P 2787). Photo: Agora Excavations.

This explanation is credible in the context of a domestic deposit, but it is not so easily invoked in the case of the only other two Persian destruction deposits that contain relatively large amounts of red-figure: the workshop debris in the Stoa Gutter Well (deposit Q 12:3) and in the upper fill of the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft (deposit G 6:3).³⁷ Both show the discrepancy between the dates of black- and red-figure that has been noted above. The Stoa Gutter Well contained 20 red-figure vessels,³⁸ mostly cups, many of them by Epiktetos and the Painter of the Agora Chairias Cups, along with over 250 black-figure vessels. The red-figure clusters between 510 and 500, with a single rim fragment from a calyx krater assigned to the decade 500–490 (Fig. 5),³⁹ and nothing later. The conventional dates for the black-figure, however, range from 510 to 480, with most vessels placed in the decade 500–490. The representation of red-figure in the Rectangular Rock-cut shaft is richer, with a total of 34 inventoried vessels.⁴⁰ Again these are mostly cups, associated with the Pithos Painter, the Euergides Painter, and the Heraion Painter, among others. The tally of inventoried black-figure is over 200, largely made up of lekythoi and Attic skyphoi. Most of the red-figure, but very little of the black-figure, has been assigned to the decade 510–500, with four pieces placed in 500–490⁴¹ and two or three in 490–480: fragments of a skyphos perhaps by the Antiphon Painter, and of a column-krater and a skyphos of Corinthian type, both unattributed (Fig. 6).⁴² Expressed in another way, the average terminal date for the black-figure in the

Stoa Gutter Well is about 491, as opposed to about 502 for the red-figure. In the Rectangular Rock-cut shaft, the average terminal date of the black-figure is ca. 490, that of the red-figure about a decade earlier. Again, these dates are estimates, but estimates made by a single scholar on the basis of the conventional chronology; we can at least rule out the variability of dates applied by two different authorities.

Vanderpool and Roberts concluded that these fills are not domestic deposits, but rather the debris of workshops or display rooms.⁴³ Both invoked the large amount of pottery and the presence of misfired pieces and of groups of pottery from the same workshops; Vanderpool also reported vessels containing traces of a red substance that he identified as milto, a material in common use in potteries. The fill in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft accumulated gradually over a decade or more, with objects being thrown in as they broke; the Persian incursion put an end to the accumulation but did not cause the breakage. The material in the Stoa Gutter Well, on the other hand, seems to have been discarded all at once, in the wake of the Persian destruction, and it is likely that objects that are nearly complete were in active use – or sitting on the shelves awaiting sale – at the time of the sack. Nonetheless, in the Stoa Gutter Well, as in the domestic debris in Well J 2:4, the red-figure cups are not only earlier than the black-figure, but are also well preserved: six cups are complete or lacking only a few fragments, and four more only slightly less well-preserved.⁴⁴ It is hardly likely in a workshop or salesroom setting that fragile, red-figure vessels were carefully set aside and preserved intact for 20 or 30 years. It is far more probable that the black- and red-figure vessels here are more or less contemporary. This suggests that something is amiss in the early chronology of red-figure, and that the degree of error is a decade or a little less.

Sculpture and Vase-Painting

As we saw above, comparisons between painted figures and dated sculptural monuments provided the original tools for the construction of the chronology of early redfigure. One of the most extensively treated and compelling of those comparisons is that between the metopes of the Athenian Treasury and the Pioneer Style crafted by Euphronios, Euthymides, and their contemporaries, and dated in the last two decades of the sixth century by the standard chronology. Neer has pointed out that the similarities go beyond the rendering of anatomy, drapery, and pose to the transposition of whole figures from the Treasury into painted compositions.⁴⁵ When the treasury was dated in the late sixth century, these close comparisons gave strong

support to the standard chronology. Recent study of the building, however, has revealed that the base on which the first fruits of Marathon were displayed is integral to the structure and consequently that the building was constructed, and its sculpture carved, close to the year 490.⁴⁶ This downward shift must have implications for the pottery, at least if we are to maintain the principle – basic to the chronology as it now stands – that similar styles in the two different arts are approximately contemporary. Neer resolves the difficulty by positing a longer life for the Pioneer style (ca. 510–480) and an overlap with later styles, while leaving Andokides and the origins of redfigure in their traditional place in the mid-520s.⁴⁷ The absence of any red-figure in excavated deposits of the sixth century, however, suggests that the downward shift should extend further back into the sixth century, to the very origins of the technique.

A second painting-sculpture comparison seems to present an obstacle here: the similarities between the work of the Andokides Painter and the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury.⁴⁸ Some scholars have dismissed the treasury as irrelevant to Attic art,⁴⁹ and it requires some ingenuity to explain how a Delphian monument came to have such a formative impact on a painter plying his trade in Athens. Nevertheless, the undisputed visual links between the two surely hint at some relationship between them. Here, however, we should guard against giving undue weight to the monuments that happen to survive – the positivist fallacy that Anthony Snodgrass has explored in the context of archaeology.⁵⁰ Without a doubt, the accomplished artists who carved the Treasury figures also carved other works that no longer survive. The sculptor of the north and east friezes of the Treasury is thought to have spent part of his working life in Athens.⁵¹ He may well have continued to carve in his accustomed style for some years after his employment on the Treasury, producing works in Athens, where they would have been more readily available to the Andokides Painter. In any event, given the fact that a sculptor might have a long and itinerant working life, the similarities between the vases of the Andokides Painter and the sculptures of the Siphnian Treasury do not tie us unbreakably to a date of ca. 525 for the beginnings of the red-figure technique.

The Introduction of Red-figure

If the red-figure technique was not necessarily invented in 525, what is the most likely date for its inception? Its absence in any deposit laid down earlier than about 495 (at the earliest) would be best explained by a later date. Its rather modest showing even in Persian destruction debris does the same. Shear counted only 100 red-figure vessels in his

Persian deposits, a mere 7.6 percent of the figured pottery he examined.⁵² If we cast our nets further, including the pottery from household well J 2:4 and from a few small deposits not discussed by Shear, we can push the number over 140, but the proportion remains low in comparison to black-figure.⁵³ Whatever else emerges from these observations, it is clear that, at least in terms of quantity, red-figure was still overshadowed by the older technique at the time of the Persian sack.

On the other hand, it is also clear that red-figure had undergone considerable technical and artistic development by the time of the Persian Wars. On the basis of the fragmentary cup in the Marathon Mound, Onesimos was painting by 490, and the work of such painters as Epiktetos, the Eucharides Painter, the Kleophrades Painter, Myson, and perhaps the Berlin Painter has been found in Persian debris, as well as vases in the manner of Euphronios and Douris, to mention the most accomplished painters. It is impossible to know, however, how long the stylistic development documented by a comparison of their works with the earliest red-figure might have taken, and whether or not it proceeded at a steady or an irregular pace. The early history of red-figure is often pictured as a brief period of invention and technical development followed by two generations of painters: the Pioneers and the late Archaic masters. These artistic generations, however, need not be the same length as the standard 25–30 years of a biological generation. Pupils can be younger siblings or cousins as well as sons, and the pace of change could have been quicker than the standard scheme's rigid ties to dated sculptural monuments requires. The fact that it can be plausibly argued that works attributed to an artistic personality of the early fifth century actually represent the later output of a Pioneer⁵⁴ (in other words, that the work of two "generations" is that of one man) shows – even if we may ultimately reject those arguments – that there is considerable flexibility in the length of time acceptably assigned to the career of a single artisan. A date in the region of 520–515 for the introduction of the technique would allow sufficient time for stylistic development and at the same time accord better with the stratigraphical evidence.

Some 20 years ago, Renate Tölle-Kastenbein reviewed the evidence for the chronology of sculpture, pottery, and inscriptions in the span between the reorganization of the Panathanaic games in 566 and the construction of the Parthenon over a century later.⁵⁵ Maintaining the minimalist position that there are no narrowly and reliably fixed points within that long span, she turned to the *kalos* inscriptions naming Leagros for hints about its middle range. As is well known, the birth date of Leagros cannot be pinpointed within a possible 30-year span, between 525 and 495. Tölle-Kastenbein, however, undertook an

interesting experiment, positing a median date for the birth: 510, in contrast to the earliest possible date (525) that accords with the standard chronology. The choice has the advantage of being, at most, 15 years in error. Placing the hypothetical *kalos-Zeit* of Leagros in the years 495–485, she devised an alternate chronology that differs from the standard one by anywhere from 5 to 15 years, with the greatest divergence in the late Archaic and early Classical periods. This alternate chronology seems to accord reasonably well with, or at least not to contradict, other chronological points within the time span, and even such an authority as John Boardman has expressed the opinion that adjustments of this order might be entertained.⁵⁶ Although Tölle-Kastenbein was not primarily concerned with vase-painting, her alternate chronological curve would move the introduction of redfigure from 530/525 to 515/510, a date only slightly later than what I am suggesting here.

The ramifications of even a modest down-dating for the beginning of red-figure are many – not just for red-figure, but also for later black-figure and bilingual vases. I appeal to those scholars who know the figured material best to examine the implications of the suggested adjustment. If they find that it has merit, we will be rewarded with a more accurate chronology for the latter part of the sixth century. If they find compelling reasons for dismissing it, we will have to re-examine the long-held assumption that the archaeological record reflects real-time developments closely. In either event, we will have made progress towards a better understanding of that record.

Appendix: Deposits of the 490s containing red-figure

H 12:18, lower floor. A clearly pre-Persian layer has been identified in Building J, in the area of the later Tholos.⁵⁷ The latest pottery under the original floor of the structure dates just after 500, indicating that the floor was laid in the first few years of the fifth century, at the earliest.⁵⁸ Upon this floor rested a layer of mud bricks and broken pottery, identified by both Thompson and Shear as Persian debris. A second, hard-packed floor had been laid above it. No figured pieces were found in either layer, but Shear pointed to fragments of two concave rims below the lower floor as possibly from red-figure cups (P 35210. P 35518: Fig. 1), comparing their profiles to red-figure cups from the Stoa Gutter Well.⁵⁹ The high quality of the gloss of P 35210, virtually unequaled on black-gloss cups of the same shape, and the carefully reserved lip of P 35518 add further weight to this conjecture.

V 24:2. This well, located on the slopes of the Acropolis and 15.15 m. deep, contained three clearly distinct fills. The material in the lowest

0.60 m. consisted largely of vessels for drawing water and clearly had accumulated during its use. The latest datable piece is a black-figure amphora attributed to the Edinburgh Painter and dated to ca. 500 by the standard black-figure chronology.⁶⁰ It is largely complete but somewhat battered, and if, as Sparkes and Talcott imply in their brief discussion of the fill, it was living a second life as a bucket at the time of its discard,⁶¹ the terminal date of the lower fill must be at least a few years later – 495 at the earliest, but arguably within the 490s. Red-figure is lacking in this lowest layer of the well, which was sealed by about eight meters of broken mud brick, roof tiles, and parts of a roof beam, apparently the debris from the dismantling of a house. The absence of burning and broken pottery makes its identification as Persian debris unlikely, and there is no reason to connect the destruction of the house with enemy activity.⁶² Above the debris, the uppermost six meters of the well contained alternating layers of sand and gravel, probably washed in by the winter rains as the well remained open but unused for an unknown amount of time after the demolition of the house. There was little pottery; the four black-figure fragments inventoried from this level range in date from the middle to the end of the sixth century.⁶³ Red-figure is represented by a tiny fragment of a cup, preserving the outline of the tondo and the trace of a figure – a small reserved area bounded by a contour line located just inside the tondo at the left-hand break (P 35519: Fig. 2). The vessel is similar to cups from the Stoa Gutter Well and the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft.⁶⁴ A second tiny fragment was noted by Lynch in her recent examination of the uninventoried pottery.⁶⁵ The date of deposit cannot be pinpointed, but must postdate ca. 495.

E 19:7. Fills associated with small houses to the southwest of the Agora and dated loosely to the late sixth to early fifth century have produced three red-figure fragments.⁶⁶ This is not a well-defined deposit, however, but rather a series of strata. Some of them are disturbed, some are considerably later than the early fifth century, and none are firmly datable. Only one of the red-figure pieces – an unattributed fragment from an open vessel (P 14850: Fig. 3) – comes from what may be an undisturbed and perhaps early fifth-century layer.⁶⁷ The fragment itself is the only evidence for the date of the stratum. Mary Moore places it in the late sixth or early fifth century, but the style of the drapery may indicate a later date.⁶⁸ This context, then, cannot offer robust support for any chronological arguments.

Abbreviations

Agora SPH Sparkes – L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and*

- 4th Centuries B.C., Agora XII (1970).
 Agora XXIII – M.Z.P. Philippides, Attic Black-figured Pottery, Agora XXIII (1986).
 Agora XXX – Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery, Agora XXX (1997).
 Agora XXXI, The City Eleusinion, Agora XXXI (1998).
 Langlotz, Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik (1920).
 Lynch, Pottery from a Late Archaic Athenian House in Context (diss. University of Virginia, 1999).
 Neer, Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-painting: The Craft of Democracy, ca. 530–460 B.C.E. (2002).
 Rice, Pottery Analysis: A Sourcebook (1987).
 Robertson, The Art of Vase Painting in Classical Athens (1992).

Notes

I am grateful to Mary B. Moore, Andrew Stewart, and Marjorie Venit for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper; to Kathleen Lynch and Kristine Gex for information about late Archaic deposits at Athens and Eretria; and to Signe Barfoed and Søren Handberg for help in sorting through yet more late Archaic pottery at the Agora.

Langlotz is still basic to the chronology; see 38ff. 98ff. for discussion of archaeological contexts (the Marathon mound, Persian destruction debris), and 116 for Langlotz's expectation – still unrealized, as far as I am aware – that future excavation at Miletos and Sybaris might provide useful stratigraphic evidence for early red-figure.

By about 530 (J. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period [1975] 11); ca. 530 or a little before (Neer, 1992); ca. 530 (R.M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery³ [1997] 156 and B.A. Sparkes, The Red and the Black [1996] 16); ca. 530/525 (T. Mannack, Griechische Vasenmalerei: Eine Einführung [2002] 136); around the end of the third quarter of the sixth century (Robertson 1992, 12); around or soon after 525 (J. Boardman, The History of Greek Vases [2001] 79); 530–520 (D. Williams and L. Burn in: T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey (eds), Looking at Greek Vases [1991] 103).

A list of deposits laid down in this range was culled from the deposit summaries of Agora XII, XXIII, XXX, and XXXI. Wells: G 11:8 (POU). G 15:1. I 17:2. N 12:3. N 18:7. P 17:1. Q 17:3. R 12:3. R 21:3. T 18:1 (= Agora XXXI, deposit 52). T 24:3. T 24:5. T 25:2. U 21:1. U 23:2 (POU). U 24:1. U 25:2 (lower and middle fills). V 23:1 (POU). Pits: J 18:4 (upper fill). Q 7:1. Fills, layers, debris: G 11:5. K 17:1. T-U 19:1 (= Agora XXXI, deposit 28). Agora XXXI, deposits 7A. 19. 20. 30. Lower levels of construction fill of Temple of Triptolemos: Agora XXXI, deposits 25E. 25F. 26D. 27B-E. Construction fill of Old Bouleuterion: H 10:7, see T.L. Shear Jr., *Hesperia* 62, 1993, 419ff., 472f. for date and details. Graves: A 18:2. A 20:10. B 20:3. B 21:3. B 21:7. B 21:9. B 21:12. B 21:14. B 21:18. B 21:21. B 21:22. M 18:6.

For the date of the construction of the temple, see Agora XXXI, 38ff. Although aware of the difficulties involved in making such fine chronological distinctions, Miles distinguished between the lower layers of the fill, where working chips were absent, and layers above them, which contained working chips and

observed that – on the basis of the currently accepted ceramic dating – these lower layers do not descend beyond 500, while the upper layers do. In any event, the lower layers must be earlier than the upper ones, however great or small the time difference between them.

6Again, deposits are drawn from the lists in Agora XII, XXIII, XXX, and XXXI. Wells: T 19:1 (= Agora XXXI, deposit 16). U 23:2 (upper fill). U 24:2. U 25:2 (upper fill). V 23:1 (upper fill). V 24:2. Pits: C 12:3. T 18:4 (= Agora XXXI, deposit 55). Floors, layers, fills: C 14:5. E 19:7. H 12:18 (layer 1, original floor of building J). J 18:6. Construction fill of Temple of Triptolemos with working chips: Agora XXXI, deposits 25A–D. 26A–C. 26E–F. 27A. Deposits associated with the early fifth-century expansion of the peribolos wall of Eleusinion: Agora XXXI, deposits 22. 23. 25L. 25M. Grave: N 20:8.

7Anyone who scrutinizes the deposit summaries of Agora XXX will notice that red-figure also occurs in a fourth deposit of about this time: J 18:6, a small fill dated to the late sixth to early fifth century by Moore (Agora XXX, 364). It contained a fragment of a cup attributed to the Colmar Painter (P 17531 [ibid., no. 1418]; a non-joining fragment [P 20074] thought to come from the same cup was found in the ruins of the Poros Building, over 100 meters away). Examination of the context pottery reveals another possible red-figure vessel: fragments from the neck of a column-krater with a linked-lotus pattern (cf. Agora XXX, no. 190). The deposit, however, turns out to be heavily disturbed. Among the remainder of the pottery (fragments of about 33 vessels stored in lot AP 40) are a type 21B lamp and a stemless cup with an offset rim, shapes that were not produced until around 480, as well as a fragment of a squat lekythos of the late fifth century and a fourth-century plate. For the lamp, see R.H. Howland, *Greek Lamps and their Survivals*, Agora IV (1958) 46f.; stemless, cf. Agora XII, no. 471 (470–450 BC); squat lekythos, cf. Agora XII, no. 1128 (420–400 BC); plate, cf. Agora XII, no. 1016 (375–350 BC). This deposit, then, must be excised from our list of possible early contexts.

8Agora XXX, no. 1667.

9E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia* 15, 1946, 265ff.

10The upper fill was twelve meters deep. The earth in the uppermost five meters contained almost no pottery and was probably thrown in after the sack. If so, the accumulation proper filled seven meters of the shaft, from a depth of 5.00 to 12.00 m. Ostraka first occur at 9.00 m., and on this basis the deposit of this level can be dated to 487 or later. (See M.L. Lang, *Ostraka*, Agora XXV [1990] 2ff. for debate about the beginning of the institution and candidates known from the Agora. Ostracism is first archaeologically attested by ostraka for Hipparchos, the “winner” in 487; an ostakon of Megakles, ostracized the following year, was found at 9.00 m. [Vanderpool [supra n. 9] 271 no. 1 = [Lang (supra) no. 633] though it could have been cast in an earlier ostracism.). Vanderpool (supra n. 9, 266) placed the beginning of the accumulation around 490, but it may have been slightly earlier. The amount of pottery from meters 9.00–12.00 is approximately the same as that from meters 5.00–9.00; therefore, if pottery entered the well at a uniform rate, we could conjecture that the upper part of the fill accumulated from 487 to 480, the lower part from 494 to 487. Alternatively, if we take as a measure the volume of fill in each accumulation, the ratio of upper to lower accumulation is 4:3. The lower material may then have entered the well between ca. 492 and 487. In either event, accumulation is likely to have begun in the 490s.

11It is difficult to be specific, since fragments of the same vessel were often found at various depths. Pieces that seem assuredly to belong to the lowest part of the fill include: Vanderpool (supra n. 9) 278f. nos. 31–39 = Agora XXX, nos. 1403. 1521. 1555. 1557. 1571–1573. 1577. 1581.

- 12P 18012. P 14948. P 14805. P 8794. P 9468 (= Agora XXX, nos. 24. 164. 1575. 1599. 1683).
- 13E. Kunze-Götte – Karin Tancke – Klaus Vierneisel, *Die Nekropole der Mitte des 6. bis Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts*, *Kerameikos VII,2* (2000) no. 221.4, cup type C, circle of the Pithos Painter, in a grave of ca. 500/490; and no. 278.8, lekythos, from a grave of ca. 500/490. U. Knigge, *Der Südhügel Kerameikos IX* (1976) no. 20.23, alabastron, in a grave of the early fifth century.
- 14A. Stewart, *AJA* 112, 2008, 389–406. I am grateful to Andrew Stewart for sharing his manuscript with me in the summer of 2007. He identifies deposits of the 480s (associated with the construction of the podium for the older Parthenon) and earlier (strata that accumulated before construction began, so, before 490). The fills that he so identifies contain about ten red-figure vessels.
- 15Y.E. Ersoy, *Clazomenae: The Archaic Settlement* (diss. Bryn Mawr College, 1993) 290. 445; for the date of the abandonment, see 13 and J.M. Cook, *AEphem* 1953–1954 [1958], part 2, 153f.
- 16B. Staïs, *AM* 1893, 63, pl. VI:2; D. Williams, in: *Greek Vases at the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (1991) 44f.
- 17E. Serbeti, in: J.H. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters: The Conference Proceedings* (1997) 491ff. What has been published indicates that the deposit (if it is in fact Persian debris) also contains later pieces, so it cannot yet be evaluated for its impact on chronology. I am grateful to Kristine Gex for the information that no red-figure has been identified in another, apparently undisturbed deposit perhaps to be associated with the 490 destruction (K. Gex, pers. comm. April 17, 2007).
- 18Several studies are summarized by Rice, 296ff., Table 9.4. See also G.M. Foster, *American Antiquity* 25, 1960, 606ff.
- 19Agora XII, 22. 28; A.D. Ure, *JHS* 56, 1936, 205ff. The earliest form of incising is found on cups attributed to Sotades, the Karlsruhe Painter, and the Amphitrite Painter.
- 20P 20684 (Agora XII, no. 485), from deposit R 10:6.
- 21P 5332 (Agora XII, no. 484), associated with the workshop of the Amphitrite Painter on the basis of shape (*supra* 103), from deposit E 13:1.
- 22S.I. Rotroff – J.H. Oakley, *Debris from a Public Dining Room in the Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. 25 (1992) nos. 164–168. 174. 177–179. 193–196; for the date, see 51ff.
- 23C. Dugas, *Les vases attiques à figures rouges*, *Délos XXI* (1952) 52 pls 47. 50. 52.
- 24For a convenient measure of production, see the first bar graph in Chart I in J. Boardman, *Expedition* 21.4, 1979, 36 (though admittedly this is based only on statistics available 30 years ago). Production in the sixth century is represented as more than half that of the first quarter of the fifth century, and more than a third of that of the peak of production in the second quarter of the century.
- 25Rice, 173f.
- 26Boardman (*supra* n. 24) 37; compare the first two bar graphs of his Chart I. The proportion of sixth-century red-figure found at Athens (graph 2) is less than the proportion of sixth-century red-figure overall (graph 1), but not markedly so.
- 27C. Boulter, *Hesperia* 22, 1953, 61.
- 28Neer, 190.
- 29See, for example, E.D. Francis – M. Vickers, *ProcCambrPhilSoc* 27, 1981, 97ff.; *JHS* 103, 1983, 49ff.; *BSA* 83, 1988, 143ff.
- 30Shear (*supra* n. 4) 430ff. I accept Shear's association of this material with the Persian sack.
- 31Well J 2:4. J.M. Camp II, *Hesperia* 65, 1996, 242ff. pls 71–76; Lynch. Full publication of the well is forthcoming as a *Hesperia* Suppl. by Lynch.

32Neer, 202ff. He lists eight red-figure vessels as dating later than 500. One of these, a cup formerly assigned to the Sabouroff Painter (P 32422 [Camp (supra n. 31) 250 no. 32]), has now been detached from that hand and dated ca. 500 (Lynch, 360 RF 09). Another is a clear intrusion (P 9271 [Agora XXX, no. 1443] by the Painter of Bologna 417, dated ca. 450–440, from deposit M 17:4), as is perhaps also P 9282 from the same deposit (Agora XXX, no. 1430, by the Tarquinia Painter and dated ca. 470). This leaves five vessels dating between 500 and 480. Four are associated with Myson: P 11025a–b. P 10578 (Agora XXX, nos. 189–190) from deposit D 15:1 and dated to 470 and 490–480 respectively (Neer, 259 n. 110, considers the 470 date “certainly too low”); and P 14711b. P 14711a (Agora XXX, nos. 210–211) from deposit G 3:1 and dated ca. 490–480. One is perhaps by the Antiphon Painter: P 2787 (Agora XXX, no. 1237) from the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft and dated ca. 490–480.

33The deposits (and the number of non-intrusive red-figure vessels from each) are B 18:11 (1). B 18:15 (1). C 18:11 (1). **D 15:1** (4). **D 17:10**, dumped fill (1). **E 14:5** (5). **E 15:6** (3). **F 19:5** (4). **G 6:3** (Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft), upper fill (34). **G 11:3** POU (2). **H 12:15**, lower and upper dumped fills (11). K 17:3 (1). **M 17:4** (1). **Q 12:3** (Stoa Gutter Well) (15). **Q 20:1** (1). **R 12:1** (1). Deposits included in Shear’s study are given in boldface. Agora XXX gives a terminal date of 480 for all but the following: E 14:5 (terminal date 490 [Agora XXX, 361, as also Agora XII, 388], but considered Persian debris by Shear and Lynch [pers. com. 2005]). M 17:4 (to 475 and shortly thereafter [Agora XXX, 365, as also Agora XII, 394], but considered Persian debris by Shear, though with some clear later intrusions). Q 12:3 (the Stoa Gutter Well) (to 490 [Agora XXX, 366, as also Agora XII, 397], but accepted as Persian debris by Shear, S. Roberts [Hesperia 55, 1986, 4], and Lynch [pers. com. 2005]).

34Since almost all dates are given as a span, I give here the average of the lower end of the span. Figures generated from the median of the span show a similar divergence.

35Lynch also reports three uninventoried red-figure fragments; there is a large amount of uninventoried, fragmentary black-figure as well.

36Lynch, 162ff.

37Both deposits have been fully published. For the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft, see Vanderpool (supra n. 9) 265ff.; for the Stoa Gutter Well, see Roberts (supra n. 33) 1ff.

38Fragments documenting 15 cups, two lekythoi, and one calyx krater, plus two uninventoried fragments.

39P 30996 (Agora XXX, no. 252). Two more fragments of the same vessel – another rim fragment (P 22490) and a fragment of wall with handle stub and figured decoration (P 13366) – were found in two different locations, ca. 40 and 140 meters distant from the well. Agora records show that Beazley made the association between the latter two; P 30996, inventoried later, was added by Moore.

40Inventoried vessels are 26 cups, three skyphoi, three kraters, a plate, and an unidentified closed vessel. There are also about 40 uninventoried fragments from an uncertain number of vessels which have not been dated.

41P 2708a. c. d; P 2708b. P 2620. P 2798 (= Agora XXX, nos. 290. 291. 1335. 1651). All come from the upper part of the fill, which entered the shaft after ca. 487.

42P 2585. P 2619. P 2787 (= Agora XXX, nos. 166. 1237. 1323). These too are from the upper part of the accumulation.

43Vanderpool (supra n. 9) 266; Roberts (supra n. 33) 3f.

44Agora XXX, nos. 1407. 1408. 1513–1515. 1519. 1520. 1554. 1562. 1574, all

- dated no later than ca. 500 (attributions are to Epiktetos, Painter of Bologna 433, Painter of the Agora Chairias Cups, and the Manner of the Epeleios Painter).
- 45Neer, 196f.
- 46P. Amandry, BCH 112, 1988, 87ff.
- 47Neer, 204f.
- 48Langlotz, 17ff.; D. von. Bothmer, BMMA 24, 1966, 208f.; B. Cohen, *Attic Bilingual Vases and Their Painters* (1978) 113ff.
- 49E.g., R. Tölle-Kastenbein, AA 1983, 574.
- 50A.M. Snodgrass, *An Archaeology of Greece* (1987) 37f.
- 51M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (1976) 157; J.M. Hurwit, *The Art and Culture of Early Greece, 1100–480 B.C.* (1985) 299.
- 52Shear (supra n. 4) 396.
- 53Lynch has recently examined the uninventoried, context pottery in these deposits; I am grateful to her for sharing her tallies with me.
- 54As has been argued for the Kleophrades Painter (= later career of Euthymides; M. Ohly-Dumm, in: H.A.G. Brijder [ed.], *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium* [1984] 165ff.), and the Berlin Painter (= later career of Phintias; Robertson 1992, 80 refers to but dismisses the suggestion).
- 55Tölle-Kastenbein (supra n. 49) 573ff.
- 56J. Boardman, JHS 104, 1984, 163.
- 57H.A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, *Hesperia* Suppl. 4 (1940) 37; Shear (supra n. 4) 426, 477ff.
- 58Shear (supra n. 4, 478) cites as the latest comparanda to the black-figure and black-gloss in the deposit Agora XXIII, no. 1756 (early fifth century) and Agora XII, no. 18 (500–490 BC) and nos. 195. 407. 408. 420. 901. 909. 973 (500–480 BC).
- 59P 24131. P 31018 (Roberts [supra n. 33] 10. 13 nos. 2 [Epiktetos]. 10 [recalls Euphronios]) figs 2. 6.
- 60P 13013 (Agora XXIII, no. 215). Other black-figure from this fill: P 13766. P 13015. P 13012 (= Agora XXIII, nos. 246. 461. 550).
- 61Agora XII, 399; they describe the contents of the use fill as “water-pots and re-used black-figure.”
- 62John Camp associated it with a hypothetical dismantling of structures built within the Pelargikon in the wake of the expulsion of Hippias: J.M. Camp II, *The Water Supply of Ancient Athens from 3000 to 86 B.C.* (diss. Princeton University, 1977) 45ff. See also Agora XXXI, 32f.
- 63P 12669. P 13764. P 12670. P 12671 (= Agora XXIII, nos. 52. 201. 324. 1292).
- 64Perhaps the heel of a figure moving to the left; cf. P 24103 (Agora XXX, no. 1515, Stoa Gutter Well); P 1275 (Agora XXX, no. 1555, Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft).
- 65Stored in lot OA 30, objects recovered in redigging the dried earth from the well, and in which objects from all depths of the well are mixed. Lynch describes the fragment as a very small body sherd, almost a chip (pers. com., August 2007). I was unable to locate it in the summer of 2007.
- 66Deposit E 19:7, see Agora XXX, 362.
- 67Agora XXX, no. 1667. Of the other two fragments listed with this deposit, P 14953 (Agora XXX, no. 1164) dates to the last quarter of the fifth century and was found with early Roman pottery, and P 14805 (Agora XXX, no. 1575, from a cup perhaps by Psiax) comes from what the excavator termed a disturbed area; the accompanying pottery was discarded at the time of excavation.
- 68John Oakley, pers. com. October 2007.

26 Topographies of Cult and Athenian Civic Identity on Two Masterpieces of Attic Red-Figure

H.A. Shapiro

One of the best-known masterpieces of late Attic red-figure vase-painting is the name-piece of the Kekrops Painter (Figs 1–3), a calyx-krater in Schloss Fasanerie, near Fulda.¹ It features a unique depiction from the important myth of the Birth of Erichthonios: not the birth itself, but a slightly later moment, when Athena and Kekrops make offerings over the chest in which the newborn is hidden. No less impressive, in its own way, is a second krater in the same collection, attributed to the same hand (Figs 4–6; Color Pls 20A. 21A–B).² This one, which I shall henceforth refer to as the Theseus krater, is much less discussed and written about than the name-piece, although it is well known to students of Theseus's deeds as by far the most elaborate version of the story of Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.³



Fig. 1. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 77. Attic red-figure calyxkrater, side A. Photos: Museum, courtesy of A. Dobler.

The two kraters, made in the years about 400 BC, were probably not made as a pair, a phenomenon that is attested elsewhere in Attic vase-painting, since they are of somewhat different size and proportions.⁴ Yet, as I shall suggest in this paper, if we study them together – something that has seldom if ever been done in the scholarship⁵ – each will help shed light on the other, and many intriguing thematic links between the two will emerge. In particular, I begin from the observation that the principal scene on both kraters has the same setting, the Athenian Akropolis. In about 405 BC, a few years before the date of our two kraters, the Erechtheion was completed and, with it, the building program first envisioned by Perikles in the early 440's

and, after 431, frequently delayed by the ongoing vicissitudes of war.⁶ I want to suggest that the Kekrops Painter has given us an alternate topography of the Akropolis, not one of temples and shrines and dedications, but one of cults and rituals, of gods and heroes.⁷



Fig. 2. Detail of the krater in Fig. 1, left side. Photo: Museum, courtesy of A. Dobler.



Fig. 3. Detail of the krater in Figure 1, right side. Photo: Museum, courtesy of A. Dobler.

Let us reverse the usual priorities and start by considering the less famous vase, the Theseus krater (Figs 4–6; Color Pls 20A. 21A–B). Amid this crowded and seemingly chaotic composition, we quickly zero in on the majestic figure of Athena. She occupies the exact center of the scene and, with her long spear, bisects it into two roughly equal halves. It is only by following Athena’s line of sight that we discover the actual occasion for this large gathering: Theseus has driven the Marathonian Bull across Attika and prepares to sacrifice it to the patron goddess of the citadel.⁸ Now, the scene of Theseus capturing or subduing the Bull had been popular in Athenian art since Late Archaic times,⁹ but after the Persian Wars a new motif was introduced: Theseus driving the Bull across Attika. The earliest instance, I believe, is a remarkable and still unpublished amphora attributed to the Syleus Painter, on display in Athens’s National Museum.¹⁰ It shows Theseus

on one side, the pacified Bull on the other and was found, curiously enough, at Markopoulo, a village in the Attic countryside about midway between Marathon and Athens. Late writers report several versions of the Bull's ultimate fate, including one in which it was sacrificed by Aigeus to Apollo (D.S. 4.59.6). But there is good reason to believe that the version of Theseus's sacrifice on the Akropolis (Paus. 1.27.9–10) was the predominant one in the fifth century.



Fig. 4. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 78. Attic red-figure calyxkrater, side A. Photo: Author.

Returning to our krater, the Bull appears to be tethered to a small tree, its head sunk in exhaustion, while Theseus strikes a relaxed pose and looks expectantly toward the goddess. In his original, and very thorough, publication of the vase in the CVA, Frank Brommer identified as Theseus the more elaborately dressed youth seated in the foreground and took the youth beside the Bull as his constant companion Peirithoös.¹¹ But I believe we should consider the possibility of reversing this. First, as already observed, Theseus and

Athena should be the pair who look directly at one another, while Peirithoös, a subsidiary figure, who, in spite of his prominent placement on the vase, stares off into the distance, as if uninvolved in the situation.¹² Secondly, the more elaborately dressed figure need not be the more important. On a contemporary vase with the same subject, recently excavated near Beneventum, Athena reaches out to crown a youth who must be Theseus.¹³ He is nearly nude, while Peirithoös, sitting below, wears a patterned chlamys. Only the club has changed hands, held by Theseus on the Beneventum krater and now by Peirithoös on the Kekrops Painter's vase.

There is a third, and more important, reason why I believe this must be Theseus, and that is, that he forms a family group with his father, Aigeus, and stepmother Medea (Fig. 5; Color Pl. 21A).¹⁴ As the reigning monarch, Aigeus is the only figure seated on a piece of furniture (a stool with animal feet),¹⁵ and this in turn is perched on a pile of irregular stones, to indicate the rocky terrain of the Akropolis. Medea, in full oriental dress, as often in this period,¹⁶ leans casually on her husband's shoulder. This is not the wicked sorceress and child-killer of Euripides's play, but a benign figure whose main purpose is to give Theseus, the model Athenian ephebe, the semblance of a happy, stable family.¹⁷ A hovering Nike brings the proud parents news of their son's glorious success. Though still dressed as a foreigner, Medea has been co-opted as a minor Attic heroine – a process we can trace as far back as the name-piece of the Codrus Painter, of the 430's, where she joins Theseus, Aigeus and other heroes in a scene of intense Athenian patriotism on the eve of the Peloponnesian War.¹⁸ Behind Medea stands a mature, bearded figure with scepter, who must be another Attic king associated with the Akropolis. Brommer tentatively identified him as Erechtheus.¹⁹

Before turning to the other side of the composition, we may stop to take a closer look at the Bull. As Beazley observed, it should be thought of as tied to the tree, not lying on the ground, as Brommer believed.²⁰ Brommer pointed out that the animal was once covered with added white, which has flaked off, leaving a dull and streaky surface.²¹ The literary sources do not speak of a white bull, nor is it elsewhere depicted in white on the vases. Whatever the intention, the effect would surely have been to imitate a marble bull, and in fact there was just such a statue on the Akropolis. Substantial fragments of a marble Bull were found in the early excavations and have been reasonably identified with Pausanias's mention of a dedication by the deme of Marathon commemorating Theseus's deed (1.29.9).²² This would be the only direct allusion to a man-made monument on the Akropolis on either of our two kraters. A more indirect one is the figure of Athena herself, which, despite the updated pose and drapery

style of the late-fifth century, surely echoes the great bronze Athena by Pheidias that stood on the central axis of the Akropolis, as she does on the vase.²³ The point of her long spear was visible, says Pausanias (1.28.2), to travelers rounding Cape Sounion.

Behind Athena and Peirithoös, a group of five divinities fills out the right-hand half of the scene (Fig. 6; Color Pl. 21B). First the male gods: Hermes, with *kerykeion*, in the upper register, and Apollo, with laurel branch, in the lower, pointing toward the Bull. A third god, Poseidon, is easily recognized by his trident. The two goddesses, however, are more difficult to identify. Brommer suggested Kore for the goddess holding a torch, but as she also holds the lyre belonging to her brother, she should rather be Artemis, as Beazley saw.²⁴ Finally, the goddess beside Poseidon, with veil and scepter, was identified by Brommer as either Hera or Demeter, and by Erika Simon as Amphitrite,²⁵ but I would like to argue for yet a fourth option, Aphrodite. The combination of the garment pulled up to veil the back of the head and the long sceptre ending in a bud comes closest to depictions of Aphrodite on vases of this period.²⁶





Figs 5–6. Details of the krater in Fig. 4. Photos: Author.

When we consider these five divinities as a group, two significant patterns emerge. Hermes may be discounted for the moment, since he is a ubiquitous figure in gatherings of the gods. The other four – Apollo, Poseidon, Aphrodite, and Artemis – comprise what Simon has recognized as the foursome most important to the life and career of Theseus. Poseidon is his divine father; Aphrodite and Artemis both assisted him in the Cretan Adventure; and Apollo of Delos has several associations with Theseus, both in the Cretan story and elsewhere. It was on this basis that Simon explained the grouping of these four Olympians together on the East Frieze of the Parthenon.²⁷ On our krater, there is a further reason for their presence. Each one of these gods had sanctuaries on or around the slopes of the Akropolis: Poseidon and Hermes in the Erechtheion; Artemis Brauronia on the citadel; Aphrodite and Apollo amid the caves and rocks of the North Slope.²⁸



*Fig. 7. Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 81.70. Attic red-figure calyx-krater.
Photo: Museum, courtesy J.H. Oakley.*

The motif of Akropolis cult topography is one of the chief elements linking this krater to the same painter's Erichthonios krater, to which we now turn. Though the story of Erichthonios had been regularly depicted in Attic red-figure since the Early Classical period,²⁹ it is surely no accident that the popularity of the scene increases markedly during the last third of the fifth century, the Peloponnesian War years, when Athenian autochthony became a rallying cry for superiority over the Peloponnesian enemy.³⁰ But whereas the earlier vases generally lacked any indication of a physical setting, those of the late fifth century often make more explicit reference to the Akropolis. An ornate squat lekythos in Cleveland introduces the three daughters of Kekrops, eagerly watching as if from behind the rocky slope of the citadel.³¹ This is a proleptic reference to the next stage of the story, when Athena will entrust the baby to these girls, with strict instructions not to peek into his crib.³² A splendid calyx-krater in Richmond (Fig. 7), attributed to the Nikias Painter, sets the scene in

multiple registers (perhaps betraying the influence of wall-painting of the period) that suggests the steep terrain of the Akropolis.³³ Note in particular the presence of an inscribed Aphrodite at the lower right.



Fig. 8. Detail of the krater in Fig. 1. Photo: Museum, courtesy of A. Dobler.

But the krater by the Kekrops Painter marks a radical break from the earlier iconographical tradition, both in the moment chosen – after the baby has been received and placed in his chest – and in the whole configuration of the scene (Figs 1, 8). The Akropolis setting is made clearest by the tree growing up between Kekrops and Athena, no doubt the sacred olive tree that grew in the Pandroseion.³⁴ Kekrops is an especially striking figure, not only for the snaky lower body, but also the baby lamb in his outstretched left arm and the Nereid riding a hippocamp rendered on his short-sleeved *ependytes*.³⁵ The ancillary figures form a kind of wide circle around the central group of goddess, hero, and chest containing the baby. Three small Erotes enliven the scene and subtly remind the viewer that an act of thwarted lust – Hephaistos's pursuit of Athena around the Akropolis – led to the sowing of the autochthonous child whose birth is celebrated in this otherwise solemn scene. The Erotes may also call to mind the fact that Eros shared the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Akropolis North Slope.³⁶

Several scholars, notably Uta Kron and Erika Simon, have observed that many of the divinities on the krater echo the cults in and around

the Erechtheion: the three daughters of Kekrops who observe from the upper left; the two young girls in the lower register, who could represent the real-life counterparts of these maidens, the Arrhēphoroi, who served Athena on the Akropolis and helped to weave her peplos;³⁷ Zeus Hypatos (his altar was in the Eastern pronaos); Poseidon (the trident marks and salt spring in the western cella); Hermes (a wooden statue in the cella) and Hephaistos (an altar in the Eastern cella).³⁸ This leaves unaccounted for only one figure, the woman seated behind Athena and holding the goddess's helmet and shield. Various identifications have been proposed for her, literally from A to Z, from Attikē, the personification of the land of Attika,³⁹ to Zeuxippe, the charioteer (hence the cross-straps she wears) and mother by Poseidon of the hero Boutes (who also was worshipped in the Erechtheion).⁴⁰ I myself once canvassed the possibility of Aphrodite, thinking of the goddess who appears labeled on the calyx-krater in Richmond depicting the Birth of Erichthonios (Fig. 7).⁴¹

But I would now prefer to return to a suggestion of Beazley's, recently adopted with some caution by Michalis Tiverios, that she is Nike, specifically the wingless Nike (Nike Apteros) who was worshipped on the Akropolis, in the little temple on the bastion.⁴² She sits on a kind of pillar or boundary stone that could mark off the temenos where that recently completed temple stood.⁴³ Beazley's observation is in fact strengthened by the presence on the other side of the vase of a *winged* Nike, performing a similar function for Athena (holding her shield), as she observes Herakles capture the Bull, but in a setting far from the Akropolis, on Crete (Fig. 9).⁴⁴ Thus, with the addition of Nike Apteros the topography of the Erichthonios scene is not limited to the Erechtheion, but takes in the whole of the Akropolis,⁴⁵ as we have seen is true on the Theseus krater as well.

Let us note some other links between the two kraters that point toward the notion of a coordinated pair. Both include a small tripod in the principal scene (cf. Figs 1, 3, 4; Color Pl. 20A), an element that recurs on a small number of late red-figure kraters and has been associated by Heide Froning with victories in dithyrambic contests.⁴⁶ That is, the scene depicted would correspond to the subject of the winning poem. Furthermore, if the bearded king at the upper left of the Theseus krater is indeed Erechtheus, then he is the baby of the Kekrops krater, now all grown up. We may recall the Codrus Painter's cup with the Birth of Erichthonios on one side and Erechtheus the king on the other.⁴⁷

Both kraters include the figure of Apollo, once observing Herakles capturing the Bull and once watching Theseus as he rests beside the Bull (Figs 6, 9; Color Pl. 21B). Jean-Marc Moret has explored in detail the meaning of the god as spectator, mediating between the painting

and the viewer, as part of what he calls the “Apollonization” of late fifth-century Attic iconography.⁴⁸ This parallel inevitably leads to a further one that was evidently taken for granted by ancient viewers: the Bull on the front of the one krater and on the back of the other is the very same Bull. After Herakles had captured it on Crete, he drove it over the Isthmus to Attika, where it is settled at Marathon.⁴⁹

We have, then, two kraters whose principal scenes are set on the Akropolis, both celebrating the citadel’s cults, its tutelary goddess Athena, and the heroes of its distant past. The scene on the Erichthonios krater can be tied very closely, as we have seen, to the rituals of a particular Akropolis building, the Erechtheion. It is worth exploring whether the same may be true for the Theseus krater.

The sacrificing of the Marathonian Bull to Athena is a new motif in the visual arts of the last quarter of the fifth century. As we have seen, this was preceded by the scene of driving the Bull across Attika, starting a half-century earlier. About the middle of the century, the Penthesilea Painter created his great cup with, in the interior zone, one of the most detailed and original cycles of Theseus’s youthful deeds.⁵⁰ The hero drives the Bull toward what must be the Akropolis, indicated by a rocky outcrop and two of the kings associated with it, perhaps Aigeus and Pandion. This is our earliest reference to the Bull’s eventual fate.



Fig. 9. Side B of the krater in Fig. 1. Photo: Museum, courtesy of A. Dobler.

It is only after about 430 that we find numerous scenes of the hero leading, or trotting alongside, the Bull in a way that suggests he has already subdued it and is bringing it to the Akropolis. There has been much discussion of the female figure who regularly appears in these scenes. Is she Medea (even when in Greek dress), who flees in distress because her plan to get rid of her new stepson by setting him against the ferocious beast has failed? Or even Medea brewing up the poison (she regularly carries a jug) with which she will next try to do him in? Or is she merely a local nymph or personification stirred by the excitement?⁵¹ The identity of this woman is not crucial for my argument here, but for the record, I believe she is often Medea, not as the would-be poisoner of Theseus, but as the sorceress whose standard attributes are oinochoe and phiale.⁵² As stated earlier, I find no hint of her malevolent attitude toward Theseus in the iconography of the fifth century – indeed, just the opposite by the time we get to the Kekrops

Painter's Theseus krater, where she has been co-opted as a member of Theseus's family.

I have already suggested that the white Bull on our krater could have reminded the ancient viewer of a marble dedication on the Akropolis. But by the end of the century, there were more bulls up there as well. Most famously, the parapet of the Nike Temple was decorated with a long series of bulls led to sacrifice by Nikai under the watchful eye of Athena.⁵³ The meaning of this motif has been the object of much scholarly debate over the past twenty years. In the mid-80's, Erika Simon first proposed that the ritual of the Nike parapet should be associated with the *Theseia*, the festival of Theseus as reconstituted on a grand scale by Kimon after the return of the hero's bones from the island of Skyros.⁵⁴ In a more recent paper, she reiterated the case for a chthonic sacrifice to a hero (against a recent critique by the late Michael Jameson), but stopped short of specifying the occasion as the *Theseia*.⁵⁵ She merely observed that the location of the bastion on which the temple was built was remembered as the site of Aigeus's death-leap, and, by implication, would have evoked the figure of Theseus.⁵⁶ In the earlier study, Simon had mentioned briefly that the way in which the Nikai are shown easily subduing mighty, recalcitrant bulls would have carried an allusion to Theseus's might in overcoming both a bull (at Marathon) and the half-bull Minotaur.⁵⁷



Fig. 10. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1683. Attic red-figure pelike. Photo: Museum.

I think we can go even a step further and infer that Theseus's sacrifice of the Marathonian Bull to Athena on the Akropolis, which became such a favorite theme for the painters in the second half of the fifth century, was understood as the mythological *aition* for the bull sacrifices of the Classical period. Even though Athena is present (three times) on the Nike parapet, the idea that the sacrifice could be for her has usually been discounted because of the gender of the victims. Goddesses don't receive male sacrificial victims, so the argument

goes.⁵⁸ Tonio Hölscher, however, has recently made a convincing case that exceptions to this rule were indeed made and that Athena in particular was often associated with bulls and bull sacrifices.⁵⁹ The fact that Theseus had once sacrificed the famous Bull of Marathon to the goddess could, I suggest, have helped justify what might otherwise have seemed a violation of ritual practice.

A figure wearing a striking white pilos, on a pelike in Athens of the same period as our krater, was identified by Otto Jahn in 1866 as Theseus leading the Marathonian Bull to sacrifice at the *tropaion* for Athena Nike (Fig. 10; Color Pl. 20B).⁶⁰ Jenifer Neils, in *LIMC*, following other scholars, has rejected this reading, preferring to see the scene as a generic one, an ephebic sacrifice.⁶¹ But I think Jahn's idea has much to recommend it. The *tropaion*, as a military victory monument, had appeared on a series of red-figure vases from the mid-fifth century,⁶² but the most visible examples in sculpture were the *tropaia* being set up and decorated by Nikai at intervals on the parapet of the Nike Temple. The same motif is depicted on our pelike, in the language of vase-painting, with a small Nike hovering beside the *tropaion* and reaching out a wreath. The pile of irregular stones at the base of the *tropaion* localizes it on the Akropolis.⁶³ The sacrifice is embellished with a white ram being led up by a *pais*. This may be the latest of the vases showing Theseus with the Marathonian Bull. The influence of the Nike parapet is unmistakable, and the vase, therefore, gives us a valuable insight into how Theseus was believed to be the inspiration for the ritual enacted on the sculptures surrounding the temple.

I conclude with one final suggestion. Beazley's list of works attributed to the Kekrops Painter is quite short: apart from the two calyx-kraters in Schloss Fasanerie, there is only one other vase, a bell-krater now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Figs 11–12).⁶⁴ Against the background of the nexus of images just discussed, I would like to attempt a different reading from the usual one, which associates the scene with the festival of Hephaistos.⁶⁵ A vigorous youth restrains a recalcitrant bull and ties a wreath around it in preparation for sacrifice. He is immediately reminiscent of Theseus leading the Marathonian Bull, only Theseus normally has no helpers. Another interpretation suggests itself. These Athenian ephebes, who pattern themselves after Theseus, are celebrating the festival of the hero, while Theseus himself appears in the background, from behind the steeply sloping hill.⁶⁶ With his arms spread wide, he seems to be a kind of epiphany, as on that memorable day in 490 BC when Theseus suddenly appeared to the Athenian army at Marathon and led them on to victory (Plutarch, *Theseus* 35. 5). A woman in fluttering drapery hovers in the background and looks on approvingly. Scholars have

hesitated to call her Nike because of the lack of wings, but, as we saw earlier, our painter is careful to distinguish the Nike Apteros of the Akropolis. She also confirms the identification of the summarily rendered temple behind her as that of Athena Nike. The real-life ephebes here take on the difficult job that Nikai perform so effortlessly on the parapet.



*Fig. 11. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.49. Attic red-figure bell-krater.
Photo: Museum, courtesy of E. Milleker.*

The usual association of this scene with Hephaistos derived from the scene on the reverse of the vase (Fig. 12), three youths in a torch race of the kind held in honor of Hephaistos after the reorganization of his festival in the year 421/20.⁶⁷ But Hephaistos is not the only one for whom torch-races were run.⁶⁸ Indeed, several inscriptions of the Hellenistic and Roman periods give evidence of a torch-race at the Theseia, and there is no reason to doubt that this originated in the fifth century.⁶⁹ The Kekrops Painter proves himself once again a great connoisseur of cults and festivals on the Akropolis, and a particular

devoté of the hero Theseus.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank first of all John Oakley for the invitation to present this paper in Athens and for helpful discussion of the vases that it deals with. Versions of the paper were also delivered at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Freiburg, and I am grateful for comments and suggestions from those audiences. I owe special thanks to Andreas Dobler, Curator of the Antiquities Collection in Schloss Fasanerie, for his warm welcome, for providing photographs and permission to publish them, and for allowing me to study and photograph the two kraters at leisure.



Figure 12. Side B of the krater in Fig. 11. Photo: Museum, courtesy of E. Milleker.

Notes

1Schloß Fasanerie 77; ARV² 1346, below, no. 1; Para 482; BAdd² 368; F. Brommer, CVA Schloß Fasanerie 1 pls 46–48. Beazley did not consider the Kekrops Painter a master of style (“all is trivial and tawdry”), but he did

- recognize the extraordinary interest of his compositions and subjects.
- 2Schloß Fasanerie 78; ARV² 1346–1347,2; Para 482; BAdd² 368; CVA Schloß Fasanerie 1 pls 49–51.
- 3See, e.g., J. Neils, *The Youthful deeds of Theseus* (1987) 139.
- 4See F. Brommer in CVA Schloß Fasanerie 1 32, who notes that the Erichthonios krater is a little larger and the ornament is different. Both are said to have been found in Sicily.
- 5Since the first publication of both kraters, one after the other, in CVA Schloß Fasanerie 1, of 1956, I am not aware of any extended study of the two together, although each has been the subject of many specialized studies. See below for references. Most recently both kraters have been illustrated and briefly described in R. von den Hoff – A. Dobler, *Antike. Glanzpunkte der Sammlung griechischer und römischer Kunst aus dem Hause Hessen. Schloss Fasanerie Eichenzell* (2005) 102. 105–108 (R. von den Hoff).
- 6On the building program and its chronology see recently J.M. Hurwit, *The Athenian Acropolis* (1999) 157–159.
- 7A very different approach to the interpretation of the Erichthonios krater, one that sets it in a specific historical/political context, viz. the period of reconciliation between Athens and Sparta and between oligarchs and democrats in Athens immediately following the end of the Peloponnesian War, is briefly intimated by M.A. Tiverios, in: V.M. Strocka (ed.), *Meisterwerke. Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler, Freiburg im Breisgau, 30 Juni – 3 Juli 2003* (2006) 317. While I prefer to see both kraters in a broader religious/historical context that transcends internal and external politics, Tiverios's provocative suggestion deserves fuller consideration.
- 8For the sources on Theseus's sacrifice of the Bull see F. Brommer, *Theseus* (1982) 27–28; LIMC VII (1994) 936, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 9LIMC VII (1994) 936–937 nos. 176–193, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils).
- 10NM 18543; ARV² 249,4.
- 11Brommer (*supra* n. 1) 36.
- 12I thank V.M. Strocka for pointing out to me that the figure I call Peirithoös is the only one in the scene who does not wear a wreath. The Nike hovering over him could, however, argue for Theseus (as Strocka believes). As Peirithoös, he will have taken Theseus's usual attributes – club, spears, and sword – while the principal hero sits completely unencumbered by the Bull.
- 13Benevento (from Caudium, Tomb 1016); E. Galasso, *Tra I Sanniti in Terra Beneventana* (1983) 58.
- 14U. Kron, in LIMC I (1981) 361 no. 16, s.v. Aigeus (U. Kron), also recognized this threesome, although she has a very different view of Medea from mine.
- 15Cf. W. Raeck, *JdI* 99, 1984, 15–16, who suggests that the goat's feet on the stool could be a play on the name Aigeus.
- 16B.B. Shefton, *AJA* 60, 1956, 159–163; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, in: J.J. Clauss – S.I. Johnston (eds), *Medea. Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy and Art* (1997) 267–268. 281–294.
- 17Some scholars, e.g. U. Kron, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen*, *AthMitt-BH* 5 (1976) 120–131, maintain the view of a malevolent Medea, preparing for her attempted poisoning of Theseus. But I find no evidence of this version of the story in the visual sources of the fifth century.
- 18Bologna PU 273; ARV² 1268,1; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Métis* 5, 1990, 137–153.
- 19Brommer (*supra* n. 1) 37.
- 20J.D. Beazley, rev. of F. Brommer, CVA Schloss Fasanerie 1, in *AJA* 61, 1957, 110–111. For another example of the Bull clearly standing and tied to a tree, cf. the skyphos in Florence illustrated by Shefton (*supra* n. 16) pl. 61,4.

- 21Brommer (supra n. 1) 37.
- 22On this bull see H.A. Shapiro, *AJA* 92, 1988, 373–382.
- 23For the Bronze Athena (conventionally referred to as Athena Promachos in modern sources) see E.B. Harrison, in: O. Palagia – J.J. Pollitt (eds), *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture*, *YaleClSt* 30 (1996) 28–34.
- 24Brommer (supra n. 1) 37; Beazley (supra n. 20) 111.
- 25LIMC VII (1994) 469 no. 204, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon).
- 26E.g. the krater Bologna PU 300, depicting Aphrodite between Atalanta and Hippomenes: ARV² 1152,7; CVA Bologna 4 pls 86–87.
- 27E. Simon, in: J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena* (1996) 22.
- 28For the locations of these various sanctuaries see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971) 218 (Poseidon and Hermes). 124–125 (Artemis Brauronia). 91–92 (Apollo Hypoakraios); for Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Akropolis, see R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite* (2004) 35–38.
- 29For discussion of the iconography see Kron (supra n. 17) 55–64; LIMC IV (1988) 928–931, s.v. Erechtheus (U. Kron).
- 30H.A. Shapiro, in: D. Boedeker – K.A. Raaflaub (eds), *Democracy, Empire and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens* (1988) 139–145.
- 31Cleveland 82.142; J. Neils, *BClevMus* 70, 1983, 274–289.
- 32On this part of the story, and its imagery, see M. Schmidt, *AM* 83, 1968, 201–218.
- 33Richmond 81.70; J.H. Oakley, *AntK* 30, 1987, 123–130.
- 34See Travlos (supra n. 28) 218.
- 35I have not found any attempts to interpret the meaning of this motif in the context here. One possibility would be a reference to Athens's superiority on both land and sea, the land embodied in the figure of Kekrops and the sea in the design on his chest. Cf. J. Neils, *The Parthenon Frieze* (2001) 186–189, who sees a play on land and sea in the arrangement of the gods on the Parthenon Frieze.
- 36Rosenzweig (supra n. 28) 35, who notes that the sanctuary is just below and only 25 metres to the east of the Erechtheion. E. Simon, in LIMC VII (1994) 476 no. 260, s.v. Poseidon (E. Simon), suggests that the Eros serving Poseidon refers to his love for Zeuxippe (whom she sees in the figure above identified here as Nike).
- 37But see now E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (1983) 52; eadem, in: F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert, Castelen bei Basel, 15. bis 18. März 1996* (1998) 135, who no longer believes these two are Arrhephoroi, but rather grown women (smaller in scale than the gods they attend), namely Trapezo and Kosmo, attendants of the priestess of Athena on the Akropolis.
- 38E. Simon, *Die griechischen Vasen* (1976) 152–153; Kron (supra n. 17) 62–63. On the Daughters of Kekrops and the Arrhephoroi see the now classic article of W. Burkert, *Hermes* 94, 1966, 1–25.
- 39LIMC III (1986) 21 no. 6, s.v. Attike (G. Berger-Doer).
- 40Simon (supra n. 38) 153.
- 41Shapiro (supra n. 30) 381 n. 74.
- 42Beazley (supra n. 20) 111; Tiverios (supra n. 7) 304 n. 47. Cf. K. Jeppesen, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of Ancient Greek and Related Pottery, Copenhagen August 31–September 4, 1987* (1988) 285, who suggests that she is Athena Nike, although the presence of Athena [Polias] so nearby makes this problematical. Beazley also points out that it is possible to have Nikai of different sizes in the same scene, as on Side B of the Erechthonios krater (Fig. 9): the smaller one, crowning Herakles, represents the victory on this particular occasion, while the larger one behind Athena represents Nike in general. Similarly, a tiny winged Nike hovering between Kekrops and Athena refers to this particular occasion (Fig. 8), while the full-sized Nike Apteros

- belongs to the cultic topography of the setting.
- 43Traces of letters are visible on the base of this pillar. Brommer (supra n. 1) pl. 34, read "KAO (?)," whereas I could only make out a very clear A. There is not enough to go on, but it seems likely that the inscription did give an indication of location.
- 44Cf. also M.C. Monaco, *ASAtene* 66–67, 1988–1989, 65–67, for the ingenious hypothesis that the scene takes place not on Crete, but at Marathon, and that the 'cult topography' of this scene thus forms an Attic pendant to that of the principal scene set on the Akropolis. While obverse and reverse of the Erichthonios krater have several thematic links, such as the Nike on both sides, this does not seem to be the case with the Theseus krater, whose reverse shows a generic Dionysiac scene of satyrs and maenads. This is a further reason for thinking that the two kraters were not conceived as a "set" in any strict sense (cf. above n. 4), only that the principal scenes on the two vases have significant associations.
- 45A point rightly stressed by Jeppesen (supra n. 42).
- 46H. Froning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* (1971) who, however, does not discuss our vases except in passing.
- 47Berlin F 2537; ARV² 1268,2; Kron (supra n. 17) 59–60 pls 4,2; 5,2.
- 48J.-M. Moret, *RA* 1982, 109–136.
- 49For the sources see Brommer (supra n. 8) 27, who notes, however, that none is earlier than the Hellenistic period.
- 50Ferrara 44885 (T 18 C VP); ARV² 880,11; BAdd² 301; Simon (supra n. 38) 130–132 pl. 184.
- 51See Shefton (supra n. 16) and, for a different view, Sourvinou-Inwood in: L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myth* (1990) 395–445.
- 52Cf. Medea, holding the same attributes, with the Daughters of Peleus, on red-figure vases and on one of the Three-Figure Reliefs: most recently, E.B. Harrison, in: A.J. Clark – J. Gaunt (eds), *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer* (2002) 137–146; or in the famous scene of the Argonauts on the Talos Krater: Ruvo, Jatta 1501; ARV² 1338,1; H. Sichtermann, *Griechische Vasen in Unteritalien* (1966) pls 1. 24–34.
- 53See R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (1929) and M.S. Brouskari, *AEphem* 137, 1998 (1999) for a full publication of the entire parapet and T. Hölscher, *AM* 112, 1997, 164–166 for a complete bibliography up to that year.
- 54E. Simon, *Jahresbericht der Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg*, 1982–1983, 23–45; republished in an Italian version as E. Simon, *Museum Patavinum* 3.2, 1985, 271–288.
- 55E. Simon, in: D. Buitron-Oliver (ed.), *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (1997) 136–139; M.H. Jameson, in: R. Osborne – S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics. Athenian Democratic Accounts Presented to David Lewis* (1994) 313–315.
- 56Simon (supra n. 55) 140.
- 57Simon 1985 (supra n. 54).
- 58See Hölscher (supra n. 53) 149, with the citation to this effect from the late writer Arnobius (7.19).
- 59Hölscher (supra n. 53) 147–156.
- 60Athens, NM 1683; O. Jahn, *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis* (1866); H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athénienne* (1965) 115–116 no. 34 pl. 48,1.
- 61LMC VII (1994) 939 no. 217, s.v. Theseus (J. Neils). The vase was considered possibly non-Attic by Beazley; cf. recently J. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia. Attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen* (2002) 113–

- 115, who summarizes the extensive literature on the vase since 1865.
- 62LIMC VI (1992) 865–866 nos. 159–167, s.v. Nike (A. Gulaki-Voutira); M. Meyer, *ÖJh* 74, 2005, 278–279.
- 63These stones are usually understood as functioning to secure the tropaion: Froning (supra n. 46) 109 n. 328.
- 64New York 56.171.49; ARV2 1347,3; N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Agon*, National Archaeological Museum, 15 July–31 October 2004 (2004) 222–223. Beazley, in ARV2 1347, groups a fragment of a bell-krater, Agora P 23838, with the Kekrops Painter, but in M.B. Moore, *Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery*, Agora XXX (1997) 197 no. 376, Mary Moore considers it “perhaps in the manner of the Kadmos Painter” and does not mention Beazley’s association of the fragment with the Kekrops Painter.
- 65Metzger (supra n. 60) 112 no. 25; cf. E. Kephaliidou, Nikites (1997) 224.
- 66The identity of this figure has usually been left open, e.g. Metzger (supra n. 60) 112; cf. Kephaliidou (supra n. 65) 224, who suggests that he could be a fourth youth who, together with the three in front, belongs to the winning tribe in the torch-race. This does not explain, however, his remarkable gesture.
- 67For the torch-race at the Hephaisteia see L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932) 212–213.
- 68P. Corbett, *Hesperia* 18, 1949, 346–351, collected four vases that combine motifs of torch-race and bull-sacrifice, including the New York krater, but emphasized that they need not all refer to the same festival. Torch-races are attested at the Panathenaia, as well as for Prometheus, Pan, and Bendis. Cf. Froning (supra n. 46) 78–81 and Moore (supra n. 64) 151 for further examples.
- 69E.g. IG II² 957, line 49, listing the “torch-race of the ephebes”; G. Bugh, *ZPE* 83, 1990, 34. Cf. N. Kennell, *Phoenix* 55, 1999, 253, who observes that the torch-race was “the quintessential ephebic activity at Athens” and, before 335 B.C., the only attested ephebic activity. See also D.G. Kyle, *Athletics in Ancient Athens*² (1993) 40–41.

27 The Invention of the Female Nude: Zeuxis, Vase-Painting, and the Kneeling Bather

Robert F. Sutton

This paper, the second in a series, examines imagery painted on Attic vases in relation to both monumental painting and the major trends in Greek art.¹ My focus is on the deliberate invention of the female nude – of a respectable and noble presentation of the naked female form. In the last two decades nudity in Greek art has attracted much attention.² Recently, Jeffrey Hurwit has summarized several categories of nakedness in Archaic and Classical art, including athletic nudity; erotic, licentious, and sympotic nudity; democratic and civic nudity; banausic nakedness; brutish nakedness; and finally an idealizing, heroic nudity. This heroic nudity, he states, “elevates the figure from the general run of humanity and transposes him to another ontological level.”³ In this paper I show the emergence of just such an idealizing, heroic treatment of female nudity on Attic vases during the last third of the fifth century BC in the form of the familiar kneeling bathing type, which was discussed by both John Boardman and Vicky Sabetai at the predecessor to this conference.⁴ I illustrate here a version by the Eretria Painter (Fig. 1).⁵ In this paper, I suggest that vase-painters borrowed this new visual concept from the famous lost panel-painting of *Helen* by Zeuxis of Herakleia, an image which was consciously created as a heroic and virginal nude. While these contemporary new conceptions of the naked female might be unrelated, the more economical explanation is that the kneeling bather derives from Zeuxis’s famous masterpiece. If correct, this explanation allows us to understand better one of the more significant iconographic innovations of the Classical period, while clarifying the relationship between public images produced by the leading artists of the day and their dissemination in vasepainting and other private arts.



Fig. 1. Kneeling bather (no. 2). St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum Π 1872.15 chous fragment attributed to the Eretria Painter. Photo: Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter.

Before proceeding to Zeuxis, it is useful to review what the vase-paintings reveal. My conclusions are based on 155 Attic vases painted over the course of two centuries that show naked women bathing and dressing. Many are included in a recent study by Susanne Pfisterer-Haas.⁶ Her study concerns women both naked and clothed at the fountain house (Color Plate 20C)⁷ and with *louterion* (Figs 2–3)⁸ as well as a work-table of similar form, although she omits women bathing with portable basins and many with no basin. In contrast, I include all these naked bathers, as well as scenes of naked women at their toilette, since the two actions are inseparable. This is clear from a cup by the Boot Painter, for example, where bathers with *louterion* decorate interior and one side of the exterior (Figs 2–3), while the other side (Fig. 4) continues the theme without including bathing equipment. Both themes serve as a transparent pretext for showing naked women.

While this wider theme of bathing is essentially erotic, Eros and Aphrodite had an honored place in ancient life, and the erotic is not necessarily disreputable. Not long ago, scholars including Dyfri Williams, Eva Keuls, and Larissa Bonfante tended to identify naked bathers as *hetairai*, but more recently Gloria Ferrari, Sian Lewis, and Pfisterer-Haas have argued in response that they are respectable, nubile maidens.⁹ Some figures may be defined as one or the other,

although the majority remains uncertain. From consideration of vase shape, associated subjects on the same vessel, and occasionally findspot, I conclude, in general agreement with Susanne Morraw,¹⁰ that from the outset this is a diverse group of images serving various purposes and audiences, carrying several meanings, and evolving over time.



Fig. 2. Bather at louterion. Interior of cup attributed to the Boot Painter. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2668. Photo: Courtesy Museum (Wehrheim).

These figures appear on Attic pottery by the earliest red-figure painters and quickly become popular, primarily in red-figure.¹¹ Initially there is variety in setting and tone, with a few set in the wilds, most memorably the Priam Painter's black-figure skinny dippers, and a few more set at the fountain house, including fragments of an epinetron found on the Acropolis (Color Pl. 20C).¹² Bathers are immediately popular on cups, whose intimate tondos often show a single figure with a portable footbath (*podaniter*), like a cup found at a

grave at Rhitsona in Boeotia (Fig. 5).¹³ This portable basin is soon eclipsed by the permanent louterion with stand (Figs 2–3), usually shown in large social scenes, many of which are apparently set at the public bath. An early red-figure plate (Fig. 6) is among the earliest scenes showing women dressing.¹⁴

In the Archaic period the audience and range of meanings is diverse, and painters rarely define the status of the women portrayed in a clear and unambiguous fashion. None of these Archaic scenes, however, contains iconographic details that compel us to recognize any of the bathers as respectable *parthenoi*, brides, or matrons. The few bathers shown in rustic settings could be nymphs, but need not be, and some of these and others could well be citizen women, for as the chart in Fig. 11 reveals, roughly a quarter of the vessels could have been used by women to bathe and dress: the hydria, pelike, alabastron, and lekythos. An epinetron from the Acropolis (Color Pl. 20C) was designed specifically for feminine use and must have been a dedication. The largest Archaic audience for the theme is clearly the symposium, where the images of naked women would have enhanced the erotic atmosphere: cups account for just over half the total, and most show the portable basin or toilette scenes; there are also a few kraters and oinochoai. It is, therefore, not surprising that several of these Archaic scenes and their Classical successors have explicit sexual content, like a cup once in Berlin with floating *olisbos*, or the occasional appearance of an intruding male fondler, whether silen or human.¹⁵ Some depict the titillating subject of depilation by lamp or plucking, sometimes accomplished with the help of a female companion, once by a silen, and in the Classical period even by Eros (Fig. 7).¹⁶ Sometimes the subject in another field on the vase sexualizes the bathing scene, most obviously on a cup by the Pedieus Painter, where one side shows three naked women rushing to bathe at a louterion and the other side two naked women cavorting with *olisboi* and a giant phallus bird.¹⁷

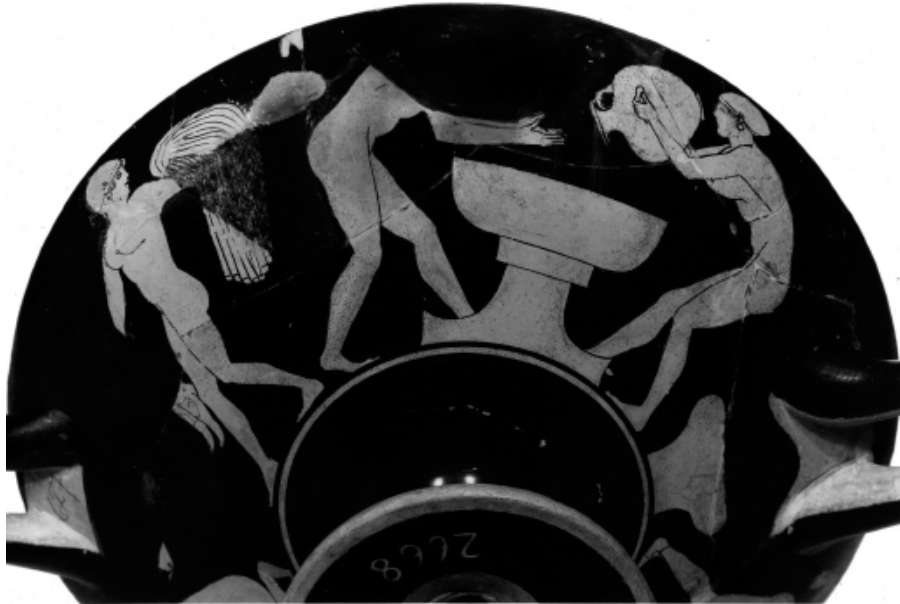


Fig. 3. Bathers at loutērion. Side A of the cup in Fig. 2. Photo: Courtesy Museum (Wehrheim).



Fig. 4. Women dressing. Side B of the cup in Fig. 2. Photo: Courtesy Museum (Wehrheim).

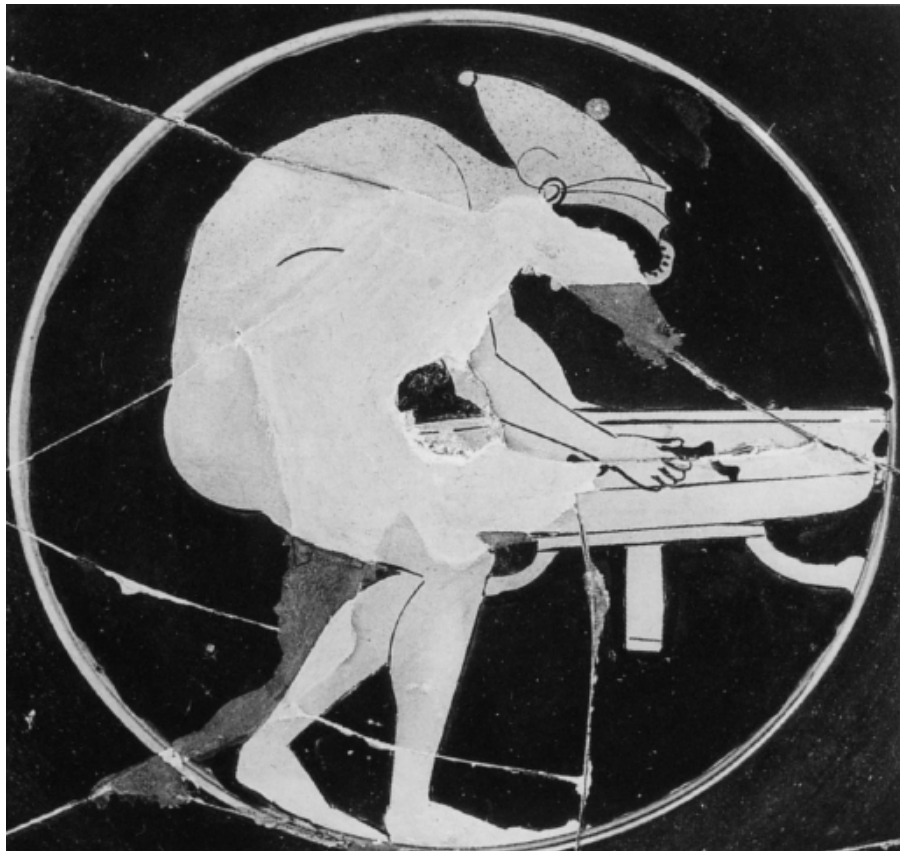


Fig. 5. Bather with podaniter. Interior of cup from Rhitsona (Boeotia). Thebes, Archaeological Museum 23425. Photo: after CVA Thebes 1 pl. 73,1.



Fig. 6. Woman dressing. Plate. Berkeley, Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology 8.5. Photo: Courtesy Museum.



Fig. 7. Women at their toilette, with Eros. Bell-krater attributed to the Dinos Painter. Cambridge, Mass., Arthur M. Sackler Museum Anonymous Loan 9.1988. Photo: Courtesy Museum (M.A. Nedzweski).

As the theme continues into the Classical period, the only significant change until about 430 BC is the disappearance of the portable bath and a drop in the proportion of cups. Like their Archaic predecessors, Early Classical artists like the Boot Painter delight in showing different aspects of the bathing process (Figs 2–4), although only after mid-century do painters incorporate Classical notions into their images.

Around 430 BC two significant changes redefine the subject: first the introduction of the personification Eros as attendant and helpmate, who makes explicit the erotic content of the subject while generally elevating it (Fig. 7), and second, the appearance of the kneeling bather (Fig. 1). She usually washes her hair, sometimes with the help of Eros (Fig. 8; Color Pl. 21C), who is replaced in the fourth century by a woman. While earlier bathers are occasionally shown kneeling, after 430 BC the figure becomes suddenly common, occurring on 21 Attic vases (see Appendix). Moreover, the kneeling bather is often unambiguously defined as a respectable figure. On a

pyxis in New York she is identified as a bride (perhaps Helen) by the nearby loutrophoros (no. 4; Fig. 8). She appears again as a bride in the fourth century on a lekanis (a nuptial shape) by the Marsyas Painter and also on a fragment of a miniature lekanis by the same painter dedicated at Brauron that was recently on display (nos. 11–12). We also find paradigmatic mythological brides. On a very late work of the Shuvalov Painter, a tallboy lekythos in private hands, the bather is named Helen assisted by Eros and Himeros at the direction of Aphrodite, significantly in the presence of Eukleia, Good Repute (Color Pl. 21C; no. 5). This identification suggests that a later epinetron from Chalki near Rhodes (no. 6) probably also portrays the bath of Helen, and possibly even the New York pyxis as well (Fig. 8). Later the Marsyas Painter shows Thetis captured by Peleus on his well-known pelike in the British Museum (no. 17). This composition, with its innovative torsion that opens up the flat composition and reveals Thetis's body, is copied in reverse on a pelike in Toledo attributed to the painter of Athens 1472 (no. 18; Fig. 9). On a vase once owned by Hamilton (no. 16) the bather turns away from the viewer to reveal her back and buttocks, which an attendant rinses.



Fig. 8. Bridal bath with Eros, and other nuptial preparations (no. 4). Pyxis. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972.118.148, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971. Drawing: Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 9. Peleus and Thetis (no. 18). Pelike attributed to the Painter of Athens 1472. Toledo Museum of Art, no. 1993.49. Photo: Courtesy Museum.



Fig. 10. Bathing nymph discovered by silens (no. 3). Bell-krater attributed to the Dinos Painter. Cracow, University, Institute of Archaeology 331. Photo: J. Śliwa – P. Gasior.

Other kneeling bathers can be recognized as nymphs, most obviously on a krater in Cracow by the Dinos Painter (no. 3; Fig. 10), where we find a theme illustrated a century earlier on the Phineus cup: silens discovering a nymph bathing in the wild.¹⁸ A late calyx-krater shows a nymph's toilette as Eros brings a mirror, and a silen, no longer a threat, brings a tie for her hair (no. 21); framing altars under the handles impart a religious aura. A chous fragment by the Eretria Painter (Fig. 1; no. 2) and a lost lekythos connected to him (no. 1) probably also show nymphs. Other figures, like the bather in idyllic setting on a heavy-handed, Meidian acorn-lekythos in Berlin (no. 7) are also heroic or divine, even if we cannot identify them with certainty.¹⁹ We notice here especially brides and nymphs, both categories described by the Greek word *nymphē*, and the kneeling bather is explicitly nuptial, unlike her predecessors. The Classical kneeling bather, therefore, represents the transformation of the naked bather into a noble heroic or divine nude, even as she remains powerfully erotic, bathed by Eros himself in the presence of Eukleia.

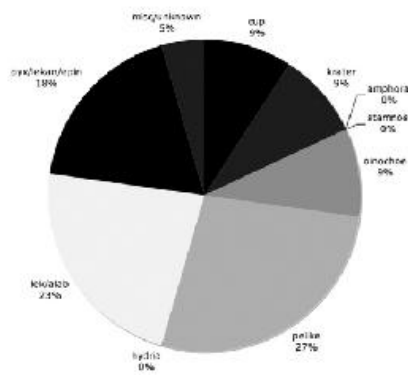
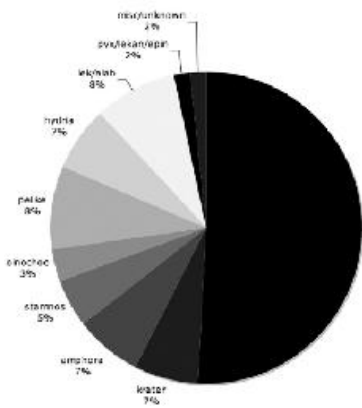


Fig. 11. Charts comparing the distribution of scenes of women bathing and at their toilette. Left, Archaic period (all); right, vases with the Classical kneeling bather.

The audience to which the kneeling bather is addressed differs from that for earlier bathers (Fig. 11). While she does appear on symposium ware – cups and kraters – more commonly she decorates vessels intended for women's use, including nuptial shapes. Moreover, the Classical type appears also on Apulian vases, a good number of gems, a mirror, figurines and plastic vases, eventually emerging in the Hellenistic period as monumental sculpture, and endures as a motif well into the Roman period.²⁰

Seeking the origins of this important type, Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter has suggested that it was an invention of the Eretria Painter, who painted one of the earliest and most beautiful versions (Fig. 1).²¹ Earlier, however, Reinhard Lullies had suggested a prototype in monumental painting.²² This seems to be a more likely explanation for such an important and widespread image, and I suggest that it was not some virtually unknown work, but Zeuxis's *Helen*. As will be seen below, Zeuxis achieved the same conceptual breakthrough we have seen on the vases: the creation of a respectable and noble image of the female nude. Recently Francesco de Angelis has also emphasized the importance of the painting's nudity, and my view of Zeuxis resonates well with Jeremy Tanner's recent work describing the efforts of Classical artists to establish themselves.²³

Information on Zeuxis is confused; much appears in late authors, and almost all can be challenged. His father's name is not known, nor is it certain which of the many Herakleias was his home, although the Pontic city seems most likely.²⁴ Zeuxis worked throughout the Greek world, with works or activity attested at Akragas, Croton, Olympia, Pella, Ephesus, and Athens.²⁵ Pliny is confused on his dates, but, accepting Brunn's emendation of the name Zeuxippos in manuscripts of Plato's *Protagoras* (318b), Zeuxis arrived in Athens as a *neaniskos* in

the late 430s and early 420s.²⁶ This accords with a scholiast who states that Zeuxis painted the *Eros* crowned with roses mentioned in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (991), performed in 425.²⁷ Later Zeuxis painted the palace of King Archelaos in Macedon, who reigned 413 to 399. Works in Croton and Sicily should probably be dated before Athens's Syracusan campaign of 415–413.

Zeuxis's most famous creation was his *Helen*.²⁸ This panel painting is best known from the striking anecdote of the models, related extensively by Cicero in *De inventione* (2.1.1) and more briefly by Pliny (*N.H.* 35.64) and Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*De imit.* 6.31).²⁹ This anecdote has enjoyed great popularity with artists from mediaeval times on. As Cicero tells us, Croton commissioned Zeuxis to decorate its sanctuary of Hera Lakinia. They were delighted that he chose Helen as one of his subjects, Cicero tells us, because of his reputation for painting women. When he asked if they had beautiful maidens in the city, they took him to the palaestra to see their sons and urged him to imagine the girls. Not content to imagine, Zeuxis persuaded the city council (*publico de consilio*) to let him view their unmarried daughters (*virgines*) in the nude and selected five as his models. The artist composed *Helen* by combining their best parts, for, as Cicero explains, "he did not believe it was possible to find in one body all the things he looked for in beauty, since nature has not refined to perfection any single object in all its parts."³⁰ Pliny's shorter version of the tale omits the esthetic point and places it at Akragas, while Dionysios states explicitly that Helen was nude and preserves some of the original Greek terminology. There is no way to verify the truth of this incredible story. Yet we hear of female beauty contests and unusual local rituals in ancient Greece, and Zeuxis may have been incredibly persuasive and charismatic.

This tale is not sensational gossip, but a *mythos* that makes a statement about the relationship between art, nature, and beauty. In *Helen* Zeuxis creates a work of art that presents a vision of perfect beauty (Dionysios's *to teleion kalon*; cf. Cicero *excellentum... pulcritudinem*). In contrast to Polykleitos, who derived his artistic forms from numeric proportions,³¹ Zeuxis created *Helen* through the direct observation of living models; but since nature, unlike art, does not present a vision of perfect beauty, he was forced to combine elements selected from five models.

Both the concepts and the vocabulary with which they are expressed guarantee that the core of the tale dates from the fifth century BC. Dionysos's phrase *to teleion kalon* probably records Zeuxis's own terminology. According to J.J. Pollitt, both this concern with beauty and with the perfect or absolute are central to fifth-century criticism, as is the term *techne*, art, even as other vocabulary

in Cicero's text indicates later reworking.³² Since both the story's concept and the language with which it is expressed are largely Classical, the tale is likely to have originated with Zeuxis himself, as Anton Kalkmann urged over a century ago.³³

The *mythos* of the models also makes a revolutionary point in its iconography by establishing the female nude as an object of absolute beauty, equal to the male nude. This nude Helen was new and shocking, and I suggest that Zeuxis created this *mythos* to explain her to a resistant public, clothing her in the highest cultural ideals of virginal purity and the concept of absolute beauty. That Zeuxis encountered resistance to his nude image is clear from a report preserved by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 4.12)³⁴ that the artist made money by charging admission to see her, leading his contemporaries to call the painting Helen the *Hetaira*. Here Zeuxis is charged with prostituting his art with a pornographic image. Aelian refers specifically to contemporary Greeks (*hoi tote*) as the source, and the passage bears the unmistakable scent of Attic Old Comedy, recalling Aristophanes's charges that Pericles launched the Megarian decree in retaliation for the theft of girls from Aspasia's brothel (*Ach.* 525ff.). Even if the claim that Zeuxis charged to see the picture is suspect, it demonstrates that the painting's nudity was well-known and questionable.

Returning to the *mythos* at Croton, we see that it acknowledges the very cultural resistance to the female nude that Zeuxis needed to overcome and serves as a model for other viewers. The initial reluctance of the Crotoniates to display their daughters is clear. Strongly felt is the hope that the chance to examine their boys will satisfy the famous painter, but after the artist offers a good reason to study the girls themselves, they relent. Yet their decision to pass a public decree suggests the extraordinary nature of the request and the collective need to move this exposure of their daughters from the private sphere, where it would be embarrassing, into the public sphere, making it a legitimate act sanctioned by the city: individual shame is clothed in the public will and becomes an honor in the service of art. Viewers of the painting, like the people of Croton, must abandon their shame at this public sight of the female body and accept its nudity as an expression of the highest artistic concept. A construction drawn from several models, the image lacks individuality and can be accepted not as a carnal representation of a particular *naked* girl, but rather a female *nude* – a respectable, safe artistic distillation of feminine beauty. Thus, whether or not there is any truth to this *mythos*, it would have been useful to Zeuxis in gaining acceptance for his picture.

This reading of the *mythos* shows that with *Helen* Zeuxis achieved exactly what we have observed in the vase-paintings: the creation of a

virginal image of the female nude, suitable for bride and nymph. With this tale Zeuxis finds a way of overcoming cultural resistance to the female nude by clothing her in the highest ideals of virginity and perfect beauty. Unlike earlier virginal nudes, such as the violated Cassandra or the Classical wounded Niobid in Rome,³⁵ this Helen is not a figure of pathos, whose nakedness conveys a sense of violation and transgression, but rather a noble display of female beauty. Zeuxis used this tale to allow viewers to see his naked image with new eyes and a fresh outlook.

He had another means to explain his painting, for Valerius Maximus (3.7.3) and Aristides (*Or.* 49.386)³⁶ record that two lines from the *Iliad* (3.156f.) served as an epigram to label the painting. As Helen walks along the walls of Troy, Trojan elders catch sight of her and declare:

Surely there is no blame on Trojans and stronggreaved Achaeans
if for long time they suffer hardship for a woman like this one.

(transl. R. Latimore, 1951)

These lines identify the subject of the painting as Helen and also instruct the viewer to behold the image as a serious and ambitious work, a Homeric vision of feminine beauty presented in monumental, epic proportions. Jeremy Tanner describes how Zeuxis and other classical painters adopted the rich costume of Homeric rhapsodes to enhance their professional status;³⁷ here Zeuxis appropriates Homer himself.

Evidence places the *Helen* in Athens to be seen and copied by Attic vase-painters. Although Cicero states that *Helen* was created for Croton, and Pliny places it at Akragas, a source quoted by Eustathios (*ad Il.* 886.37)³⁸ and E. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*³⁹ claims that it was displayed in Athens at the *stoa alphiton*. This is evidently the Alphetopolis, flour market, mentioned in Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae* (686), which could well have been standing by the 420's. Two other pieces of evidence accord well with an Athenian *Helen*. An anecdote recorded by Plutarch (apud Stobaeus, *Flor.* 63.34 [20.1.34]) and Aelian (*VH* 14.47)⁴⁰ describes the fourth-century painter Nikomachos defending the painting to an unappreciative observer. Since Nikomachos was a Theban,⁴¹ this tale is better set in Athens, where it could enter the Athenian philosophical and art historical tradition, than at Croton. Finally, the claim that Zeuxis charged money to view his hetaira *Helen* makes much more sense in an Athenian context, as already suggested, than at Croton with its virginal models and civic decree.

Thus, there were two versions of *Helen*, one in Athens and the other in Croton. They are not distinguished by the sources and may well

have been similar in type, like the multiple variants of Lucas Cranach's *Judgment of Paris*, van Gogh's *Sunflowers*, Munch's *Scream*, and a multitude of other examples. Whether or not this last suggestion is correct, it would be the Athenian version of Zeuxis's *Helen* that was imitated by Attic vase-painters.

Thus, with *Helen*, Zeuxis consciously established the female nude as an acceptable and noble figure in serious art. Since the same process can be observed to have taken place in vase-painting while he was in Athens, it is likely that the vase-paintings reflect the innovations of the great painter and image-maker. Since the ideological transformation of the female bather on vases is so closely linked with the kneeling bather, it is reasonable to conclude that this was the type Zeuxis created for his *Helen*.

The modest kneeling pose is ideal for Zeuxis's purpose (Figs 1. 8–10; Color Pl. 21C), for while the figure is totally undraped, by avoiding display of the genital region and even much of the breasts, it is simultaneously erotic, discreet, inwardly turned, self-contained, and full of *aidos*, as befits a virginal nude. If Zeuxis did indeed create the kneeling bather, its appearance on vases around 430–425 BC would indicate that *Helen* was an early work that helped establish Zeuxis's reputation. It is likely that the version at Croton was later, and that the painter, stung by the reproach his Athenian *Helen* had engendered, would have taken the opportunity to clothe this second nude *Helen* with the purity of virginal models and the high concept of perfect beauty. At some later point, as Pliny records (*N.H.* 35.66),⁴² one of these paintings was taken to Rome and displayed in the Porticus Philippus, which was constructed by the stepfather of the emperor Augustus.

Whether or not Zeuxis's *Helen* was the prototype of the Classical kneeling bather, it is clear that this painting established the female nude as a noble subject in Greek art a generation or two before Praxiteles's *Knidia*. This virginal nude embodying the concept of perfect beauty allowed Greek art to achieve its mature classical form with both male and female presented to the viewer in conventional and heroic nudity. On vases we see that with the kneeling bather the female nude became a noble image after 430 BC and opened the way for conventional nudity and semi-nudity in the fourth century. While I have called this nudity "heroic," (and *Helen* was a heroine, or a goddess), Morraw had recently noted that the strong ethical and moral qualities associated with the male nude are largely absent from the female nudes.⁴³ This agrees with my opening contention, that the nude bathing figure is fundamentally erotic in nature, even if it can be respectably erotic. In this context it is worth recalling that no lesser figure than Aristotle declared that the figures of Zeuxis lacked *ethos*

(Poet. 6.15).⁴⁴ Perhaps, then, it is better to reserve the term “heroic” for male nudes and describe female nudes as “idealized,” “ennobled,” or “conventional” nudes.

If one accepts the suggestion that the kneeling bather derives from Zeuxis’s famous painting, we finally have an image to connect with one of the classical master painters. While it might seem to diminish the creativity of vasepainters to suggest that their art is derivative, viewing the twenty-one treatments of the kneeling bather on Attic pottery, one is struck by the diversity in the kneelers’ stance and the range of subjects in which the figure is deployed. Wherever vasepainters might find a visual idea, they evidently did not copy it precisely, but adapted it to suit their own purposes. We should not, therefore, expect to find many close copies of monumental painting on vases, but rather borrowing and free adaptation. It seems clear that in the Classical period, long before the age of the photograph, vasepainting along with the other minor arts played an important role in disseminating and popularizing images, just as prints did in later times, making the visual and ideological concepts of the leading artists available to a wider public, while keeping their own images *au courant* with the latest innovations in both style and iconography.

Appendix

The Kneeling Bather on Attic Pottery

Numbers in parentheses are those of Pfisterer-Haas (supra n. 6).

- 1(RBB 2)** Once Pourtalès, lekythos related to the Eretria Painter. Idyllic. Nymph washes hair under flowing spout. T. Panofka, *Antiques du Cabinet du Compte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* (1834) 97 pl. 29 bottom; O.M von Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen* (1837) pl. 36,4; C. Lenormant – J. de Witte, *Elite des monuments céramographiques IV* (1861) pl. 10 p. 193.
- 2(Fig. 1)** St. Petersburg, Hermitage II 1872.15, chous fragment from Taman by the Eretria Painter. Idyllic. Incomplete: nymph washes hair. ARV² 1249,16; Para 469; BAdd² 354.
- 3(Fig. 10)** Cracow, University, Institute of Archaeology 331 (103. 1053), bell-krater from Naples, by the Dinos Painter. Idyllic. Silens discover nymph washing her hair at spring. ARV² 1154,32; Oxford, Beazley Archive 215285.
- 4(Fig. 8)** New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.148, pyxis. Bridal preparations: Eros washes hair of kneeling woman (Helen?). Oxford, Beazley Archive 44750; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (1961) pls 91. 92; R. Lullies, *Die kauernde Aphrodite* (1954) fig. 38.

- 5(Color Pl. 21C)** Private collection, tallboy lekythos, Follower of the Shuvalov Painter. Idyllic. Aphrodite directs the bath of Helen; Eros washes her hair. ARV² 1690,66ter. 1705; BAdd² 364; Oxford, Beazley Archive 275533 (picture).
- 6Rhodes 13886**, epinetron from Chalki tomb 7, in the Chalki Group. A: Idyllic. Aphrodite directing the bath of Helen? Eros rinses the hair of kneeler, with women and Eros. ARV² 1503,6; Add² 383; Oxford, Beazley Archive 230890; LIMC II (1984) 101 no. 990 pl. 96 (part), s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delvorrias).
- 7Berlin F 2707**, acorn-lekythos from Athens, in the Manner of the Meidias Painter. Idyllic. Eros rinses hair of kneeling woman, with nymphs. ARV² 1326,70; Para 428; BAdd² 364; Oxford, Beazley Archive 220626 (picture); LIMC II (1984) 101 no. 988 pl. 96, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias); CVA Berlin 8 pls 47. 48,1–3; Beil. 22,4.
- 8(L88)** Marzabotto, Museo P. Aria, cup fragment from Marzabotto, in the Manner of the Jena Painter. I: Eros in a louterion washes hair of kneeler beside well or cistern. ARV² 1517,4; BAdd² 384; V. Paul-Zinserling, *Der Jena-Maler und sein Kreis* (1994) pl. 54,2.
- 9Würzburg**, Martin-von-Wagner Museum K1831, lekythos (secondary, Cook's Class 6L). Outdoors. Naked woman kneels on low rise, looking back; wreath above. Oxford, Beazley Archive 46191; E. Simon, *Die Sammlung Kieselev* (1989) 94 no. 157 pl. 71.
- 10Warsaw 142393**, squat lekythos from Nola; early fourth century. Idyllic? Kneeling woman reaches for alabastron held by Eros. Oxford, Beazley Archive 14113 (picture).
- 11St. Petersburg**, Hermitage Q32 (St 1858), lekanis from Kerch by the Marsyas Painter. Bridal preparations: clothed woman washes hair of kneeler, with Eros and nude boy; many other nude and half-nude women, clothed women, Erotes. ARV² 1475,7; Para 495; Oxford, Beazley Archive 230425 (picture); LIMC II (1984) 102 no. 993 fig., s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).
- 12Brauron**, Museum, lid fragment of small lekanis from the sanctuary of Artemis by the Marsyas Painter. Incomplete: (bridal preparations?) clothed woman with gilt jug washes hair of woman kneeling right; part of Eros to left of bather. Unpublished.
- 13St. Petersburg**, Hermitage St 1795, pelike from Kerch by the Marsyas Painter. B: Idyllic. Clothed woman washes hair of kneeler; half-nude women, veiled woman, clothed woman, Eros. ARV² 1475,3; BAdd² 381; Oxford, Beazley Archive 230421 (picture).
- 14St. Petersburg**, Hermitage St. 1928, pelike from Kerch, by the Painter of Athens 1472, ca. 350–330 BC. A: Interior. Clothed woman washes hair of kneeler, with Eros veiled woman, half-draped woman with folding mirror; veiled woman peers in through window. ARV² 1477,2; BAdd² 381; Oxford, Beazley Archive 230435 (picture).

15Athens NM 1472, pelike by the Painter of Athens 1472. A: Clothed woman washes hair of kneeler, nude woman. ARV² 1477,1; Para 496; Oxford, Beazley Archive 230434 (picture).

16Once Naples, Hamilton, uncertain shape; Attic? Idyllic. Clothed woman washes back of woman kneeling on rock, who turns back. W. Hamilton – J.H.W. Tischbein, *Recueil de gravures d'après des vases antiques I* (1803) pl. 57; Lenormant – de Witte (supra no. 1) pl. 11 p. 144; K. Sudhoff, *Aus dem antiken Badewesen* (1910) pl. 11 fig. 4.

17London, BM E 424, pelike by the Marsyas Painter. A: By sea: Peleus captures kneeling Thetis, with Eros, nude and clothed Nereids. ARV² 1475,4. 1695; Para 495; BAdd² 381; Oxford, Beazley Archive 230422 (picture).

18**Fig. 9)** Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art 1993.49, pelike by the Painter of Athens 1472.

A: Adaptation of the last in mirror image. S. Hoyt, in: C. Mattusch – A. Donahue – A. Brauer (eds), *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*. Boston, August 23–26, 2003: *Common Ground: Archaeology, Art, Science, and Humanities* (2006) 352–354 fig. 1.

19Once Deepdene, Hope, cup possibly in the YZ Group. I: By sea. Kneeler with phiale, Eros, skyphos. ARV² 1525,1; W. Hamilton – J.H.W. Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases II* (1791–95) pl. 38; Lenormant – de Witte (supra no. 1) pl. 39; described in E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases* (1923) 102.

20~~S~~. Petersburg, Hermitage PN 28, Kerch chous. By sea. Kneeler and Eros, clothed woman with tympanon and Eros. K. Schefold, *Untersuchung zu den Kertscher Vasen* (1934) 37 no. 323 pl. 49.

21Paris, Louvre CA 1262, calyx-krater. A: Idyllic. Kneeler on low rise between Eros with mirror and silen with tie. LIMC II (1984) 101–102 no. 991 pl. 96, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).

Related

1London E 705, squat lekythos from Athens, Manner of the Meidias Painter. Idyllic. Clothed kneeler with necklace between crouching Erotes and clothed women. ARV² 1325,63; Oxford, Beazley Archive 220618 (picture).

2Paris, Louvre CA 271, black-gloss relief pelike from Kerch. Clothed woman washes hair of kneeler, with Eros, seated male, other women, one bathing, and Aphrodite et al. LIMC II (1984) 116 no. 1181 pl. 118, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).

3London, BM E83, cup from Vulci by Codrus Painter. A. Male kneeler with male assistant, male bathers. ARV² 1270,19; Add² 356; Oxford, Beazley Archive 217228 (picture).

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to John Oakley for the invitation to present this paper. The research presented here was supported by Indiana University through a President's Grant in the Arts and Humanities and an International Travel Grant to attend the conference.

Abbreviation

AR² Reinach, *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* (1921)

Notes

- 1R.F. Sutton, in: C. Kosso – A Scott (eds), in: *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, forthcoming. For my earlier views see R.F. Sutton, in: A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (1992) 22ff.
- 2E.g. L. Bonfante, *AJA* 93, 1989, 543–570; N. Himmelmann, *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst*, *JdI-EH* 26 (1990).
- 3J.M. Hurwit, *AJA* 111, 2007, 57; see 45 ns. 48–50 for further bibliography.
- 4J. Boardman and V. Sabetai, in: J.H. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (eds), *Athenian Potters and Painters. The Conference Proceedings* (1997) 259–267. 319–335.
- 5Appendix, no. 2.
- 6S. Pfisterer-Haas, *JdI* 117, 2002, 1–79.
- 7Athens, NM Acr. 2599, ABV 481; Pfisterer-Haas (supra n. 6) fig 39.
- 8Munich, *Antikensammlungen* 2668, ARV² 821,2; Oxford, Beazley Archive 210162 (picture).
- 9See ns. 2. 5 with discussion in Sutton, forthcoming (supra n. 1); D. Williams, in: A. Cameron – A. Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity* (1983) 98–100; E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*² (1993) 170; G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech* (2002) 47ff.; S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman* (2002) 145–149.
- 10S. Moraw, *JdI* 118, 2003, 1–47.
- 11Louvre F203, ARV² 4,13; BAdd² 150; Oxford, Beazley Archive 200013 (picture). London E18, ARV² 62,86. 1700; Para 327; BAdd² 165; Oxford, Beazley Archive 200522 (picture). Louvre, G2, ARV² 53,2. 1622; Para 140; BAdd² 163; Oxford, Beazley Archive 200434 (picture).
- 12Rome, Villa Giulia 106463, Para 146; BAdd² 90; Oxford, Beazley Archive 351080 (picture). Athens NM Acr. 2599a–b, akin to the Kolonos Group, ABV 481: B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen I* (1925) pl. 111.2599a–b.
- 13Thebes 23425 (R18.255): CVA Thebes 1 pl.73.
- 14Berkeley, Hearst Museum 8.5: CVA Berkeley1 pl. 31,1.
- 15Berlin F2272 now Moscow, State Historical Mus. ARV² 1593,39. 1594 CVA Bh 3 (2007) 99 fig. 11. Silens – e.g. once Frankfurt, Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte; ARV² 28,13; Pfisterer-Haas (supra n. 6) 23 fig. 23. Tarquinia, Museum 73.10683+11895: K. Huber, *Gravisca: scavi nel santuario Greco. Le ceramiche attiche a figure rosse* 6 (1999) 65–66 no. 236. Youth – New York market, ex Hunt, stamnos by Siren Painter, Oxford, Beazley Archive 17053.
- 16Cambridge Mass., Sackler Museum, Anonymous Loan 9.1988, bell-krater by the

- Dinos Painter: A. Paul, Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin, Winter 1994–95, 60–65 figs 1–4. 11. On depilation see Sutton forthcoming (supra n. 1).
- 17Louvre G14, ARV² 85,1; Para 330; BAdd² 170; M. Kilmer, Greek Erotica (1993) 90f. figs R152 A-B.
- 18Würzburg 354: FR I pl. 41.
- 19Using no. 5 as a parallel suggests that the epinetron probably illustrates Helen bathing under the direction of Aphrodite. The Berlin figure is often identified as Aphrodite, but for no apparent good reason.
- 20For a representative selection see LIMC II (1984) 101–106 pls 96–104, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias).
- 21A. Lezzi-Hafter, Der Eretria-Maler. Werke und Weggefährten (1988) 294.
- 22R. Lullies, Die kauernde Aphrodite (1954) 58.
- 23F. de Angelis, RendLinc 16, 2005, 151–200; J. Tanner, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 45, 1999, 136–175; id., The Invention of Art History in Ancient Greece (2006) 141–204.
- 24W. Amelung, EpigrAnat 9, 1987, 76. RE 15 (1913) 423–439, s.v. Herakleia (K. Ziegler) lists 29 places named Herakleia, but few contemporary with Zeuxis; R. Vollkommer (ed.), Künstlerlexikon der Antike II (2004) 534–535, s.v. Zeuxis (I) (U. Koch-Brinkmann)
- 25K. Gschwantler, Zeuxis und Parrhasios: ein Beitrag zur antiken Künstlerbiographie Diss. Graz 29 (1975) 70–72. 74.
- 26Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1651; Reinach 201. The corruption would have been easy in Byzantine Constantinople, where the Baths of Zeuxippos were located by the hippodrome and palace, and gave their name to a quarter. Müller-Wiener, Istanbul 25 (map), 51.
- 27Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1660; Reinach 228.
- 28Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1667–1675; Reinach nos. 214–223.
- 29Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1667–1669; Reinach 214–216.
- 30Neque enim putavit omnia, quae quaereret ad venustatem, uno se in corpore reperire posse ideo, quod nihil simplici in genere omnibus ex partibus perfectum natura expolivit. (2.3). Translation from J.J. Pollitt, The Art of Ancient Greece. Sources and Documents² (1990) 151.
- 31Galen, *De plac Hipp et Plat* 5; A. Stewart, Greek Sculpture. An Exploration (1990) 161. 265.
- 32J.J. Pollitt, The Ancient View of Greek Art (1974) 26. 117–133. 162–169. 173. 177. 186–190.
- 33A. Kalkmann, Die Quellen der Kunstgeschichte des Plinius (1898) 167. The tale could have been preserved in Democritus's lost treatises *On Colors* or *About Painting*, which Pliny lists among his sources.
- 34Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1671; Reinach 221.
- 35B. Cohen, Source 12.2, 1993, 37–56; R. Lullies, Greek Sculpture² (1960) pls 174–177.
- 36Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1670; Reinach 219–220.
- 37Tanner 1999 (supra n. 23) 154f.; 2006 (supra n. 23) 175.
- 38Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1675; Reinach 218.
- 39Vol. 1 (1814) 385.32; see R.E. Wycherley, The Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Agora III (1957) 194 no. 635.
- 40Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1672–1673; Reinach 222–223.
- 41Reinach 342–344; see Overbeck's note to 1675 citing Iunius, *de pict vet.* p. 234.
- 42Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1674; Reinach 217.
- 43Moraw (supra n. 10) 45f.
- 44Overbeck, Schriftquellen 1077; Reinach 133.

28 Αγγεία-αναθήματα από το Μεγάλο Ελευσινιακό ιερό

Μιχάλης Τιβέριος

Οι συστηματικές ανασκαφές του μεγάλου ιερού της Δήμητρας και Κόρης στην Ελευσίνα άρχισαν το 1882 και ολοκληρώθηκαν το 1945, με κάποιες μικρότερης κλίμακας ανασκαφικές εργασίες να συνεχίζονται ως τη δεκαετία του 1980.¹ Το μεγαλύτερο και σημαντικότερο μέρος της κεραμικής του ιερού φαίνεται να έχει βρεθεί στις πρώτες ανασκαφές, στα τέλη δηλαδή του 19ου αι.,² χωρίς ωστόσο, τις περισσότερες φορές, να γνωρίζουμε τις ακριβείς συνθήκες ανεύρεσής της.³

Όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, ανάμεσα στα κεραμικά αναθήματα του ελευσινιακού ιερού, συντριπτικά υπερτερούν τα αττικά. Αν ορισμένα από τα μελανόμορφα αγγεία, όπως π.χ. αυτά που έχουν αποδοθεί στον Ζ. της Ελευσίνας 767, θα πρέπει να αποδοθούν σε «ντόπια», ελευσινιακά κεραμικά εργαστήρια, λόγω της χαμηλής ποιότητάς τους,⁴ είναι κάτι για το οποίο διατηρώ σοβαρές επιφυλάξεις. Η933 Όπενθυμίζω ότι έργα που αποδίδονται στον συγκεκριμένο αγγειογράφο ή σχετίζονται μαζί του, έχουν βρεθεί και στο ιερό της Νύμφης κάτω από την Ακρόπολη,⁵ στην καρδιά δηλαδή της Αθήνας, ενώ στο ίδιο ιερό έχουν ανατεθεί και άλλα «επαρχιακά» αγγεία.⁶

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της αττικής μελανόμορφης και ερυθρόμορφης κεραμικής του ελευσινιακού ιερού χρονολογείται κυρίως στον 6ο και 5ο αι. π.Χ., ενώ σαφώς λιγότερη είναι η αττική κεραμική του 4ου αι. π.Χ. Επειδή όμως ο 4ος αι. είναι μια εποχή ακμής για το ιερό, φαίνεται ότι η συνήθεια ανάθεσης ερυθρόμορφης κεραμικής εδώ κατά τη διάρκεια του αιώνα αυτού είχε ατονήσει, με άλλα λόγια δεν ήταν πλέον και τόσο δημοφιλές το είδος του αναθήματος αυτού. Το ίδιο παρατηρείται και στα άλλα μεγάλα ιερά της Αττικής, όπως αυτά της Ακρόπολης ή της Άρτεμης στη Βραυρώνα. Ωστόσο στο ελευσινιακό

ιερό παρατηρείται μια εξαίρεση σε ότι αφορά την παραπάνω διαπίστωση. Στον 4^ο αι. π.Χ. είναι πολύ πιο αισθητή η παρουσία παναθηναϊκών αμφορέων σε σχέση με τους δύο προηγούμενους αιώνες.⁷ Κάτι ανάλογο π.χ. δεν συμβαίνει στην αθηναϊκή Ακρόπολη, όπου βέβαια οι παναθηναϊκοί αμφορείς είναι πολλοί περισσότεροι, ωστόσο αυτοί του 6ου και 5ου αι. σαφώς υπερτερούν αριθμητικά των παναθηναϊκών αμφορέων του 4ου αι. π.Χ. Η συχνή ανάθεση παναθηναϊκών αμφορέων στο ιερό της Ελευσίνας κατά τη διάρκεια του 4ου αι. π.Χ. έχει, από μία άποψη, την εξήγησή της. Σε αρκετούς από αυτούς οι αγγειογραφικές μορφές που επιστέφουν τους κίονες εκατέρωθεν της Αθηνάς στην κύρια όψη απεικονίζουν τις μεγάλες ελευσινιακές θεότητες, δηλαδή τη Δήμητρα και την Κόρη, όπως και τον Τριπτόλεμο.⁸ Αυτή ακριβώς η απεικόνιση των ελευσινιακών θεοτήτων στα παραπάνω παναθηναϊκά αγγεία δικαιολογεί, ως ένα βαθμό, την αξιοπρόσεκτη παρουσία παναθηναϊκών αμφορέων του 4ου αι. π.Χ. στο ιερό.⁹

Τα πρώτα αττικά μελανόμορφα αγγεία στο ελευσινιακό ιερό χρονολογούνται ήδη από τα τέλη του 7ου και τις αρχές του 6ου αι. π.Χ.¹⁰ και αυτό συμβαδίζει με τα πορίσματα των ανασκαφικών ερευνών στο Τελεστήριο και στη λεγόμενη Ιερά Οικία, που δείχνουν μια αξιόλογη οικοδομική δραστηριότητα στα χρόνια του Σόλωνα.¹¹

Στον 6^ο αι. π.Χ., ανάμεσα στα μελανόμορφα αγγεία αισθητή είναι η παρουσία της λουτροφόρου και του γαμικού λέβητα.¹² Η παρουσία των δύο αυτών σχημάτων θα πρέπει να σχετίζεται με το επεισόδιο της αρπαγής της Περσεφόνης, με άλλα λόγια με το γάμο της με τον Άδη, τον άρχοντα του Κάτω Κόσμου. Το σχήμα βέβαια της λουτροφόρου δεν σχετίζεται μόνο με το γάμο αλλά και με το θάνατο. Στα ιερά μάλιστα της Περσεφόνης μπορούμε να πούμε ότι οι λουτροφόροι-αναθήματα έχουν τόσο γαμήλια όσο, έστω και με έμμεσο τρόπο, και χθόνια σημασία. Ο γάμος του Άδη με την Περσεφόνη στο ελευσινιακό ιερό δεν έχει ερευνηθεί συστηματικά με βάση τα κινητά ευρήματά του από εκείνους που έχουν ασχοληθεί με την ελευσινιακή θρησκεία, αν και από παλιά είναι γνωστή μια σημαντική σχετική παράσταση που διακοσμεί έναν ερυθρόμορφο σκύφο της εποχής του Περικλή (γύρω στο 435 π.Χ.) (Εικ. 1).¹³ Στη μια πλευρά του αγγείου απεικονίζεται ένα τέθριππο άρμα να βυθίζεται στη γη, με τον Άδη και την Περσεφόνη στο δίφρο του-η τελευταία μάλιστα αγκαλιάζει τον σύντροφό της-, ενώ δεξιότερα πετά ο Έρωτας κρατώντας στο αριστερό χέρι δάδα και στο δεξί στεφάνι που το προορίζει προφανώς για τους νεόνυμφους. Υπενθυμίζω ότι η αγγειογραφία αυτή είναι η παλιότερη βεβαιωμένη του αττικού Κεραμεικού που εικονίζει το

γάμο της Περσεφόνης με τον Άδη και μια από τις παλιότερες γενικά της ελληνικής τέχνης. Ακόμη είναι η μοναδική, όσο γνωρίζω, στη σχετική εικονογραφία του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ., όπου συμμετέχει ενεργά ο Έρωτας.¹⁴



Εικ. 1. Αττικός ερυθρόμορφος σκύφος. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 1804. Φωτογραφία Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Αθηνών.

Στο μεγάλο ιερό της Ελευσίνας έχουμε όμως και ορισμένα άλλα σχήματα αγγείων και σκευών που σχετίζονται στενά με το γυναικείο κόσμο και επομένως, έστω και έμμεσα, μπορούν επίσης να συσχετισθούν με τις μεγάλες θεές του ιερού. Αυτά είναι πυξίδες, λεκανίδες και επίνητρα.¹⁵ Αισθητή, κυρίως κατά τους υστεροαρχαϊκούς χρόνους, είναι η παρουσία και ενός άλλου σκεύους, γνωστού ως «υποστάτου» (Stand), που δεν πρέπει όμως να έχει σχέση με τα γνωστά στηρίγματα οξυπύθμενων αγγείων, ούτε πρόκειται για πόλο, δηλαδή για ιερατικό κάλυμμα κεφαλής. Όπως ήδη έχω υποστηρίξει αλλού, έχουμε να κάνουμε με ένα λατρευτικό σκεύος, με τη βοήθεια του οποίου οι μύστες όριζαν ένα μικρό κομμάτι γης και κατηύθυναν εδώ τις σπονδές τους.

«Εσχάρα» («εσχαρίς») ή «σωλήν» πρέπει να είναι δύο πιθανά ονόματά του.¹⁶ Μνημονεύω ακόμη u964 δην ύπαρξη θυμιατηρίων και φιαλών,¹⁷ όπως και ενός αριθμού πινάκων και κυρίως πινακίων.¹⁸ Τέλος, αρκετά είναι τα όστρακα που προέρχονται από στάμνους, ένα σχήμα δηλαδή όχι ιδιαίτερα συχνό στον κυρίως ελληνικό χώρο.¹⁹ Όλα τα παραπάνω σχήματα δεν φαίνεται να απαντώνται με τη ίδια συχνότητα καθόλη τη διάρκεια του 6ου και 5ου αι. π.Χ. Οι λουτροφόροι, οι γαμικοί λέβητες και τα πινάκια κάνουν πιο αισθητή την παρουσία τους στον 6ο αι. π.Χ., οι εσχάρες, τα επίνητρα, τα θυμιατήρια και οι φιάλες στα υστεροαρχαϊκά χρόνια, οι στάμνοι στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος του πρώτου μισού του 5ου αι. π.Χ. Η συχνότητα με την οποία εμφανίζονται τα σχήματα και σκεύη αυτά στο ελευσινιακό ιερό, σε γενικές γραμμές, είναι σύμφωνη με την εν γένει παρουσία τους στον αττικό Κεραμεικό, με εξαίρεση τη λουτροφόρο και το γαμικό λέβητα. Τα δύο αυτά σχήματα δεν φαίνεται να έχουν αξιόλογη παρουσία στο ιερό κατά τη διάρκεια του ερυθρόμορφου ρυθμού και πιο συγκεκριμένα κατά τον 5ο και 4ο αι. π.Χ., αιώνες όμως κατά τους οποίους ο αττικός Κεραμεικός, όπως είναι γνωστό, συνέχισε με αμείωτο ρυθμό την παραγωγή τους.²⁰ Φαίνεται λοιπόν ότι ειδικά στην Ελευσίνα, και ήδη από τους Υστεροαρχαϊκούς χρόνους, η συνήθεια ανάθεσης λουτροφόρων και γαμικών λεβήτων είχε ατονήσει. Αν όμως αυτό οφείλεται π.χ. σε μια μείωση της σημασίας του γαμήλιου στοιχείου στην ελευσινιακή θεολογία, είναι ένα θέμα προς έρευνα. Δεν μπορεί να αποκλεισθεί άλλωστε και η περίπτωση η εικόνα που μας δίνουν τα ανασκαφικά δεδομένα να είναι παραπλανητική. Από επιγραφικά κείμενα γνωρίζουμε ότι στο ελευσινιακό ιερό κατά τη διάρκεια του δεύτερου μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ. υπήρχαν γαμικοί λέβητες, πιθανόν χάλκινοι.²¹



Εικ. 2. Αττικός μελανόμορφος αμφορέας. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 339. Φωτογραφία Κ. V. von Eickstedt.



Εικ. 3. Αττικός μελανόμορφος αμφορέας. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 339. Φωτογραφία K.V. von Eickstedt.

Χωρίς αμφιβολία η Ελευσίνα είναι το σημαντικότερο ιερό του αθηναϊκού κράτους μετά την Ακρόπολη. Με αυτό συμφωνεί όχι μόνο η ποσότητα αλλά και η ποιότητα της αττικής μελανόμορφης και ερυθρόμορφης κεραμικής που έχει βρεθεί εδώ. Από το ιερό

αυτό γνωρίζουμε έργα πολλών από τους μεγαλύτερους αγγειογράφους τόσο του μελανόμορφου u972 ïσο και του ερυθρόμορφου ρυθμού του αττικού Κεραμεικού, ενώ δεν λείπουν και κάποια προσωπικά αναθήματα κεραμέων, όπως του Κλείμαχου, του Σώσιμου και ίσως του Ευφίλητου.²² Από τα ιερά της Αττικής μόνο σ' αυτά της αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης οι παραπάνω διαπιστώσεις απαντώνται σε μεγαλύτερη κλίμακα. Στο ελευσινιακό ιερό βρέθηκαν έργα που σχετίζονται με τα εργαστήρια π.χ. των Ζωγράφων του Νέσσου και των Γοργόνων, του Νέαρχου, του Λυδού, του Ζωγράφου του Άμαση, του Εξηκία, του Ευφρονίου, του Φιντία, του Όλτου, του Ονήσιμου, των Ζωγράφων του Κλεοφράδη και του Βερολίνου, του Συρίσκου (ή Ζωγράφου της Κοπεγχάγης), των Ζωγράφων του Βρύγου και του Μαρσύα.²³

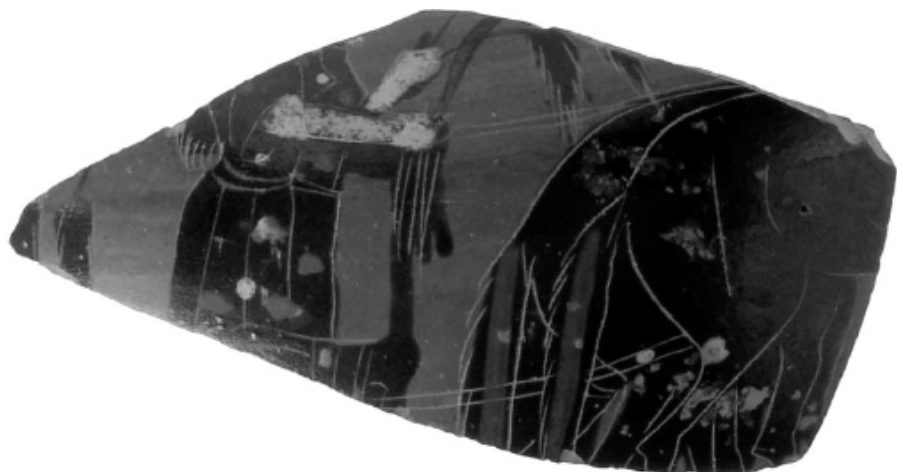
Αλλά εκτός από σχήματα αγγείων και σκεύη που φαίνεται να επιλέχθηκαν σκόπιμα από τους αναθέτες του ελευσινιακού ιερού αφού η χρήση τους, άμεσα ή έμμεσα, σχετιζόταν με τις εδώ λατρευόμενες θεότητες και τη λατρεία τους, αισθητή είναι και η παρουσία αγγειογραφιών τόσο μελανόμορφων όσο και ερυθρόμορφων που, χωρίς αμφιβολία, προτιμήθηκαν από τους αναθέτες τους επειδή τα θέματά τους αναφέρονταν στην ελευσινιακή μυθολογία και λατρεία. Ορισμένα μάλιστα από τα αγγεία με τις παραστάσεις αυτές είναι πιθανόν ότι είχαν κατασκευαστεί ύστερα από ειδικές παραγγελίες των αναθετών τους. Είναι αυτονόητο ότι ανάλογα φαινόμενα παρατηρούνται και σε άλλα αττικά ιερά, όπως π.χ. σ' αυτά της αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης και της Άρτεμης στη Βραυρώνα και Μουνιχία, όπως και σε ιερά εκτός Αττικής.²⁴ Μερικές από τις αγγειογραφίες με ελευσινιακά θέματα που διακοσμούσαν αγγεία-αναθήματα του ιερού της Ελευσίνας είναι γνωστές στην έρευνα.²⁵ Ανάμεσά τους όμως υπάρχουν και ορισμένες που δεν έχουν ερμηνευθεί σωστά. Κάποιες άλλες χρήζουν επανεξέτασης, επειδή συμπληρώθηκαν με νέα όστρακα. Τέλος, υπάρχουν και αγγειογραφίες με ελευσινιακά θέματα άγνωστες στην έρευνα. Ο αριθμός όλων αυτών των παραστάσεων είναι αξιοπρόσεκτος.²⁶ Θα περιοριστώ στην παρουσίαση ορισμένων μόνον εξ αυτών, επιλέγοντας ένα ή δύο παραδείγματα, αντιπροσωπευτικά για καθεμιά από τις παραπάνω ομάδες.



Εικ. 4. Αττικός μελανόμορφος αμφορέας. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 339. Φωτογραφία K. V. von Eickstedt.

Αρχίζω με έναν αποσπασματικά σωζόμενο μελανόμορφο αμφορέα, πιθανόν τύπου Β, που χρονολογείται γύρω στο 540–35 π.Χ. (Εικ. 2). Στην έρευνα είναι γνωστή η μία του όψη, όπου, μέσα σε μετόπη, έχουμε τις δύο μεγάλες ελευσινιακές θεότητες Δήμητρα και Κόρη εποχούμενες σε τέθριππο άρμα κινούμενο προς τα δεξιά.²⁷ Πίσω από τα άλογα διακρίνονται τμήματα από μια ανδρική μορφή που επίσης κινείται προς τα δεξιά. Αν το κάτω τμήμα στελέχους που διακρίνεται αριστερά του αγκώνα της ανήκει σε κηρύκειο, τότε ταυτίζεται με τον Ερμή. Έχουν εντοπιστεί και άλλα όστρακα από το αγγείο αυτό, ανάμεσά τους και ένα από την άλλη πλευρά του (Εικ. 3). Ωστόσο, ό,τι σώζεται από την τελευταία δεν μας επιτρέπει να αναγνωρίσουμε το θέμα της. Στην κύρια παράσταση εικονίζεται πιθανόν η αναχώρηση των δύο θεαινών για τον Όλυμπο.²⁸ Πρόσθετο ενδιαφέρον στην παράσταση παρουσιάζει η γραπτή επιγραφή ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ που διατρέχει κάθετα το χώρο μπροστά από τη μορφή της Δήμητρας (Εικ 4; έγχρωμος πίν. 22Α).²⁹ Η λέξη αυτή θα πρέπει να συνόδευε το όνομα της Δήμητρας που θα αναγραφόταν στο χώρο ακριβώς πάνω από τα ηνία του άρματος. Στη λύση αυτή μας οδηγεί όχι μόνο το ότι η φράση «ελευσινία Δήμητρα» απαντάται συχνά σε κείμενα αρχαίων συγγραφέων,³⁰ αλλά και η ύπαρξη ανάλογων

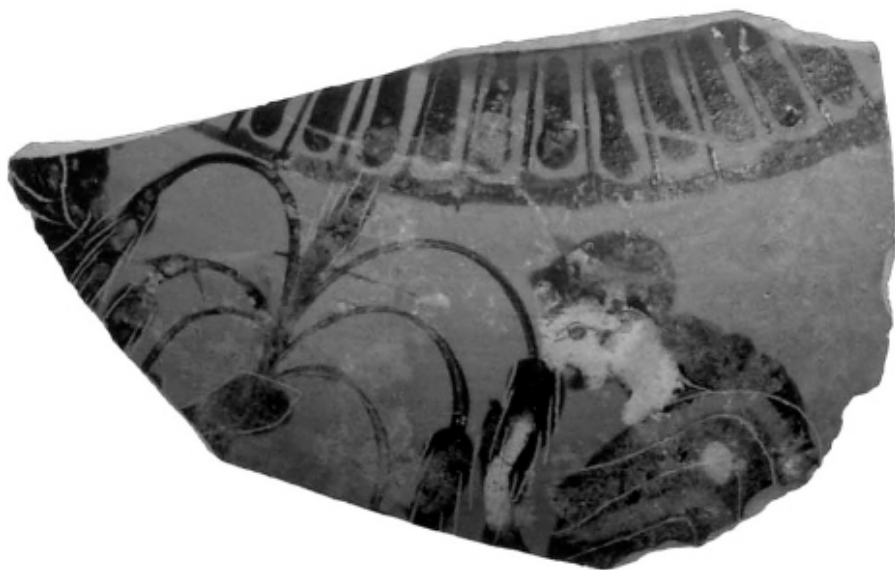
περιπτώσεων σε σχεδόν σύγχρονα αττικά αγγεία. Στο γνωστό π.χ. τυρρηνικό αμφορέα στο Βερολίνο η μορφή του Ερμή, στην εικονιζόμενη εδώ παράσταση της γέννησης της Αθηνάς, συνοδεύεται από την επιγραφή «Ερμής εμί Κηλέλιος (Κυλλήνιος)»,³¹ ενώ σε έναν άλλο στο Λονδίνο, που εικονίζει τη γνωστή παράσταση με τη θυσία της Πολυξένης, η παρευρισκόμενη μορφή του Νέστορα συνοδεύεται από την επιγραφή «Νέστωρ Πύλιος».³² Το ότι η επιγραφή ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ έχει γραφεί στον αμφορέα της Ελευσίνας πριν από το ψήσιμο, σε συνδυασμό βέβαια και με τον τόπο εύρεσής του, κάνει πολύ πιθανή την περίπτωση να έχουμε εδώ ένα αγγείο-παραγγελία.



Εικ. 5. Όστρακο από αττικό μελανόμορφο αμφορέα. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 2558. Φωτογραφία K. V. von Eickstedt.

Οι δύο μεγάλες θεές της Ελευσίνας εικονίζονται πάνω σε τέθριππο άρμα κινούμενο προς τα δεξιά και σε ένα μελανόμορφο όστρακο, αδημοσίευτο ως σήμερα (Εικ. 5).³³ Το θραύσμα, που εμφανίζει έντονα ίχνη φωτιάς, ανήκει πιθανότατα σε μικρό αμφορέα, που χρονολογείται γύρω στο 520–515 π.Χ. Έχοντας υπόψη την προηγούμενη παράσταση μπορώ να προτείνω ότι κι εδώ η μορφή που κρατά τα χαρακτά u945 άποδομένα ηνία των αλόγων και πιθανότατα και στάχυα, είναι η Κόρη. Η άλλη μορφή, που με το δεξί χέρι δράττει δυο κλαδιά από στάχυα, πρέπει να εικονίζει τη Δήμητρα. Τμήματα από άλλα τρία στάχυα που διασώζονται πίσω από τις δύο θεές δύσκολα μπορούν να σχετισθούν με αυτές. Πιθανότερο είναι να τα κρατούσε μια άλλη ελευσινιακή μορφή. Έχοντας υπόψη την ελευσινιακή εικονογραφία της εποχής, όπως την παράσταση του γνωστού αμφορέα από τους Λοκρούς της Μεγάλης Ελλάδας, σήμερα στο

Reggio Calabria,³⁴ θεωρώ ότι η μορφή αυτή ταυτίζεται με τον Τριπτόλεμο.

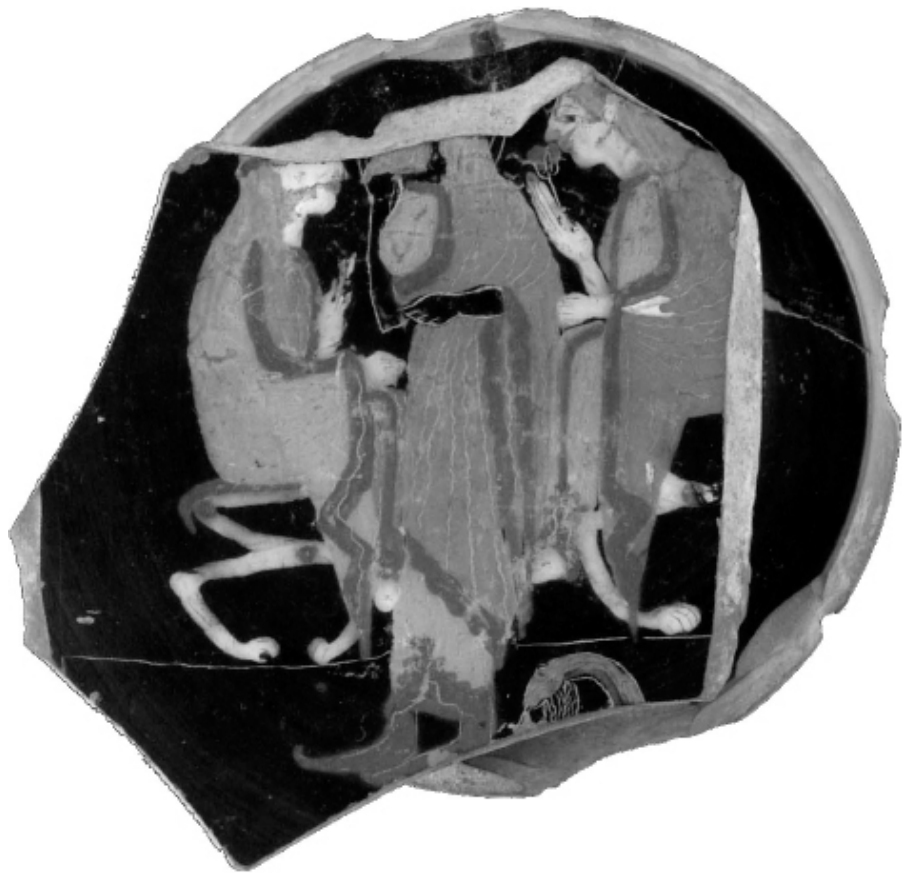


Εικ. 6. Οστρακο από αττικό μελανόμορφο αμφορέα. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 425. Φωτογραφία K.V. von Eickstedt.

Στο ίδιο αγγείο, αλλά στην άλλη πλευρά του, ανήκει πιθανόν ένα άλλο οστρακο, άγνωστο επίσης στην έρευνα (Εικ. 6).³⁵ Αν ο συσχετισμός αυτός είναι σωστός, έχουμε τότε πράγματι έναν αμφορέα, και μάλιστα με λαιμό, του οποίου και οι δύο όψεις έφεραν ελευσινιακά θέματα, κάτι που απαντάται συχνά στα αττικά αγγεία και ιδιαίτερα στα ερυθρόμορφα.³⁶ Στα δεξιά διασώζεται το πάνω μέρος γυναικείας ιματιοφόρου μορφής στραμμένης προς τα αριστερά. Στη συνέχεια έχουμε ένα δεξί χέρι ανδρικής μορφής που κρατά επτά ευμεγέθη στάχυα και η οποία, ενώ κατευθυνόταν προς τα δεξιά έστρεψε την κεφαλή της προς τα πίσω, όπως μας βεβαιώνουν τα σωζόμενα ίχνη στο πάνω αριστερό μέρος του οστράκου. Η μορφή φορούσε χιτώνα και ιμάτιο και είχε μακριά κόμη. Με βάση τη σύγχρονη αττική ελευσινιακή εικονογραφία, πιστεύω ότι εδώ έχουμε την αναχώρηση του Τριπτολέμου. Ως γνωστόν, σε πολλά αττικά μελανόμορφα αγγεία της εποχής συναντούμε τον Τριπτόλεμο καθήμενο στο συχνά αιωρούμενο κάθισμά του, στρέφοντας την κεφαλή του προς τα πίσω.³⁷ Το μοτίβο αυτό έχει την εξήγησή του. Ο ήρωας εγκαταλείποντας την Ελευσίνα εννοείται ότι ρίχνει μια τελευταία αποχαιρετιστήρια ματιά, η οποία εμπεριέχει πιθανώς και τη διαβεβαίωση ότι θα φέρει σε πέρας την αποστολή του.³⁸

Δεν αποκλείεται στο αριστερό μέρος της παράστασής μας να είχαμε και τη Δήμητρα, οπότε η σωζόμενη γυναικεία μορφή στα δεξιά θα πρέπει να ταυτιστεί με την Κόρη.³⁹ Οπωσδήποτε όμως οι μορφές που πλαισιώνουν τον Τριπτόλεμο στις παραστάσεις αυτές δεν μπορούν να σχετισθούν πάντοτε με τις μεγάλες ελευσινιακές θεές. Ορισμένες φορές πρέπει να έχουμε άλλους επώνυμους ή ανώνυμους Ελευσινίους και όχι μόνον.⁴⁰

Το επόμενο κεραμικό ανάθημα παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον. υ928 Ψόκειται για σπάραγμα μιας άποδης κύλικας τύπου C, που στο εσωτερικό της διασώζει παράσταση αποδομένη με την τεχνική Six's και μάλιστα με χρήση πέντε χρωμάτων (Εικ. 7, έγχρωμος πίν. 22B). Το αγγείο, που πρέπει να χρονολογείται γύρω στο 530–525 π.Χ., έχει δημοσιευτεί με υποδειγματικό τρόπο από τον Κ.Ρωμαίο.⁴¹ Πάνω σε ένα ψηλό βάθρο, που ορίζεται με λεπτή όσο και ασταθή χάραξη, εικονίζονται δύο αντωπές γυναικείες μορφές, με χιτώνα και ιμάτιο, που κάθονται σε οκλαδίες δίφρους. Η σαφής διαφοροποίηση των δύο αυτών γυναικείων μορφών σε ό,τι αφορά το μέγεθός τους και κυρίως το ύψος των δίφρων τους, μας επιτρέπει να ταυτίσουμε τη δεξιά και μεγαλύτερη μορφή που μυρίζει ένα άνθος με τη Δήμητρα, ενώ την αριστερή και μικρότερη με την Κόρη.⁴² Μία ανδρική γενειοφόρος μορφή που δεσπόζει στο μέσο της σύνθεσης στραμμένη προς τ' αριστερά, ίσως νοείται σε ένα άλλο επίπεδο, πλησιέστερο προς τον θεατή, καθώς προβάλλει μπροστά από το βάθρο των δύο θεαινών, με τα πόδια της να βρίσκονται χαμηλότερα από το ύψος των δίφρων. Ωστόσο, τοποθέτηση μορφών σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα είναι σπάνια στην αρχαϊκή αγγειογραφία⁴³ και αυτό, σε συνδυασμό με την απουσία υποδήλωσης οποιουδήποτε εδάφους πάνω στο οποίο να πατά ο γενειοφόρος αυτός άνδρας, με κάνει να θεωρώ πιο πιθανό ότι με τη συγκεκριμένη διάταξη των μορφών πρόθεση του αγγειογράφου ήταν να δείξει ότι η ανδρική μορφή προβάλλει μέσα από τη γη και ότι σχετίζεται με το χθόνιο κόσμο. Σε μια τέτοια ερμηνεία συνηγορεί και η παρουσία του γενειοφόρου φιδιού που τη συνοδεύει, προβάλλοντας απειλητικά τη γλώσσα του. Η μορφή αυτή, που φορά χιτώνα, ιμάτιο και εμβάδες, ταυτίζεται συνήθως με τον Άδη-Πλούτωνα,⁴⁴ ωστόσο η ταύτιση αυτή παρουσιάζει ορισμένες δυσκολίες.⁴⁵ Όπως έχει παρατηρηθεί, το φίδι, αν και γνωστό για τη σχέση του με τις χθόνιες θεότητες, είναι άγνωστο ως συνοδό ζώο του Άδη-Πλούτωνα τουλάχιστον κατά τους Αρχαϊκούς και Κλασικούς χρόνους.⁴⁶



Εικ. 7. Τμήμα αττικής κύλικας. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 2534.
Φωτογραφία K.V. von Eickstedt.

Είναι πολύ γνωστές οι σχέσεις της Δήμητρας, ως θεάς της γεωργίας, με τον Δία, ως θεό της γονιμότητας, δηλαδή ως χθόνιο, u956 ίε την έννοια ότι κατοικούσε μέσα στη γη και φρόντιζε για τη βλάστηση των καρπών. Άλλωστε και οι δύο αυτές θεότητες φέρουν το επίθετο «καρποφόρος»,⁴⁷ ενώ θυμίζω και την προτροπή του Ησιόδου (Έργα 465 κε.) προς τους γεωργούς, να προσεύχονται, όταν οργώνουν τα χωράφια τους, στον Δία Χθόνιο και στην «αγνή» Δήμητρα αν θέλουν να έχουν πλούσια συγκομιδή.⁴⁸ Υπάρχουν ακόμη γραπτές μαρτυρίες που κάνουν λόγο για «ιερό γάμο» ανάμεσα στον Δία και τη Δήμητρα και μάλιστα ένας τέτοιος γάμος πιθανόν να αναπαριστανόταν και κατά τη διάρκεια των Μεγάλων Μυστηρίων.⁴⁹ Ο Δίας, ως χθόνια θεότητα, λατρευόταν συχνά και ως Μειλίχιος, ιδιαίτερα μάλιστα στην Αττική.⁵⁰ Με βάση λοιπόν τα παραπάνω, ταυτίζω την ανδρική μορφή στην κύλικα της Ελευσίνας με τον Δία, έχοντας υπόψη και τον στίχο 457 από το Ι της Ιλιάδας, όπου η «επαινή»

Περσεφόνη αναφέρεται ως πάρεδρος του «καταχθονίου» Δία!⁵¹ Με την προτεινόμενη ταύτιση ερμηνεύεται ικανοποιητικότερα και η παρουσία του φιδιού. Ως γνωστόν, ο οικουρός όφις ήταν το κατεξοχήν σύμβολο του Δία Μειλίχιου, προστάτη εκτός των άλλων και της ευφορίας των δημητριακών και γενικότερα της αγροτικής καρποφορίας.⁵² Ιδιαίτερα ενισχυτικό για την ταύτιση της ανδρικής μορφής στην κύλικα με τον Δία Μειλίχιο είναι και το ότι γραπτές μαρτυρίες εμπλέκουν τον θεό αυτόν τόσο στην ίδια την Ελευσίνα,⁵³ όσο και στα Μικρά Μυστήρια που διεξάγονταν «εν Άγραις»⁵⁴ και στα οποία, ως γνωστόν, υποχρεωτικά έπρεπε πρώτα να μνηθούν όσοι ήθελαν να γίνουν μύστες στα Μεγάλα.

Αν η παραπάνω ταύτιση είναι σωστή, τότε όχι μόνο κερδίζουμε την παλιότερη απεικόνιση του Δία Μειλίχιου στην ελληνική τέχνη, αλλά μας επιτρέπεται να προχωρήσουμε και σε παραπέρα συλλογισμούς και συσχετισμούς. Η αρχή της λατρείας της Δήμητρας και της Κόρης στην Ελευσίνα είναι ένα θέμα για το οποίο δεν υπάρχει ομοφωνία ανάμεσα στους ερευνητές.⁵⁵ Πάντως, η άποψη αυτών που πρεσβεύουν ότι η λατρεία πρέπει να ήλθε στην Ελευσίνα από τη γειτονική Βοιωτία, το σιτοβολώνα του μυκηναϊκού κόσμου, ενισχύotan από μία προταθείσα αποκρυπτογράφηση ορισμένων πινακίδων Γραμμικής Β από το Καδμείο των Θηβών, σύμφωνα με την οποία στη Θήβα, κατά τους Μυκηναϊκούς χρόνους, υπήρχε μια μεγάλη θεϊκή τριάδα που απαρτιζόταν από τον Δία, τη Δήμητρα και την Κόρη. Ωστόσο, η ανάγνωση αυτή δεν είναι καθόλου βέβαιη.⁵⁶

Τελειώνοντας με την ενδιαφέρουσα αυτή ελευσινιακή αγγειογραφία θέλω να υπενθυμίσω και κάτι άλλο. Πριν από είκοσι περίπου χρόνια ο Alan Shapiro είχε ασχοληθεί με την «ελευσινιακή» παράσταση του αμφορέα σήμερα στο Reggio Calabria, που ήδη έχουμε αναφέρει παραπάνω. Η εικονιζόμενη εδώ πομπή, που απαρτίζεται από την εποχούμενη σε άρμα Δήμητρα, τον Τριπτόλεμο, την Αθηνά και τον Ηρακλή, καταλήγει σε μια ανδρική μορφή την οποία ο αγγειογράφος την ονομάζει «Πλουτοδότα» (ΠΛΟΥΤΟΔΟΤΑΣ). Τη μορφή αυτή ο Shapiro ευφυώς την ταύτισε με τον Δία Μειλίχιο, μια από τις λίγες θεότητες στις οποίες αρχαίες πηγές αποδίδουν το επίθετο «πλουτοδότης».⁵⁷



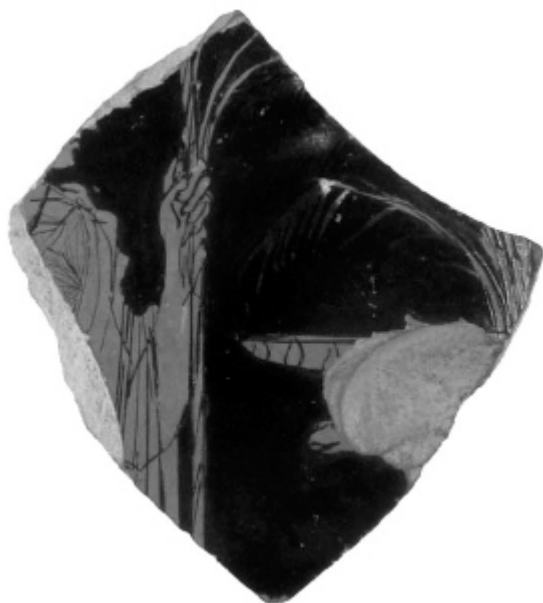
Εικ. 8. Αττικός ερυθρόμορφος αμφορέας. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο (χωρίς αριθ.). Φωτογραφία K.V. von Eickstedt.

Περνάμε τώρα και σε δύο ερυθρόμορφες αγγειογραφίες του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. Η πρώτη προέκυψε από το συσχετισμό πέντε οστράκων που, χωρίς αμφιβολία, προέρχονται από την κύρια όψη ενός μικρού αμφορέα, πιθανότατα τύπου Nola⁵⁸ (Εικ. 8). Η αγγειογραφία αυτή, που εικονίζει σπένδοντα Τριπτόλεμο πάνω στο φτερωτό του άρμα πριν ξεκινήσει για την αποστολή του παρουσία της Δήμητρας,⁵⁹ χρονολογείται στη δεκαετία 435–430 π.Χ. και στυλιστικά πρέπει να σχετίζεται με την Ομάδα του Πολύγνωτου.

Η δεύτερη παράσταση, που διακοσμούσε τη μία εξωτερική όψη κύλικας, χρονολογείται γύρω στα 430–420 π.Χ. και στυλιστικά μπορεί να συσχετισθεί με το εργαστήριο του Ζωγράφου της Ερέτριας (Εικ. 9).⁶⁰ Οι δύο σωζόμενες εδώ μορφές έχουν ερμηνευθεί ως Δήμητρα και Κόρη,⁶¹ ωστόσο δεν πρέπει να υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι εικονίζονται η Δήμητρα⁶² και ο Τριπτόλεμος. Τα ίχνη που σώζονται στο δεξιό τμήμα του οστράκου δεν μπορεί να ανήκουν σε μορφή Κόρης, αλλά μόνο σε μορφή Τριπτόλεμου. Μας το βεβαιώνει η σωζόμενη, κάτω από τη φιάλη, κεφαλή ενός φιδιού που προβάλλει απειλητικά τη γλώσσα του, η οποία και έχει αποδοθεί με ανάγλυφη μαύρη γραμμή. Πρόκειται προφανώς για έναν από τους δύο δράκοντες που έσερναν το άρμα του ελευσίνιου ήρωα. Αλλά και το γεγονός ότι τα αποδομένα με λευκό χρώμα στάχια που κρατούσε η μορφή αυτή βρίσκονται

σαφώς σε χαμηλότερο επίπεδο από αυτά της Δήμητρας, συνηγορεί για την προταθείσα ταύτισή της με τον Τριπτόλεμο. Και αυτό γιατί μας βεβαιώνει ότι η μορφή αυτή ήταν καθήμενη, όπως συμβαίνει με τις περισσότερες απεικονίσεις του ήρωα αυτού.

Το θέμα της αποστολής του Τριπτόλεμου, με προβαλλόμενο πρόσωπο τον ίδιο τον ήρωα, απαντάται συχνά στον αττικό Κεραμικό, ιδιαίτερα μάλιστα, όπως είναι γνωστό, από το τελευταίο τέταρτο του 6ου ως το τρίτο τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ.⁶³ Επομένως, οι δύο παραπάνω ελευσινιακές ερυθρόμορφες αγγειογραφίες⁶⁴ χρονολογούνται σε μία περίοδο κατά την οποία η παράσταση της αποστολής του Τριπτόλεμου συγκινούσε ακόμη τους αττικούς αγγειογράφους. Ωστόσο η συχνότητα του παραπάνω θέματος ειδικά στο τρίτο τέταρτο του 5ου αι. π.Χ., στην εποχή δηλαδή των δύο παραπάνω αγγείων, ίσως να οφείλεται και σε ειδικότερους λόγους.



Εικ. 9. Ώστρακο από αττική ερυθρόμορφη κύλικα. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 2380. Φωτογραφία K. V. von Eickstedt.



Εικ. 10. Πόδι αγγείου (κύλικας;) ή σκεύους από την αθηναϊκή Ακρόπολη. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 1348. Από B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II* (1925–1933) πίν. 93 αριθ. 1348.

Στην περίοδο 435–415 π.Χ. χρονολογείται από τους ειδικούς το γνωστό αθηναϊκό ψήφισμα με το οποίο οι Αθηναίοι απαιτούσαν από τους συμμάχους τους, όπως και από τους υπόλοιπους Έλληνες, να αποστέλλουν στις θεές της Ελευσίνας τις οφειλόμενες ετήσιες προσφορές τους, σύμφωνα και με προσταγή του δελφικού Απόλλωνα. Και αυτό ως ανταπόδοση της μεγάλης τους ευεργεσίας προς την ανθρωπότητα αφού, με την αποστολή του «δικού τους» Τριπτόλεμου, διέδωσαν σ' όλο τον κόσμο τα μυστικά της καλλιέργειας των σιτηρών και έθεσαν τη βάση του πολιτισμένου βίου.⁶⁵ Οι Αθηναίοι κεραμείς λοιπόν είχαν την εποχή αυτή πρόσθετους λόγους να προβάλλουν τη μορφή του «αποστολού» της ελευσινιακής θρησκείας, Τριπτόλεμου.⁶⁶

Αν και τα αγγεία που προέρχονται από την Ελευσίνα και εικονίζουν θέματα σχετιζόμενα με τις λατρευόμενες σε αυτή

θεότητες είναι αρκετά, εντούτοις ο αριθμός τους, σε σχέση με το συνολικό αριθμό των εικογραφημένων αττικών αγγείων που έχουν βρεθεί στο ελευσινιακό ιερό, είναι μικρός. Όπως περιορισμένος είναι και ο αριθμός των αγγείων εκείνων το σχήμα των οποίων μπορεί να συσχετισθεί με την ελευσινιακή λατρεία, όταν λάβουμε υπόψη τη συνολική ποσότητα u954 έαι την ποικιλία σχημάτων που έχει αποκαλυφθεί στο ιερό. Σε σχέση όμως με τις ελευσινιακές αγγειογραφίες, τα αγγεία που έχουν βρεθεί στην Ελευσίνα και που ως προς το σχήμα τους μπορούν να συσχετισθούν, άμεσα ή έμμεσα, με τις λατρευόμενες στο ιερό θεότητες και με την τελούμενη λατρεία, είναι περισσότερα. Από τα παραπάνω συνάγεται το συμπέρασμα ότι στα κριτήρια επιλογής ενός αγγείου ως αναθήματος, τις περισσότερες φορές δεν έπαιζε κυρίαρχο ρόλο το σχήμα του και φυσικά ούτε η παράστασή του.

Οτιδήποτε αφιέρωνε ένας αναθέτης, με ευσέβεια και φόβο, στους θεούς του, ακόμη και ένα, εξαιτίας περιορισμένων οικονομικών δυνατοτήτων του, ευτελές αντικείμενο, είχε την προσδοκία ή καλύτερα τη βεβαιότητα ότι θα τους ευχαριστούσε.⁶⁷ Από τις σχετικές γραπτές μαρτυρίες που μας διαφωτίζουν πάνω στο θέμα αυτό, θα περιοριστώ σε ένα περιστατικό που μας διηγείται ο σοφιστής Ιμέριος (XLIV 7). Οι Άνδριοι κάποτε, αδυνατώντας, λόγω της μεγάλης τους πενίας, να προσφέρουν οποιαδήποτε θυσία στον Απόλλωνα, περιορίστηκαν μόνο να ανάψουν μια φωτιά στο βωμό του θεού. Και εκείνος, γνωρίζοντας τη δεινή οικονομική τους κατάσταση, όχι μόνο δεν θύμωσε μαζί τους αλλά και ευχαριστήθηκε. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα παραπάνω κατανοούμε καλύτερα το γιατί ασήμαντα κεραμικά αναθήματα της αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης χαρακτηρίζονται από τους αναθέτες τους ως αγάλματα(!)⁶⁸ και ας μη διακρίνονται από υψηλή καλλιτεχνική ποιότητα. Ένα ταπεινό αγγείο ή σκεύος που χρονολογείται γύρω στο 500 π.Χ. είναι σίγουρα ένα από τα πιο χαρακτηριστικά και συνάμα διαφωτιστικά σχετικά παραδείγματα. Στην επάνω επιφάνεια της βάσης του οι αναθέτες, πολύ πιθανόν και κατασκευαστές του, χάραξαν το τελευταίο εξάμετρο ενός αναθηματικού επιγράμματος: «άνδρες εποίησαν σοφίαισιν καλόν άγαλμα»!⁶⁹ (Εικ. 10). Εδώ η λέξη «άγαλμα», όπως με βαθιά γνώση επεσήμανε ο Χρήστος Καρούζος, σημαίνει ένα αφιέρωμα που κάνει τη θεότητα να χαίρεται, να αγάλλεται.⁷⁰ Ένας τόσο μεγαλόστομος χαρακτηρισμός για ένα τόσο ευτελές αντικείμενο είναι πιθανόν για πολλούς θνητούς υπερβολικός, όχι όμως για τους θεούς. Όταν οι αρχαίοι Έλληνες αγόραζαν ένα αγγείο για να το αναθέσουν, με ειλικρινή ευσέβεια, σε κάποια θεότητα, είχαν την πίστη ότι για την πράξη τους αυτή θα τύχαιναν της εύνοιάς της και ότι το ίδιο το ανάθημά u964 ους, ανεξάρτητα

από σχήμα, διακόσμηση, ποιότητα και αξία, θα ήταν οπωσδήποτε αρεστό σ' αυτήν.

Δεν πρέπει επίσης να λησμονούμε ότι οι ίδιοι οι Αθηναίοι κεραμείς επέλεγαν τα σχήματα και τα θέματά τους χωρίς να υπολογίζουν, πολλές φορές, τις προτιμήσεις των μελλοντικών αγοραστών των προϊόντων τους, τους οποίους άλλωστε δεν θα γνώριζαν συχνά εκ των προτέρων. Λίγες σχετικά πρέπει να είναι οι περιπτώσεις στις οποίες οι αγγειογράφοι προσάρμοζαν τη θεματολογία τους σε πιθανούς αγοραστές και επίσης λίγες πρέπει να είναι οι περιπτώσεις στις οποίες εκτελούσαν ατομικές ή μαζικές παραγγελίες με προκαθορισμένα το σχήμα και την εικονογράφηση.⁷¹ Γιατί πράγματι συνέβαιναν και αυτά, όπως υπήρχαν και αγοραστές που επέλεγαν ένα αγγείο για το σχήμα του ή για τα θέματα των παραστάσεών του. Αγόραζαν δηλαδή ένα αγγείο επειδή το σχήμα του σχετιζόταν με τη θεότητα στην οποία σκόπευαν να το αναθέσουν ή επέλεγαν ένα αγγείο ως ανάθημα επειδή τύχαινε αυτό να απεικονίζει το θεό στον οποίο ήθελαν να το αφιερώσουν.⁷² Ωστόσο οι περιπτώσεις αυτές, αναλογικά πάντοτε, δεν ήταν οι περισσότερες σε σχέση με το συνολικό αριθμό των αγγείων που προσφέρονταν ως αναθήματα σε ιερά. Σχετικά με το θέμα αυτό αρκετά διαφωτιστικά είναι και τα αγγεία-αναθήματα των ίδιων των κεραμέων, που συμβαίνει να γνωρίζουμε τόσο από την αθηναϊκή Ακρόπολη όσο και από το ίδιο το ελευσινιακό ιερό. Στα δύο βεβαιωμένα σχετικά παραδείγματα που μας έχουν διασωθεί από το ιερό της Ελευσίνας,⁷³ βλέπουμε ότι η παράσταση δεν φαίνεται να σχετίζεται σε κανένα από αυτά με το ελευσινιακό πάνθεον, ενώ ως προς το σχήμα τους μόνο το ένα από τα δύο μπορεί να συσχετισθεί με λατρεία. Ο κεραμέας Κλείμαχος ανέθεσε στο ελευσινιακό ιερό έναν αμφορέα του οποίου η παράσταση, όπως και το σχήμα, δεν φαίνεται να σχετίζονται με την ελευσινιακή λατρεία και μυθολογία,⁷⁴ ενώ ο κεραμέας Σώσιμος αφιέρωσε ως «απαρχήν» μία φιάλη, ένα λατρευτικό δηλαδή αγγείο, το οποίο όμως διακόσμησε με σχηματοποιημένα φυτικά μοτίβα.⁷⁵ Αν στις περιπτώσεις αναθέσεων αγγείων το κύριο ζητούμενο ήταν η εικονογραφία τους να αναφέρεται στη θεότητα της ανάθεσης και το σχήμα τους να σχετίζεται με τη λατρεία της, οι κεραμείς πρώτοι θα ανταποκρίνονταν με συνέπεια στις προϋποθέσεις αυτές. Το ότι αυτό δεν συνέβη, μας βεβαιώνει ότι η παράσταση σε ένα αγγείο-ανάθημα, όπως και το ίδιο το σχήμα του, δεν έπαιζαν πράγματι, τις περισσότερες φορές, καθοριστικό ρόλο στην επιλογή του ως αναθήματος.

Notes

- Για την ιστορία των ανασκαφών στην Ελευσίνα, βλ. Κ. Παπαγγελή, Ελευσίνα. Ο Αρχαιολογικός Χώρος και το Μουσείο (2002) 47 κε. Πρβλ. Ι. Τραυλός, *Adelt* 16, 1960, Β', 43–60· Κ. Κόκκου-Βυριδή, Ελευσίς. Πρώιμες πυρές θυσιών στο Τελεστήριο της Ελευσίνας (1999) 23.
- 2Κ. Κουρουγιώτης, στο: *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps on his Seventieth Birthday* (1936) 206. Πρβλ. Δ. Φίλιος, *AEphem* 1885, 174 και σημ. 2.
- 3Για περισσότερα κομμάτια της κεραμικής αυτής βρίσκονται στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας, ενώ λίγα στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Αθήνας (βλ. π.χ. Κόκκου-Βυριδή [ό.π. σημ. 1] 247 κε. αριθ. Γ1. Γ3–Γ5. Γ8. Γ12–Γ15).
- 4J. Boardman, *JHS* 95, 1975, 5 και σημ. 13· του ίδιου, *Athenian Black Figure Vases. A Handbook* (1974) 19. Πρβλ. M.Ch. Monaco, *Ergasteria. Impianti artigianali ceramici ad Atene ed in Attica dal protogeometrico alle soglie dell'ellenismo* (2000) 124, 139. Για έναν άλλον αγγειογράφο, τον Ζωγράφο της Ελευσίνας 397 (Para 54), έχει διατυπωθεί επίσης η άποψη ότι είναι «Ελευσίνιος», βλ. Boardman (ό.π.).
- 5Para 13. (Τα όστρακα που αναφέρονται ότι βρίσκονται στο New Jersey προέρχονται από το Ιερό της Νύμφης και έχουν στο μεταξύ επιστρέψει στο Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Ακρόπολης. Για το δεύτερο όστρακο, το οποίο συγκρίνεται με έργα του Ζωγράφου της Ελευσίνας 767, βλ. Χ. Παπαδοπούλου-Κανελλοπούλου, *AAA* 35–38, 2002–2005, 209 αριθ. 78 Εικ. 5). Η Χ. Παπαδοπούλου-Κανελλοπούλου, *Ιερό της Νύμφης. Μελανόμορφες Λουτροφόροι* (1997) 92 κε. αριθ. 184–189, αποδίδει στον αγγειογράφο αυτόν (ή συσχετίζει με το έργο του) και άλλα αγγεία.
- 6Βλ. π.χ. Παπαδοπούλου-Κανελλοπούλου 1997 (ό.π. σημ. 5) πίν. 15.
- 7Πολλοί παναθηναϊκοί αμφορείς βρέθηκαν το 1895 στη νότια πλευρά του Τελεστηρίου. Βλ. Α. Σκιάς, *AEphem* 1901, 1· του ίδιου, *Prakt* 1895, 171· του ίδιου, *Prakt* 1897, 91· Δ. Φίλιος, *AM* 20, 1895, 249–250.
- 8N. Eschbach, *Statuen auf panathenäischen Preisamphoren des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (1986) 40 κε. αριθ. 25–26. 72 κε. αριθ. 46–48. 76 αριθ. 51.
- 9Πρβλ. G. Schwarz, *Triptolemos. Ikonographie einer Agrarund Mysteriengottheit* (1987) 251. Για τη σημασία της εικονογραφίας των παναθηναϊκών αυτών αμφορέων, βλ. E. Simon, στο: J.H. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (επιμ.), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (1997) 101 κε.
- 10Para 5,2.
- 11Βλ. π.χ. G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961) 61 κε.· J. Travlos, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika* (1988) 92 κε.
- 12Πρβλ. J. Boardman, *BSA* 53–54, 1958/1959, 161 κε. Για τη λουτροφόρο τελευταία, βλ. R. Mösch-Klingele, *Die Loutrophóros im Hochzeits und Begräbnisritual des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Athen* (2006). Για το γαμικό λέβητα, βλ. M. Sgourou, *Attic Lebetes Gamikoi* (1994)· της ίδιας στο: Oakley – Coulson – Palagia (ό.π. σημ. 9) 71 κε.
- 13ARV² 647,21· P. Hartwig, *AM* 21, 1896, 377 κε. πίν. 12 (πρβλ. Α. Σκιάς, *Prakt* 1897, 91· του ίδιου, *Prakt* 1898, 91)· R. Lindner, *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst* (1984) 14 κε. πίν. 2–3. Βλ. επίσης τα σχετικά λήμματα στο LIMC, όπου και περαιτέρω βιβλιογραφία (LIMC IV [1988] 384 αριθ. 110 πίν. 217, λ. Hades (R. Lindner κ.ά.)· LIMC IV [1988] 870 αριθ. 310, λ. Demeter [L. Beschi]· LIMC V [1990] 323 αριθ. 432, λ. Hermes [G. Siebert]· LIMC VI [1992] 989 αριθ. 1, λ. Hekate [H. Sarian]· LIMC VII [1994] 30 αριθ. 4, λ. Okeanides [L.

- Kahil – N. Icard Gianolio]· LIMC VIII [1997] 967 αριθ. 193, λ. Persephone [G. Güntner]]. Πρβλ. H.A. Shapiro, στο: M. Bennett – A. Paul – M. Iozzo (επιμ.), *Magna Graecia. Greek Art from South Italy and Sicily* (2002) 84 Εικ. 1.
- 14Η παρουσία του Έρωτα εξασθενεί, πιστεύω, την άποψη ορισμένων μελετητών που πιστεύουν ότι εδώ δεν εικονίζεται η αρπαγή της Κόρης αλλά η ετήσια επιστροφή της στο βασίλειο του Άδη, μετά την περιοδική παραμονή της στον επάνω κόσμο. Βλ. I. Jenkins, *BICS* 30, 1983, 142 (με σχετική βιβλιογραφία). Για την εικονογραφία της αρπαγής της Περσεφόνης, βλ. Lindner (ό.π. σημ. 13) 11 κε. 119 κε. σημ. 4· A. Peschlow-Bindokat, *JdI* 87, 1972, 92 κε.· B. Grossman, *The Eleusinian Gods and Heroes in Greek Art* (1959) 62 κε. (η αναγνώριση εδώ του θέματος της αρπαγής της Κόρης δεν είναι βέβαιη). 99 κε. 83 κε. 235 κε. 284 κε. 337 κε. Για μια ερυθρόμορφη υδρία στο Würzburg, αριθ. H 4307, που πιστεύεται ότι εικονίζει το γάμο του Πλούτωνα- Άδη με την Περσεφόνη, βλ. F. Hölscher, στο: H.A. Cahn – E. Simon (επιμ.), *Tainia. R. Hampe zum 70. Geburtstag* (1980) 173 κε. πίν. 42. Πρβλ. K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult. The Iconography of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1992) 62 και σημ. 196. Η παράσταση μελανόμορφης οينوχόης - χρονολογείται γύρω στα τέλη του 6ου αι. π.Χ.- που έχει ερμηνευθεί ως αρπαγή της Κόρης από τον Πλούτωνα (βλ. K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* [1981] 259 κε. Εικ. 370–371), από άλλους πιστεύεται ότι εικονίζει αρπαγή της Αντιόπης από τον Θηρέα (βλ. B. Kreuzer, *Frühe Zeichner 1500–500 vor Chr. Ägyptische, Griechische und Etruskische Vasenfragmente der Sammlung H.A. Cahn*, Basel [1992] 89 κε. αριθ. 94). Για άλλη πιθανολογούμενη απεικόνιση της αρπαγής της Κόρης, σε λήκυθο του Ζωγράφου της Ερέτριας, βλ. A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler. Werke und Weggefährten* (1988) 231 κε. πίν. 151. Για το θέμα της αρπαγής της Κόρης, βλ. Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, *BICS* 20, 1973, 12 κε.· A.C. Brumfield, *The Attic Festivals of Demeter and their Relation to the Agricultural Year* (1981) κυρίως 225 κε.· A. Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of the Greek Religion* (1991) 134 κε. και τελευταία A. Kledt, *Die Entführung Kores. Studien zur athenischeleusinischen Demeterreligion* (2004).
- 15Τα σχήματα αυτά, μαζί με λουτροφόρους και γαμικούς λέβητες, απαντώνται και σε άλλα αττικά ιερά που ήταν αφιερωμένα σε γυναικείες θεότητες, όπως π.χ. σ' αυτά της Άρτεμης στη Βραυρώνα και στη Μουνιχία, βλ. Λ. Παλαιοκρασσά, *Το ιερό της Αρτέμιδος Μουνιχίας* (1991) 67 κε. Για το επίνειτρο τελευταία γράφτηκαν τρεις μονογραφίες, στις οποίες περιλαμβάνονται και επίνειτρα από την Ελευσίνα, βλ. Fr. Heinrich, *Das Epinetron. Aspekte der weiblichen Lebenswelt im Spiegel eines Arbeitsgeräts* (2006) 172 κε. αριθ. sf 60–sf 64· C. Mercati, *Epinetron. Storia di una forma ceramica fra archeologia e cultura* (2003) 120 αριθ. 29; 128 κε. αριθ. 69–71· P. Badinou, *La laine et le parfum: épinetra et alabastres, forme, iconographie et fonction. Recherche de céramique attique féminine* (2003) 145 αριθ. E 21.
- 16Μ. Τιβέριος, στο: Δ. Δαμάσκος (επιμ.), *Επιτύμβιον Gerhard Neumann: Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 2^ο Παράρτημα* (2003) 118. Πρβλ.: «εξεδέχετο γαρ η γη το από της εσχάρας πυρ καταφερόμενον της βάσεως δια παντός ουχ υποκειμένης» (P. Radici Colace [επιμ.], *Lexicon Vasorum Graecorum* 5 [2005] 165–166, λ. εσχάρα). Βλ. επίσης L. Beschi, στο: M. Sapelli-Ragni (επιμ.), *Studi di Archeologia in memoria di Liliana Mercando* (2005) 33 κε.· G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-cults* (2002) 25 κε.
- 17Τα θυμιατήρια, βλ. Κουρουνιώτης (ό.π. σημ. 2) 204 κε. Πρβλ. C. Zaccagnino, *Il thymiaterion nel mondo Greco. Analisi delle fonti, tipologia, impieghi* (1998) 174–175 αριθ. CT 14; 202 κε. αριθ. CT 249–253. Για φιάλες, βλ. Κόκκου-Βυριδή (ό.π. σημ. 1) 77–78 και σημ. 59; 93 πίν. 27, Γ4; 28, B4.
- 18Για πινάκια, βλ. D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, *Les plats attiques à figures noires*

- (1974) 488-489.
- 19Βλ. π.χ. ARV² 257,12.
- 20Όπως π.χ. στα ιερά της Άρτεμης στη Βραυρώννα (L. Kahil., AntK Beih.1 [1963] 27) και στη Μουνιχία (Παλαιοκρασσά [ό.π. σημ. 15] 67 κε.).
- 21IG II-III² 1544, 63 (333/32 π.Χ.). Πρβλ. Δ. Φίλιος, AEphem 1888, 44.
- 22Βλ. παρακάτω 286 και σημ. 73-75.
- 23Μνημονεύω τους σημαντικότερους και ως επί το πλείστον αυτούς στους οποίους ο J.D. Beazley (στα ABV, ARV² και Para) έχει αποδώσει αγγεία του ελευσινιακού ιερού.
- 24Βλ. π.χ. F. Brommer, στο: H.A.G. Brijder (επιμ.), Ancient Greek and Related Pottery. Proceedings of the International Vase Symposium in Amsterdam 12-15 April 1984 (1984) 178 κε.
- 25Βλ. π.χ. E. Böhr, Der Schaukelmaler (1982) 100 αριθ. 132 πίν. 136-137.
- 26Η αντίθετη άποψη της Schwarz (ό.π. σημ. 9) 251, ασφαλώς οφείλεται στη μη δημοσίευση του υπάρχοντος υλικού.
- 27Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας αριθ. 339. Μέγ. σωζ. ύψ. 0,30 μ. Βλ. Κόκκου-Βυριδή (ό.π. σημ. 1) 250 κε. αριθ. Γ 11 πίν. 30. Η Δήμητρα φορεί πέπλο και ιμάτιο, ενώ η Κόρη πέπλο.
- 28Στην περίπτωση αυτή την πομπή ίσως την υποδεχόταν ο ίδιος ο Δίας. Για κάτι ανάλογο βλ. παρακάτω σελ. 284.
- 29Η επιγραφή είναι γραμμένη με ιώδες χρώμα (J.D. Beazley - H. Payne, JHS 49, 1929, 262), κάτι όχι και τόσο ασυνήθιστο στον αττικό μελανόμορφο ρυθμό. Βλ. H. Immerwahr, Attic Script. A Survey (1990) 27 σημ. 12; 183 και σημ. 3.
- 30Π.χ. Ηρόδοτος 9.97. Για τη λέξη «ελευσινία» ως επίκληση της Δήμητρας, βλ. RE 5,2 (1905) 2328 κε., λ. Eleusinia (O. Jessen).
- 31Immerwahr (ό.π. σημ. 29) 41 αριθ. 178.
- 32Immerwahr (ό.π. σημ. 29) 41 αριθ. 175.
- 33Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας αριθ. 2558. Μέγ. σωζ. μήκ. 0,09 μ. LIMC IV (1988) 869 αριθ. 294, λ. Demeter (L. Beschi).
- 34ABV 147,6. 714· Para 61· BAdd² 41 (147,6)· H.A. Shapiro, Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens (1989) 78 κε. πίν. 33a. Για περαιτέρω βιβλιογραφία, βλ. LIMC VII (1994) 415 αριθ. 1, λ. Ploutodotas (H.A. Shapiro).
- 35Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας αριθ. 425. Μέγ. σωζ. μήκ. 0,071 μ. H Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 78-79 αριθ. V 54; 146 αριθ. V 54, μνημονεύει μελανόμορφο όστρακο του 5ου αι. π.Χ. από την Ελευσίνα, που εικονίζει Δήμητρα και Περσεφόνη σε σκηνή σχετική με την «αποστολή» του Τριπτόλεμου. Πρβλ. Schwarz (ό.π. σημ. 9) 32 αριθ. V 22. Δεν γνωρίζω αν πρόκειται για το όστρακο που μας απασχολεί.
- 36Πρβλ. Schwarz (ό.π. σημ. 9) 238. 252.
- 37Βλ. π.χ. Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 80 Εικ. 10-11; 81 Εικ. 12-13.
- 38Προς τα πίσω και συγκεκριμένα προς τα συγγενικά του πρόσωπα στρέφει το βλέμμα του και ο Αμφιάραος σε παραστάσεις που εικονίζουν την αναχώρησή του για τη Θήβα. Το βλέμμα αυτό υποδηλώνει και την οργή του προς τη φιλάρεσκη γυναίκα του και ίσως προαναγγέλλει και τη μελλοντική τιμωρία της.
- 39Βλ. π.χ. Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 79 κε. Εικ. 12-13.
- 40Βλ. π.χ. Böhr (ό.π. σημ. 25) 94 κε. αριθ. 103; 97 αριθ. 118 πίν. 104^A. 105^A. 123^A· Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 79 κε. Πρβλ. K. Clinton, στο: W.D.E. Coulson - O. Palagia - T.L. Shear Jr. - H.A. Shapiro - F.J. Frost (επιμ.), The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy (1994) 164 κε.
- 41Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας αριθ. 2534 (με μολύβι υπάρχει και ο αριθ. 922). Μέγ. σωζ. ύψ. 0,032 μ., μέγ. σωζ. διάμ. 0,095 μ. K. Rhomaios, AM 31, 1906, 186 κε. πίν. 17,1 (εδώ αναφέρεται ότι βρέθηκε το 1885, ενώ στο ίδιο

- το αγγείο αναγράφεται με μελάνι η ημερομηνία 28/05/86)· J.D. Beazley, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum* (1989)² 26, 43 σημ. 60 (επιμ. D.C. Kurtz)· LIMC IV (1988) 870 αριθ. 303 πίν. 582, λ. Demeter (L. Beschi)· LIMC IV (1988) 373 αριθ. 30, λ. Hades, (R. Lindner)· Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 98 σημ. 145 (με βιβλιογραφία)· J.B. Grossman, στο: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul. Getty Museum* 5 (1991) 24 αριθ. 98 (με λανθασμένη περιγραφή); Grossman (ό.π. σημ. 14) 62 (AP 10).
- 42 Ορισμένοι ερευνητές έχουν αμφισβητήσει την παρουσία εδώ των δύο αυτών θεών. Βλ. LIMC IV (1988) 373 αριθ. 30, λ. Hades, (R. Lindner); Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 98 σημ. 145. Επίσης ορισμένοι αναγνωρίζουν τη Δήμητρα στην αριστερή μορφή και την Κόρη στη δεξιά. Βλ. LIMC IV (1988) 870 αριθ. 303 πίν. 582, λ. Demeter (L. Beschi).
- 43 Π.χ. Ε. Μανακίδου, *Αρχαιογνωσία* 13, 2005, πίν. 4.
- 44 Για σχετική βιβλιογραφία βλ. παραπάνω σημ. 41. Υπενθυμίζω και την ενυπόγραφη φιάλη του Δούρι άλλοτε στο Μουσείο Paul Getty αριθ. 81.AE.213, 85.AE.18, 85.AE.185 και 88.AE.30, στην οποία ο Πλούτων πρέπει να εικονίζεται μαζί με τις Δήμητρα και Κόρη. Βλ. M. Robertson, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (1991) 85–86 Εικ. 1w-1z, 90.
- 45 Βλ. π.χ. Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 98 σημ. 145.
- 46 Πρβλ. Rhomaios (ό.π. σημ. 41) 193 κε.; Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 98 σημ. 145. Επισημαίνω πάντως ότι σε ορισμένες μελανόμορφες αγγειογραφίες, που χρονολογούνται γύρω στο 500 π.Χ. και εικονίζουν τον Ηρακλή στον Κάτω Κόσμο προσπαθώντας να συλλάβει τον Κέρβερο, έχουμε ένα φίδι χωρίς ωστόσο την παρουσία του Άδη. Βλ. LIMC V (1990) 88 αριθ. 2562–2563 πίν. 93; 2565, λ. Herakles (V. Smallwood).
- 47 Π.χ. για Δία Καρποφόρο, βλ. M. Τιβέριος, στο: *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών* IZ, Α' (2000–2001) 122.
- 48 Σύμφωνα με επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες στη Μύκονο προσέφεραν κοινή θυσία στο Χθόνιο Δία και στη Χθόνια Γη, ενώ λίγες μέρες πριν θυσίαζαν στη Δήμητρα και στον Δία Βουλέα. Βλ. M. Nilsson, *Ιστορία της αρχαίας ελληνικής θρησκείας*, μτφρ. Α. Παπαθωμοπούλου (1971) 134. Μερικές φορές αντί για «Δία Βουλέα» οι γραπτές πηγές μιλούν για «Δία Ευβουλέα». Βλ. Clinton (ό.π. σημ. 14) 59 κε. και σημ. 178.
- 49 Βλ. Δ. Γουδής, *Τα Μυστήρια της Ελευσίνος*² (1990) 82 κε.
- 50 W. Burkert, *Αρχαία Ελληνική Θρησκεία*, μτφρ. Ν. Μπεζαντάκος – Α. Αβαγιανού (1993) 419. Για τον Δία Μελίχιο, βλ. A.B. Cook, *Zeus* II, 2 (1925) 1091–1160· RE 15.1 (1931) 340–342, λ. Meilichios Theoi (F. Pfister)· RE 10A, 1 (1972) 335–337, λ. Zeus, (H. Schwabl)· RE 15 Suppl. (1978) 1053 κε., λ. Zeus (H. Schwabl). Ειδικότερα στην Αθήνα, βλ. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (1932) 155 κε.· RE 15 Suppl. (1978) 1069 κε. 1465, λ. Zeus, (H. Schwabl) και τελευταία G. Lalonde, *Horos Dios. An Athenian Shrine and Cult of Zeus* (2006) κυρίως 40 κε. 103 κε.
- 51 Για Δία και Κόρη, βλ. Burkert (ό.π. σημ. 50) 602 κε.
- 52 Lalonde (ό.π. σημ. 50) 45 κε. 63. Η άποψη ότι το φίδι που συνοδεύει τον Δία Μελίχιο δεν μπορεί να έχει γένι (βλ. Lalonde [ό.π. σημ. 50] 47 και σημ. 33) διαψεύδεται από τα ίδια τα μνημεία (βλ. π.χ. Lalonde [ό.π. σημ. 50] 120 αριθ. ZM (;) 54). Το γένι σε απεικονίσεις φιδιού δεν είναι αποτέλεσμα της ένωσης του γενειοφόρου Δία με το ερπετό αυτό (βλ. Lalonde [ό.π. σημ. 50] 46 κε.) αλλά ένα εικονογραφικό στοιχείο με το οποίο οι καλλιτέχνες μορφοποιούσαν γνωρίσματα του ζώου αυτού, όπως την άγρια και αποτρόπαια όψη του, που προκαλούσε φόβο στον άνθρωπο.
- 53 Lalonde (ό.π. σημ. 50) 61 σημ. 100; 69–70 και σημ. 143 και 145; 81. 85 σημ. 25; 113 σημ. 35; 118 αριθ. ZM 48· H.W. Parke, *Οι εορτές στην αρχαία Αθήνα*,

- μτφρ. X. Ορφανός (2000) 137 κε.· F. Graf, ZPE 14, 1974, 139 κε.
- 54Lalonde (ό.π. σημ. 50) 59. 61. 63. 107 κε. 110–111 αριθ. ZM 23· M. Jameson, BCH 89, 1965, 159 κε.· Graf (ό.π. σημ. 53) κυρίως 143 κε.
- 55Βλ. π.χ. Γ. Μυλωνάς στο Γέρας Αντωνίου Κεραμόπουλου (1953) 42 κε.· του ίδιου (ό.π. σημ. 11) 15 κε.· E. Simon, Die Götter der Griechen (1969) 97 κε.
- 56V. Aravantinos – L. Godart – A. Sacconi, Les tablettes en linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou, Thèbes, fouilles de la Cadmée 1 (2001) 317 κε. 363 κε. Παρόμοια ή ανάλογη τριάδα συναντούμε σε μεταγενέστερες εποχές και σε άλλες περιοχές. Βλ. F. Graf, Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit (1974) 172· Clinton (ό.π. σημ. 14) 60 σημ. 178. Για αντιρρήσεις στις προταθείσες αναγνώσεις των πινακίδων βλ. π.χ. T.G. Palaima, Kadmos 42, 2003, 31 κε. Του ίδιου Minos 35–36, 2000–2001, 475 κε. Του ίδιου AJA 107, 2003, 113 κε.
- 57Shapiro (ό.π. σημ. 34) 78 κε. Πρβλ. LIMC VII (1994) 415 αριθ. 1, λ. Ploutodotas (H.A. Shapiro).
- 58Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας (χωρίς αριθ.). Το μεγαλύτερο τμήμα, που απαρτίζεται από τρία όστρακα, έχει μέγ. σωζ. μήκ. 0,161 μ. Σε ένα από τα όστρακα σημειώνεται με μολύβι η ημερομηνία ανεύρεσής του (02/06/85) και μια δυσανάγνωστη λέξη. Από τα πέντε αυτά όστρακα γνωστό ήταν μόνο αυτό που διασώζει τμήμα από τη μορφή του Τριπτόλεμου, δεν είχε όμως αναγνωρισθεί σωστά. Βλ. Σ. Παπασπυρίδη, ADelt 9, 1924–1925, 36 Εικ. 40; 37.
- 59Για τις παραστάσεις αυτές, βλ. Schwarz (ό.π. σημ. 9) 243 κε.· T. Hayashi, Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.-4. Jh. v. Chr. (1992) 84. Ταυτίζω τη θεότητα αυτή με τη Δήμητρα επειδή, στις σχετικές παραστάσεις, είναι αυτή και όχι η Κόρη που εικονίζεται συχνότερα με σκήπτρο.
- 60Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ελευσίνας αριθ. 2380. Έχει μέγ. μήκος 0,06 μ. Στο ίδιο αγγείο πιθανόν ανήκει και ένα άλλο όστρακο, μέγ. σωζ. μήκους 0,029 μ. (χωρίς αριθμό). Το ότι το χείλος στην κύλικα αυτή διακρίνεται πλαστικά μόνο στο εσωτερικό της, την κατατάσσει στις κύλικες τύπου E της A. Lezzi-Hafter (βλ. Lezzi-Hafter [ό.π. σημ. 14] 75. 79 κε. 88. 90 κε. 95 κε.).
- 61Παπασπυρίδη (ό.π. σημ. 58) 44· Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 147 αριθ.V 78· LIMC IV (1988) 864 αριθ. 224, λ. Demeter (L. Beschi).
- 62Η Παπασπυρίδη (ό.π. σημ. 58) 44, αναγνώρισε εδώ την Κόρη, ενώ ο Beschi (βλ. LIMC IV [1988] 864 αριθ. 224, λ. Demeter [L. Beschi]) τη Δήμητρα. Για τη διάκριση Δήμητρας και Κόρης, βλ. Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 81. 89. 108. Οποσδήποτε στην αττική τέχνη δεν έχουν διαμορφωθεί απόλυτα διακριτοί εικονογραφικοί τύποι για τις δύο αυτές θεότητες.
- 63Clinton (ό.π. σημ. 14) κυρίως 42 κε. Για απόψεις, όχι πειστικές, σχετικά με τη σημασία των παραστάσεων αυτών, βλ. Schwarz (ό.π. σημ. 9) 237 κε. 251 κε. Ο Hayashi (ό.π. σημ. 59) 73 κε., πιστεύει ότι οι παραστάσεις του σπένδοντος Τριπτόλεμου κατά τον 5^ο αιώνα π.Χ. συμβολίζουν την ποθητή ειρήνη. Για την αλλαγή που παρατηρείται στην εικονογραφία του Τριπτόλεμου στην Αθήνα από τα τέλη του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. και για πιθανές ερμηνείες της, βλ. Peschlow-Bindokat (ό.π. σημ. 14) 108 κε.
- 64Επισημαίνω ότι και στις δύο αυτές αγγειογραφίες ο ήρωας δεν είναι στραμμένος προς τα δεξιά, όπως συμβαίνει στις περισσότερες σχετικές παραστάσεις, αλλά προς τα αριστερά.
- 65R. Parker, Η Θρησκεία στην αρχαία Αθήνα. Ιστορική επισκόπηση, μτφρ. Γ. Τριανταφυλλίδη (2001) 202 κε., με σχετική συζήτηση και βιβλιογραφία. Βλ. ακόμη Hayashi (ό.π. σημ. 59) 75 κε.· Π. Παχής, “Δήμητρα Καρποφόρος” (1998) 176 κε. Πρβλ. Simon (ό.π. σημ. 9) 102.
- 66Ο Hayashi (ό.π. σημ. 59) 69, συσχετίζει τη συχνότητα των παραστάσεων αυτών με την κίνηση του Περικλή να συγκαλέσει, πιθανόν το 448 π.Χ.,

πανελλήνιο συνέδριο στην Αθήνα.

- 67Τενικά για αναθήματα στα ιερά, βλ. F.T. van Straten, στο: H.S. Versnel (επιμ.), Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World (1981) 65 κε.· του ίδιου στο Le sanctuaire grec (1990) 247 κε. Για αγγεία-αναθήματα στην Αθηνά της Ακρόπολης, βλ. C. Wagner, στο: G.R. Tsetschladze – A.J.N.W. Prag – A.M. Snodgrass (επιμ.), Periplous. Papers on Classical Art and Archaeology Presented to Sir John Boardman (2000) κυρίως 385 κε.· της ίδιας, στο: S. Deacy – A. Villing (επιμ.), Athena in the Classical World (2001) 95 κε.· της ίδιας, στο: P. Rouillard – A. Verbanck-Piérard (επιμ.), Le vase grec et ses destins (2003) 49 κε.· N. Strawczynski, στο: Rouillard – Verbanck-Piérard (ό.π.) 57 κε.
- 68Βλ. π.χ. B. Graef – E. Langlotz, Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II (1925–1933) 115 αριθ. 1299 και 1312; 118 αριθ. 1342–1343 και 1348; 119 αριθ. 1364.
- 69ABV 351 (κάτω). O Benndorf, Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder (1868–1883) 48–49 αριθ. 24, πίν. 28. Graef – Langlotz (ό.π. σημ. 68) 118 αριθ. 1348 πίν. 93· X. Καρούζος, Περικαλλές άγαλμα εξεποίησ' ουκ αδαής. Αισθήματα και ιδέες των αρχαϊκών Ελλήνων για την τέχνη² (1982) 23.
- 70Καρούζος (ό.π. σημ. 69) κυρίως 14 κε.
- 71Για μια τέτοια περίπτωση βλ. παραπάνω σελ. 283–284. Πρβλ. M. Tiverios, στο: D. Yatromanolakis (επιμ.), Decodifying Ancient Greek Images. Contemporary Methodologies (υπό έκδ.).
- 72Πρβλ. Brommer (ό.π. σημ. 24) 178 κε.
- 73Ένα τρίτο παράδειγμα δεν είναι βέβαιο. Πρόκειται για τον αποσπασματικά σωζόμενο πίνακα που φέρει το όνομα Ευφίλητος (Κόκκου-Βυτιδή [ό.π. σημ. 1] 232–233 αριθ. B 145 πίν. 45). Είναι πιο πιθανό να έχουμε εδώ κεραμεία και όχι αναθέτη (ABV 352). Οπωσδήποτε όμως δεν υπάρχει τίποτε το ελευσινιακό σε ό,τι σώζεται από την παράσταση που έφερε.
- 74ABV 85· Φίλιος (ό.π. σημ. 21) 193 κε. πίν. 12.
- 75Μιμούμενος Βέβαια μεταλλικά πρότυπα, Βλ. H. Luschey, Die Phiale (1939) 95 αριθ. 4a; 109 σημ. 616· ABV 350.

29 The Meidias Painter and the Jena Painter Revisited

Olga V. Tugusheva

The Meidias Painter is one of the most outstanding figures in Attic red-figured vase-painting at the end of the fifth century BC. He was identified by E. Gerhard in 1839, and throughout the next 150 years, thanks to an ever increasing number of new attributions, his output remained the focus of constant interest to scholars. Yet attitudes towards the vase-painter and his style underwent change – from enthusiasm (A. Furtwängler, H. Nicole, P. Ducati, G.M.A. Richter, L. Burn), to cool restraint (R.M. Cook, M. Robertson), or even irony (J.D. Beazley). Today 36 vases are attributed to the Meidias Painter and approximately 230 vases and fragments to his workshop.¹

The popularity enjoyed by this vase-painter led to a quantity of adaptations and copies produced by his pupils and contemporaries, which severely complicates the work of present-day researchers. As M. True points out: “the list of works attributed to the master himself changes, often to a significant degree with each new publication of pottery from the late fifth century BC.”² Moreover this statement applies not only to new vases and fragments being published for the first time, but also to old ones, already well-known to scholars. An example of such a vase is a cup from the excavations at Ensérune with a depiction of Kephalos and Procris in the tondo, which has been attributed by J.D. Beazley to the Jena Painter.³ (Figs 1–2; Color Pl. 25)



Fig. 1. Cup. Ensérune. Tondo – Kephalus and Prokris. Photo: Musée d'Ensérune (C. Olive).



Fig. 2. Cup. Ensérune. Side A. Photo: Musée d'Ensérune (C. Olive).



Fig. 3. Cup fragment Jena 0468. Photo: Jena Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst.

The idea that the painting on the cup had been executed not by the Jena Painter but by someone else is not new. F. Mourett, when he first

published the material from the excavations at Ensérune, attributed the cup under discussion to the hand of the Meidias Painter.⁴ W. Hahland considered the vase to be part of a group, the painted decoration of which he viewed merely as “similar to the style of the Jena Painter”.⁵ Even Beazley was not totally sure of the attribution. At any rate, in a short commentary on another vase by the Jena Painter, a hydria in Berlin (inv. F 3768), he wrote that “both vases (the hydria and the cup) are less interesting than the other works by this painter, but *would appear* (my emphasis) to have been his handiwork”.⁶

The painted decoration on the Ensérune cup is distinguished by the very delicate, painstaking execution of the drawing, to the point of coldness. Despite the fact that the figures are depicted moving, albeit minimally (the gestures of the hands, the angles and turns of the heads and the torsos), the figures appear basically static. This feature alone provides a striking contrast to the works which have been attributed beyond doubt to the Jena Painter. His works throb with movement, the figures are energetic, resolute and the gestures confident, precise and dynamic. The best example is the composition on the cup fragment in Jena, inv. 0468 (Side A. Fig. 3).⁷

The painted decoration on the Ensérune cup and the above-mentioned hydria in Berlin has been very precisely executed. Careful attention has been paid to detail – bands and decoration on garments, numerous folds, each finger and toe, each curl of hair, the attributes of the figures and so on. The outlines of the figures are clear and precise, and of consistent thickness. At the same time they lack inner tension. Compared to the drawing on these two vases, the drawing of the Jena Painter appears wide and sweeping, even slightly careless, and executed in an almost deliberate manner (see fragmentary cup inv. 0468 in Jena. Fig. 3). Every line and stroke in the work of the Jena Painter is firm and resilient; muscles are precisely delineated; volume is clearly defined, and his drawings are dynamic and supple. The Jena Painter pays attention to detail but does not make excessive use of it; he has no predilection for decoration on clothes, which is hardly ever to be found in his work, and the peploi worn by his female figures are usually depicted without belts (for example, Jena cup fragments inv. 0468 and 0474).⁸ On the contrary, the Ensérune cup displays both variants – belted and unbelted peploi.



Fig. 4. Hydria. London, British Museum E 224. Photo: The British Museum.

The difference regarding detail is also to be found in such minor aspects as the drawing of fingers, for example. On the cups by the Jena Painter the fingers are set close, and they are long and wide, with round ends. On the Ensérune cup each finger is drawn separately. The fingers are all set widely apart (the outlines of two adjacent fingers form the letter “U”), are long, thin and drawn in a “spiral curve,” and clearly taper towards the ends. These features can be traced back to Meidian painting. We find the same treatment on the Meidias Painter’s hydriai in London (inv. E 224; Fig. 4) and in Florence (inv. 81947; Fig. 5): for example, the hands of the seated female figures on the hydria in Florence.⁹

In the painting on the Ensérune cup there is a whole series of other features – the arrangement of the figures, the general composition or the ornamental motifs – that are never encountered in the works of the Jena Painter, but occur in the painted decoration of the late fifth century. The egg pattern that defines the segment in the lower part of the tondo is very rarely found on red-figured cups (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 25A). One of the few examples is provided by the Meidias Painter’s plate from a private collection in Leiden.¹⁰ At the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century vase-painters frequently introduced a small reserved area in the lower part of the tondo. This feature is particularly typical for the work of the so-called Sub-Meidian Cup-Group, especially of the Painter of London E 106.¹¹ We find it on the cup by the Meidias Painter himself in the J. Paul Getty Museum (inv. 82.AE.38. Fig. 6; Color Pl. 24B). The Jena Painter never uses this

motif.



Fig. 5. Hydria. Florence 81947. Photo: Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze.

One further feature that distinguishes the decoration on the Ensérune cup from the works by the Jena Painter is the meander and chequer-board pattern that frames the tondo. The chequer-board squares in the Ensérune tondo have five dark and four light squares, but the cups by the Jena Painter, on the contrary, have four dark and five light (Jena cup-fragment inv. 0474. Fig. 7). Hahland had already drawn attention to this feature, pointing out that the Jena Painter had been the first to use this last variant, while his predecessors and many of his contemporaries used the familiar old pattern that incorporates five dark and four pale squares.¹²

The meanders are also slightly different. On the Ensérune tondo the strokes are arranged in a neater, more compact way than those found on works of the Jena Painter. His meanders are executed rather carelessly in lines of varying width and density. The ornament on the Ensérune cup has a parallel on a cup in the Vatican (inv. 17934).¹³ The chequer-board pattern here also has five dark squares. Furthermore, the tondo has a reserved segment and, in her pose and dress, the Nike is comparable to female figures on the interior and exterior of the Ensérune cup.¹⁴

Finally, on the exterior of the Ensérune cup the band under the

picture consists of a meander pattern with a chequer-board. Similar decoration on the exterior of cups was already very rare by the end of the fifth century BC. One of the few examples occurs on a cup by the Meidias Painter in the J. Paul Getty Museum.¹⁵ In the work of the Jena Painter himself and also that of other vase-painters at the beginning of the fourth century, we find nothing similar. Here there is only one thin reserved line (see cup fragment Jena 0468. Fig. 3).

Apart from purely stylistic differences, there is also a difference in size. The Ensérune cup has not survived intact: parts of the walls and the stem are missing. The preserved height is nearly 6 cm. If we bear in mind that the height of the cup in the J. Paul Getty Museum, which has survived intact, is nearly 13 cm and that the foot in vessels of this type accounts for approximately half their height, then the French cup would also have been 12–13 cm tall. The diameter of the cup in the J. Paul Getty Museum is approximately 35 cm; the Ensérune cup is slightly smaller, nearly 32 cm, and it has four figures not six. Cups produced by the Jena Painter seldom exceeded 25 cm in diameter and never have more than 3 figures.



Fig. 6. Cup. J.Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.38. Photo: The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 7. Cup fragment Jena 0474. Photo: Jena Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst.



Fig. 8. Plate (?) fragment. Jena 0495. Photo: Jena Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst.

A list of other unusual features of the painted decoration on the Ensérune cup could be made, yet those already mentioned allow us to consider that this vase was not made in the workshop of the Jena Painter. Indeed, they all serve, without question, to link the decoration of this cup to the workshop of the Meidias Painter, where it was made in the last decade of the fifth century BC.

The second vase that I wish to discuss in connection with the workshop of the Meidias Painter is a fragment in Jena (Sammlung Antiker Kleinkunst, inv. 0495) that may belong to a plate (Fig. 8).¹⁶ It depicts two women – one standing and one seated. Hahland, who was the first to publish this fragment, put it in the same illustration as a fragment depicting Aphrodite with an Eros on her knees and noted that “they both stem from a single workshop (that of the Jena Painter – O.T.) but were decorated by different artists”.¹⁷ Beazley disagreed and included the Jena fragment among works by the Jena Painter himself.¹⁸ Using Beazley’s attribution, L. Talcott, and M.B. Moore after

her, attributed to the Jena Painter a further fragment, this one from the Athenian Agora.¹⁹

Two women are depicted on the Jena fragment. The standing figure on the left is shown in three-quarter view to the right; she wears a chiton with a long overfold that comes down to her hips and is held in place by a narrow black belt, the ends of which are decorated with three beads. Over her chest the chiton is decorated with a wide band carrying silhouettes of two hippocamps. The latter are pale against a dark background. Running all the way down the right side of the chiton is a vertical band of black glaze. With her left hand – in a so-called bridal gesture – the woman lifts the end of her veil that is decorated with a pattern of little crosses. The position of the missing right arm is not clear, but she may have held the other end of the veil with her right hand. In front of the standing figure there is another woman only half clad. She is sitting and has raised her right arm slightly, so that it is bent at the level of her chest; on her elbow the wheel of a *ixn*x is spinning, and the woman has fixed her gaze on it, bending her head forward. The hips of the seated woman are covered by a chiton that is decorated with the same band of hippocamps as seen on the chiton of the standing figure.

I have described the decoration on this fragment in such detail so as to underscore the differences between it and the drawings usually found on works by the Jena Painter, of which there are many. The Jena Painter, as has already been pointed out, never used decorative motifs and patterns on the cloaks of his figures. On the Jena fragment we see hippocamps – one of the motifs popular at the very end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century BC.²⁰ Also uncharacteristic for the Jena Painter are the belt and vertical band along the side seam. Furthermore, the cloth of the chiton wrapped closely round the free leg is conveyed in a completely different way. In the work of the Jena Painter the horizontal strokes conveying folds come together at the sides of thigh, leaving the middle part of it smooth (for example, Jena cup fragment inv. 0474. Fig. 7). Here, on the contrary, the whole surface is covered with thin and closely spaced short lines, which accentuate the curved shape of the leg. On the overfold of the chiton the wide central fold in the middle is intersected by two thin horizontal strokes which are half hidden by the ends of the belt. Finally, decorated veils do not appear in the work of the Jena Painter.

At the same time most of the elements enumerated above are frequent in the work of the Meidias Painter and the vase-painters of his circle. A good example is the standing female figure holding a casket on the lekane lid by the Meidias Painter himself in Naples (inv. Stg 311).²¹ She displays the same type of chiton with a dark vertical band at the side and a long overfold with a belt; also the same are the

arrangement of the loops and ends of the belt, the pyramids made up of beads at the ends of the belt, and the pattern of the folds.

The veil decorated with a pattern of small crosses and the gesture of lifting the veil also have Meidian parallels: they are found on the Meidias Painter's name vase in London (hydria inv. E 224. Fig. 4), where a running woman holds on to a veil with both hands,²² and on his hydria in Karlsruhe.²³ On the Vienna krater by the Painter of the Athens Wedding (inv. 1771), an artist belonging to the Circle of the Meidias Painter, we can see decoration incorporating silhouettes of hippocamps, although they are arranged and presented differently.²⁴

The drapery, however, is not the only feature that the painting of the Jena fragment and the works of the Meidian circle have common. When it comes to the seated figure on the right, it can clearly be seen how carefully the hair is arranged tress by tress and painted with wide, wavy lines. The hair of one female figure on the London hydria (inv. E 224) is painted in exactly the same way (Fig. 9).²⁵ Another example is the pelike by the Meidias Painter in New York (inv. 37.11.23).²⁶



Fig. 9. Hydria. London, British Museum E 224. Photo: The British Museum.

The seated figure on the Jena fragment is semi-naked. Depictions of this kind do not occur in the work of the Meidias Painter himself. Yet when the vase-painter depicts the breast of a female figure hidden by drapery on the hydria in Florence, he clearly uses a curved line to convey it, drawing more than half a circle – top, side and from below – and a nipple that is conveyed by a small ring pointing to the side.

The breast of the naked woman on the fragment under discussion has been depicted in exactly the same way. On the same hydria in Florence we also find a gesture which is very similar – that of a bent arm held in front of the chest of one of the girls seated to the right, with the same arrangement of the fingers having U-shaped gaps between them and with a similar, tapering index finger.

Finally, as we noted, the Jena fragment probably was part of a plate, a shape that was rare at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BC and not used in the Jena Painter's workshop. From the workshop of the Meidias Painter, however, we know of at least one plate, that is by the Meidias Painter in a private collection in Leiden.²⁷ This, and the other facts mentioned above indicate, in my opinion, that the Jena fragment with two women originates from the immediate entourage of the Meidias Painter, if not from the painter himself. The fragment was found together with others which are attributed without doubt to the Jena Painter. We may only guess why a vase by the Meidias Painter (or his circle) was in the Jena Painter's workshop. Whether it was the senior master's gift to his younger colleague, or it was only a sample for imitation, or if it simply occurred here by chance, we cannot say for sure, but I hope that new material and new discussion will help us find the answer.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Joan Mertens for a critical reading of this paper and for her continuous assistance over many years. Also I would like to thank the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, The British Museum, the Musée d'Enserune, and the Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana, Firenze for the photographs and for permission to publish them. Special thanks to Katherina Judelson for translating this text into English. Lastly I would like to thank John Oakley and Olga Palagia for inviting me to present this paper.

Abbreviations

AgBr XXX Attic Red-figured and White-ground Pottery, Agora XXX (1997).

BurBur The Meidias Painter (1987).

HallHall 1930 Vasen um Meidias (1930).

HallHall 1931 Studien zur attischen Vasenmalerei um 400 v.Chr. Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde einer Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Philipps-Universität Marburg (1931).

JannJann 1955 Enserune. Contribution à l'étude des civilisations

- preromanies de la Gaule Meridionale (1955).
 1Englert 1993, Griechische Vasen in Würzburg (1932).
 2Paul-Zinserling 1994, Der Jena-Maler und sein Kreis. Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Schalenwerkstatt um 400 v. Chr. (1994).
 3Paul-Zinserling 1994, Der Jena-Maler und sein Kreis. Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Schalenwerkstatt um 400 v. Chr. (1994).
 4True 1985, in: Greek Vases in The J. Paul Getty Museum 2 (1985) 79–88.

Notes

- 1For the history of the study of the output of the Meidias Painter and also for the most complete bibliography, see Burn 1987.
- 2True 1985, 79.
- 3CVA Collection Muret 1 pls 1–2; ARV² 1512,16.
- 4CVA Collection Muret 1 15. For the red-figured pottery found at Ensérune, see also Jannoray 1955, 318–321.
- 5Hahland 1931, 58–59.
- 6ARV² 1516,81.
- 7Paul-Zinserling 1994, pl. 8,2.
- 8Paul-Zinserling 1994, pls 8,2. 10.
- 9Burn 1987, pls 4b. 29b. Long curving fingers are typical for a number of vase-painters of the late fifth BC: see the bell-krater Villa Giulia 2382 (ARV² 1339,4 – similar to the work of the Talos Painter); the namepiece of the Dinos Painter – Berlin F 2402 (ARV² 1152,6).
- 10Burn 1987, pl. 46.
- 11ARV² 1391–1397.
- 12Hahland 1931, 60.
- 13Paul-Zinserling 1994, pl. 40,1.
- 14Beazley included the Vatican cup among works executed in the “Manner of the Jena Painter”: ARV² 1518, (l 42); V. Paul-Zinserling attributed it to the Diomedes Painter (Paul-Zinserling 1994, 76–77). In my opinion, the painted decoration on the Vatican cup was not executed by one of the painters closely associated with the Jena Painter himself or his workshop but by one associated with the workshop of the Meidias Painter. On the one hand, there are many features which this cup has in common with the Ensérune cup – the gestures of the hands, the type of clothing, the rear leg protruding from the folds and visible under the garment, and the depiction of the hair with separate wavy lines – but on the other hand, the youths on the Ensérune cup are well-built, they have long legs and narrow hips, while on the Vatican cup the proportions of the figures are different: they are more compact and sturdy, the lines conveying the muscles are clearer but more monotonous. Furthermore, all the figures on the Vatican cup have hands, and in particular fingers, that are drawn differently. Yet, when we compare the work of this anonymous artist with that of vase-painters making up the Sub-Meidian Cup-Group, we see that the work by the painters of this group displays figures whose poses are more tense and stiff, their lines hard and angular, and their muscles are drawn in a diagrammatic way. In all probability the Vatican cup is the work of a vase-painter who worked at the very end of the fifth century BC, and this vase should be regarded as a “bridge” linking the workshop of the Meidias Painter and the Sub-Meidian Cup-Group.
- 15Burn 1987, 3 pl. 30b.
- 16Hahland 1930, pl. 22a
- 17Hahland 1930, 17.

18ARV² 1515,79.

19Agora XXX, 282 pl. 104 no. 1090.

20Depictions of hippocamps in silhouette on the upper part of a chiton are found in the work of the Pronomos Painter (calyx-krater in Berlin – ARV² 1690; Para 480) and that of the Talos, Suessula and Erbach Painters, as well as in the work of the Meleager Painter and the painters of his Group (CVA Bonn 1 pl. 20,3; Langlotz 1932, pls 191–192; CVA Collection Mouret 1 pl. 5,1. 3–4); on the lids of lekanai of anonymous painters of the early fourth century in Brussels and Oxford (Brussels, inv. A 1015: CVA Brussels 1 pl. 4,3d; Oxford inv. 1912.39: CVA Oxford 1 pl. 50,21).

21Naples Stg 311: Burn 1987, pl. 10b.

22Burn 1987, pl. 6b.

23Burn 1987, pls 27b. 40. 43b.

24Burn 1987, pl. 42b.

25Burn 1987, pl. 8a.

26Burn 1987, pl. 36b.

27Burn 1987, pl. 46.

30 Mortals Facing the Goddess: Thoughts on the Panathenaic Amphora of Lydos in Florence and some Pseudo-Panathenaic Vases

Panos Valavanis

Κάλλιστον αἱ μεγαλόπολεις Ἀθᾶναι προοίμιον
Ἀλκμανιδᾶν εὐρυσθενεῖ γενεᾷ κρηπιδ' αἰοιδᾶν
ἵπποισι βαλέσθαι.

(Pind. Pyth., VII,1–3)¹

The starting point for the thoughts that follow was the Panathenaic prize amphora of Lydos in Florence that was found in Orvieto and dates to the decade 550/40 BC (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 23).² It is one of the so-called pre-canonical amphorae, made before their iconography was standardised in 540–535 BC.³ The columns with the cocks have not yet made their appearance on the main side, while an agonistic inscription is on the rear of the vase. In front of Athena Promachos a nude bearded man is depicted, who offers the goddess a ribbon with his left hand.⁴ According to Beazley's interpretation, which is unanimously accepted, he is the owner of the victorious chariot depicted on the rear and offers the goddess the ribbon – the symbol of victory – in thanks for her aid.⁵

There are some distinctive elements in the iconography of the main side, and this is the only Panathenaic prize amphora, in which another figure – and indeed a mortal – appears in front of Athena.⁶ The fact that an Athenian vase-painter dares or, more probably, is obliged to depict a mortal facing the goddess on these public vases would be unique, were it not for the fact that, five hundred years later, another Athenian painter created a similar representation on a partially preserved Panathenaic amphora from the first century BC. Here a

male figure stands beside Athena, who, according to the interpretation suggested by D. Tsouklidou, depicts the Roman general Mark Antony. He visited Athens in 38 BC and took part in the Panathenaic Games.⁷

The other distinctive element of the main side of the Lydos amphora is that the mortal is nude, despite being the victor in a chariot-race. Furthermore, he is shown at the same size as Athena and fills nearly half the panel, leaving the other half for the goddess. Generally speaking, the two figures are treated as equals.⁸

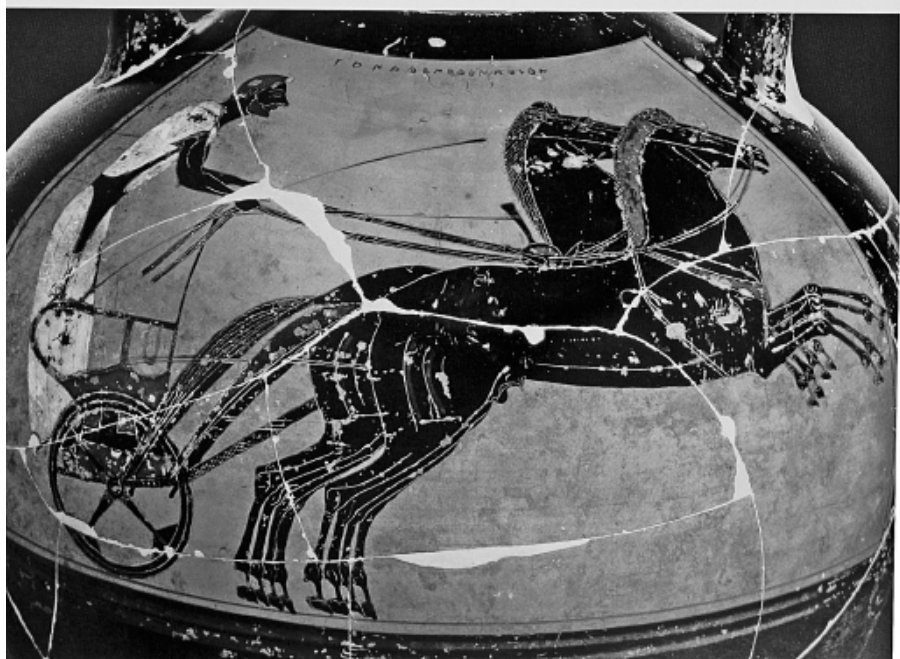
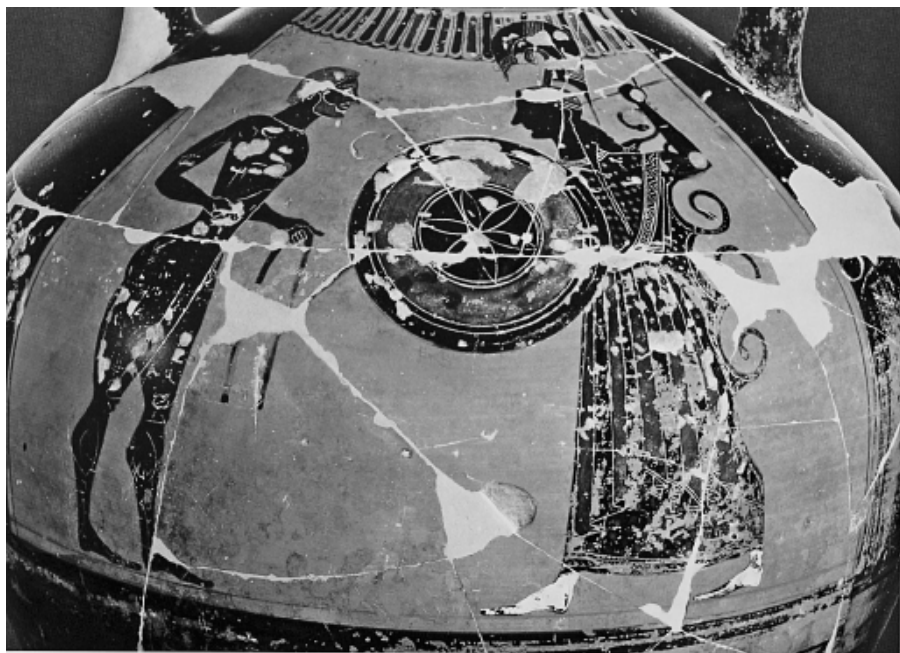


Fig. 1. Panathenaic prize-amphora of Lydos in Florence no. 97779. Photo: after N. Σταμπολίδης – Γ. Τασούλας (eds), *Μεγάλη Ελλάδα. Αθλητισμός και Ολυμπισμός στην περιφέρεια του Ελληνικού κόσμου* (2004) 213 no. 134.



Fig. 2. Pseudo-PA in Amsterdam no. 11845. Photo: after Bentz 2001, pl. 30,1–2.

A similar iconography with mortals facing the goddess is found on four pseudo-Panathenaics dating from the third quarter of the sixth century BC.⁹ The earliest of these, dating to 550–540, is in Amsterdam. On the main side two men wearing himatia are depicted to either side of Athena, who, surprisingly, faces right (Fig. 2).¹⁰ The figure in front of the goddess, though moving to the right, turns his head around and addresses her, raising his right hand.

The other three vases are products of the workshops of the Swing and the Princeton Painters.¹¹ Two of them are the only Panathenaics on which women are depicted. On the one in Bonn, a woman approaches Athena, holding a wreath in her raised hand (Fig. 3);¹² on the other which was formerly in Basel (Fig. 4; Color Pl. 24A-B),¹³ a woman holding a wreath addresses the goddess in the presence of Hermes. She has been interpreted as a relative of the victor of the boxing contest depicted on the other side.¹⁴ On the last vase, the well-known amphora in London B 144 (Fig. 5), the mortal is shown behind the goddess, while Hermes is now in front of her.¹⁵ This mortal has been interpreted as the owner of the victorious horse depicted on the rear, the name of which is given as Dysniketos by the inscription issuing from the mouth of the herald.¹⁶

The Historical Background of the Representations

The outburst of athletic subjects in the iconography of this period has long been associated with the reorganisation of the Panathenaia in 566/5 BC, and attests to the enthusiastic response to the new festival and the popularity of the distinctive shape of vase created for it.¹⁷ So far, two related iconographical types have been noted: the first and most numerous is the holding of the contest itself and the second, considerably smaller group, is the depiction of the victor with his prizes, usually tripods.¹⁸ To these, we may now add another small group, comprising the five vases we have just examined. Their message, which the vase-painter highlights, is gratitude to the goddess for her assistance in the victory. In what follows, we shall attempt to see why the depiction of this subject is confined to the brief period of the third quarter of the sixth century, or an even shorter interval, and why the vase-painters render it with the distinctive features just noted.

After the reorganisation of the Panathenaic games, the entire city of Athens appears to have come under the influence of the great festival and its contests. For the members of the aristocratic clans, in particular, those who participated actively in the contests, this activity had other parameters, since the pursuit and achievement of victory was one of the most important expressions of political rivalry.¹⁹ A victory in the Panhellenic games and in the Panathenaia was the springboard for political advancement, expansion of political influence, and pursuit of high office.²⁰

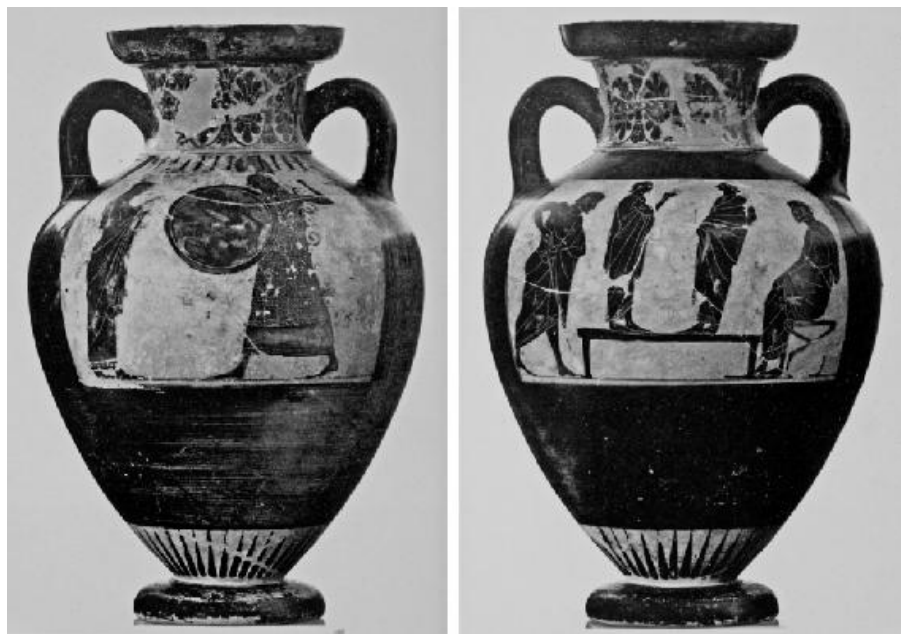
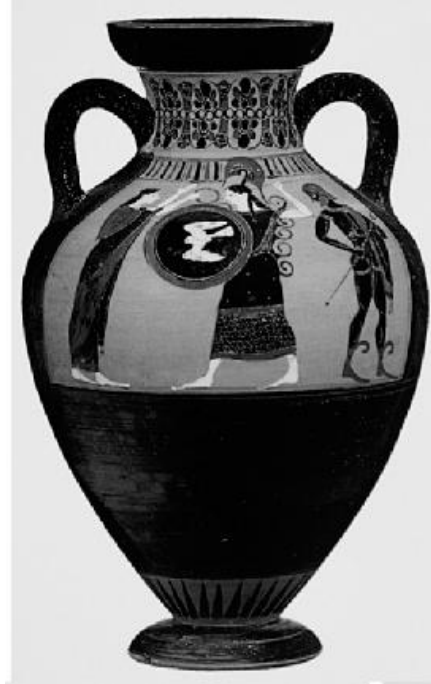


Fig. 3. Pseudo-PA in Bonn, no. 43. Photo: after Shapiro pl. 13a–b.



*Fig. 4. Pseudo-PA formerly in Basel. Photo: after D. Vanhove (ed.), *Olympism in Antiquity*. Olympic Museum Lausanne (1996) 46 no. 63.*



*Fig. 5. Pseudo-PA in London no. B 144. Photo: after E. Böhr, *Der Schaukelmaler* (1982) pl. 170.*

We are quite well informed about these events by the ancient authors, particularly Herodotus, and also by dedications in the sanctuaries made by victors. Leaving aside the victories won by Athenian aristocrats at the Olympic games of the first half of the sixth century,²¹ we come to the Panathenaia of 554 or 550 BC, when two members of the Alkmeonid family were victorious in two different events: Alkmeonides I son of Alkmeon I, probably in an equestrian event, and one of his younger brothers (?), probably in the pentathlon.²² These two nobles jointly dedicated a column on the Acropolis, on top of which stood a metal tripod or cauldron.²³ A little later, the former of the two was also victorious in a four-horse chariot-race, possibly at the Panathenaia. This victory resulted in a columnar dedication bearing a statue of Apollo in the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in Boeotia.²⁴

Herodotus (6.103) preserves another characteristic example of indirect political rivalry in Athens, based on athletic victories. It is the well-known story of Kimon, a member of the Philaid family, famous for its horses. In the third quarter of the sixth century, Kimon won three successive victories at the Olympic Games, with consequences for his private life that were different on each occasion, but which are indicative of the political climate and the role played by athletic victories in Athens at his time.²⁵

All these events enable us to comprehend the atmosphere of Archaic Athens and reveal the significant role played by the games in the politics of the city.²⁶ Especially for the families of Alkmeonidai and Philaidai, success at the games was a political tool, used even from exile in seeking leadership or at least influence.²⁷ In this spirit, then, we can also understand the special iconography of the Panathenaic amphorae under discussion, which probably expresses the very specific political environment of this period.²⁸

The Iconography

On the basis of the above, and also of the rule that in Archaic iconography it is not the content of an event that is important but the social class of those involved in it,²⁹ we may speculate as follows. When the Athenian vasepainters made these images, they had in mind specific members of the ruling class of their city.³⁰ By placing them on the main side of the vases in a position of equal status to that of the patron goddess of the Athenian state, as on the Lydos and the Amsterdam amphorae, they projected their important, leading role in the society and politics of the time.³¹ This daring depiction can be more easily interpreted in the case of the pseudo-PAs, while for the prize amphora of Lydos, it can be understood only in the frame of the

pre-canonical Panathenaic amphorae. Moreover, the nudity of the victor of the chariot-race in the presence of Athena on the Lydos amphora is comparable with the nudity of the kouroi of the period, as Beazley suggests,³² obviously because this was the best iconographical way to promote the victor's *kalokagathia*, the most important value of Archaic society.³³

In connection with the presence of Hermes, we may make the following suggestion. The internal relationship between this god and Athena has not yet (in my opinion) been established.³⁴ His presence on two of our vases has been accounted for by his role as an intermediary between mortals and gods, either because he announces the victory to the goddess, or because he introduces the mortals to her, possibly as a divine counterpart to the human herald on the other side.³⁵ But what does 'to introduce the mortals to the goddess' mean? Does this perhaps denote Hermes's intervention in elevating the victor to the status of a hero? Can we trace the first signs of the heroisation of victors in this iconography?³⁶ It is noteworthy that at this precise period, the third quarter of the sixth century, statues of victors were the first statues of mortals that began to be erected in the sanctuary of Olympia, a privilege that had belonged before exclusively to the gods.³⁷

Let us now turn to the two vases on which women are present before Athena. As relatives of the victors, they are also female members of the ruling class of Archaic Athens, expressing their gratitude to the goddess for her help. Just as the victor on Lydos's amphora was compared with a kouros, so the ladies or the maidens on these vases may be also compared with the statues of korai, some of which hold a wreath in their hands.³⁸

Concerning their iconography, the images on the two pseudo-PAs could also be fragments from a victory procession, and, why not, from the Panathenaic procession itself, in which the victors and their relatives undoubtedly occupied a dominant position, holding the prizes (wreaths, ribbons or more usually branches) and brandishing them upright, like the man with the tripod on the amphora of Dysniketos and the one in front of the horse on the amphora by the Mastos Painter in Nauplion.³⁹

As to the purpose of these pseudo-PAs, we may speculate as follows:⁴⁰ a victory won by a male member of the family undoubtedly reflected favourably on all the other members of it.⁴¹ The appearance of female figures on vases connected with contests or in victory scenes transforms these vases into objects of ostentation, commissioned in order to record the contribution of the women, too, to the achievements, and the corresponding glory stemming from them. If they were ordered for dedication in a sanctuary, they must have been

dedicated by the women. If they were ordered for a celebration party, as Webster asserts,⁴² this will certainly have been a party in which the women of the family also took part, and not the usual all-male affair. If they were ordered for burial gifts, they must have been placed in the tombs of these women. In any case, the objective of these vases is to display prominently the honour reflected by an athletic victory on the entire family, particularly its female members.⁴³

‘Male’ Subjects on ‘Female’ Vases

Generally speaking, the presence of women on Panathenaic vases, a shape of totally ‘male’ character, is curious, but it acquires special interest if it is compared with the opposite case: the presence of equestrian and athletic iconography on vases of ‘female’ character. The number of these vases was proportionately very small. The figures given by Webster are indicative:⁴⁴ of 730 black- and red-figure vases with horsemen and chariots, only 5 are ‘female’ shapes: one pyxis, two alabastra and two tripod kothons. Furthermore, of 1567 vases with athletic scenes, only 5 are vases of ‘female’ shapes: two pyxides, three alabastra and two squat lekythoi. Webster merely notes this fact and finds it entirely natural.⁴⁵

Since Webster’s calculations, the number of ‘female’ vases bearing ‘male’ subjects known have increased and are now predominantly pyxides and to a lesser extent lekanides with depictions of chariot-races.⁴⁶ The best-known is the pyxis with the name of Stesagoras from a tomb near Brauron, which, as H. Mommsen has shown, is not by Exekias but by the Epitimos Painter.⁴⁷ This vase, along with a cup by the same painter, again associated with the artist by Mommsen,⁴⁸ attests to the fact that the Philaid family engaged in the breeding of horses and competitive events, as we noted above.⁴⁹ The vase is surely a special commission, but we are not able to uncover more details of the case, since we have no evidence for the sex of the occupant of the tomb, or for the other vases contained in it.⁵⁰

The phenomenon of mainly black-figure pyxides bearing male subjects has already engaged the interest of scholars. It had already been perceived by Roberts, who said that ‘it seems clear that the family pride was being extended to a female member of the family’.⁵¹ More generally, Roberts concludes that since the repertoire commonly found on other vases is also found in pyxides, ‘there seems to be no realization yet that the pyxis requires a special iconography of its own’.⁵² Mercati⁵³ distinguishes many more ‘male’ subjects on various types of pyxides⁵⁴ and reaches the conclusion, on the basis of the difference in iconography between black-figure and red-figure vases, that in the Archaic period and down to 490 BC pyxides may have been

used also by men for their own toiletry items.⁵⁵ A similar conclusion is reached by S Schmidt and by J. Oakley in a forthcoming paper on Attic red-figure Type D pyxides.⁵⁶

But the type and the number of ‘female’ vases, where ‘male’ subjects are depicted is greater, including epinetra and alabastra.⁵⁷ Recent research usually explains this by claiming that the opposite sex is an attractive subject for vessels intended for gifts.⁵⁸ The other explanation of the phenomenon is that some of these shapes are not gender-specific vases, but they could have also served as real gifts or as votive and burial offerings in relation to *both* genders.⁵⁹ The same idea was recently expressed for the aryballoi, along with the dispute about the exclusive ‘male’ character of the strigil, from the fourth century BC onwards.⁶⁰ All these new ideas have changed our perceptions about the ‘male’ or ‘female’, raising new questions about the use – practical and symbolic – of some objects of everyday life and shedding new light on the world of the Athenians of the Classical period.

Returning to our original subject and concerning the exclusive connection of the Panathenaic amphorae with the games in that early period, we cannot interpret our pseudo-PAs in this light. The small number of these representations and the very short period of their appearance show that their vase-painters were directly inspired by contemporary, individual events.⁶¹ The most probable is that they have been commissioned especially by or for the female relatives of the victors, either as gifts for them or as separate dedications made by them.⁶² In any case, they were objects of ostentation, ‘advertising’ the glory of the whole family.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to M. Tiverios, not only for reading the text of this article and making useful suggestions, but also because I have enjoyed for more than 25 years his friendship and help in all my work. I also want to thank H. Mommsen, D. Tsouklidou, J. Oakley and E. Baziotopoulou for help, information and discussion. For the translation I am indebted to D. Hardy.

Abbreviations

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following are used in this article:

BMtB 1998P Panathenäische Preisamphoren, AntK Beiheft 18 (1998).

BMtB 2001 – N. Eschbach (eds), Panathenaika. Symposion zu den panathenäischen Preisamphoren, Rauschholzhausen 25.11. – 29.11.1998 (2001).

- Κεφαλίδου, Νικητής. Εικονογραφική μελέτη του αρχαίου ελληνικού αθλητισμού (1996).
- Kyle, Athletics in Ancient Athens² (1993).
- Μαρινάκου, Παραστάσεις με άρματα. 8ος-5ος αι. π.Χ. (1994).
- Mörsen, AntK 45, 2002, 27–38.
- Neilsen (1992), Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens (1992).
- Neilsen (2007), O. Palagia – A. Choremi-Spetsieri (eds), The Panathenaic Games (2007).
- Nicholson, Aristocracy and Athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece (2005).
- Shapiro, Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens (1989).

Notes

- 1“‘The mighty city of Athens is the fairest prelude of songs, which the widely powerful race of the Alcmaeonidae can lay as a foundation of odes in honor of their steeds” (Transl: Sir John Sandys, Loeb [1968] 256–257).
- 2Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale no. 97779. ABV 110,33. It is generally dated in the decade 550–540 BC. M. Τιβέριος, Ο Λυδός και το έργο του (1976) 74. 84. 131 no. 45 pls 66b-67; R. Brandt, Acta Arch 8, 1978, 4 no. 20; 11; Κεφαλίδου, 147. 229; Bentz 1998, 124 no. 6.008 pls 6–7; M.B. Moore, Black-figured Greek Vases of the Archaic Period: Ca 620–480 BC (diss. New York University, 1971) 48 no. A 268, dates it back to the decade 560–550 BC. Cf. also N. Σταμπολίδης – Γ. Τασούλας (eds), Μεγάλη Ελλάς. Αθλητισμός και Ολυμπισμός στην περιφέρεια του Ελληνικού κόσμου (2004) 213 no. 134 (A.M. Esposito).
- 3For the pre-canonical amphorae see Bentz 1998, 41. 59; M. Tiverios, in: O. Palagia – A. Choremi-Spetsieri (eds), The Panathenaic Games (2007) 5.
- 4For the question whether the Athena on PAs is a depiction of a statue see Shapiro 29; Bentz 1998, 41; P. Marx, AntK 46, 2003, 14 with n. 3. For the Athena on this vase see Marx, *supra* 20.
- 5J.D. Beazley, The Development of Attic Black-Figure² (1986) 114; Shapiro 29.
- 6Beazley (*supra* n. 5) 148 and n. 16.
- 7Δ. Τσουκλίδου, in: Πεπραγμένα του Διεθνούς Αρχαιολογικού Συμποσίου ‘Η Αθήνα κατά τη Ρωμαϊκή Εποχή. Πρόσφατες ανακαλύψεις. Νέες έρευνες, 19–21/10/2006’, forthcoming.
- 8A distinctive feature of the rear is the fawn skin worn by the charioteer over his long white chiton. Κεφαλίδου 147.
- 9Beazley (*supra* n. 5) 148 n. 16; Shapiro 32–36; Bentz 1998, 41 n. 193.
- 10Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 11845; Bentz 2001, 113 and n. 18; 177 no. 1 pl. 30,1–2. On the rear there is a depiction of a sprint. For Athena to the right, see also R. Lindner, in: Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum.
- 11Shapiro, 35; Bentz 2001, 113. For these painters and their workshops see E. Böhr, Der Schaukelmaler (1982) esp. 103–112.
- 12Shapiro, 33 pl. 13a-b; H. Kotsidou, Die musischen Agone der Panathenäen in archaischer und klassischer Zeit (1991) 294 no. 3; Bentz 2001, 185 no. 164. On the rear there is a depiction of a music contest. Cf. H.A. Shapiro, in: A. Verbanck-Piérard – D. Viviers (eds), Culture et cité. L’avènement d’Athènes à l’époque archaïque. Actes du colloque international (1995) 128 fig. 1.

- 13Böhr (supra n. 11) 92 no. 91 pl. 89 (Swing Painter); Shapiro, 33 pl. 12b; Kotsidou (supra n. 12) 295 no. 25; D. Vanhove (ed.), *Olympism in Antiquity*. Olympic Museum Lausanne (1996) 46 no. 63; Bentz 2001, 184 no. 152; Neils 2007, 47 n. 29.
- 14The boxers are fighting to either side of a PA, watched by referees or spectators at the sides. Shapiro, 33. For spectators at athletic contests see most recently M.D. Stansbury-O' Donnell, *Vase Painting, Gender and Social Identity in Archaic Athens* (2006) 19–23.
- 15Böhr (supra n. 11) 110 pl. 170 (Circle of the Princeton Painter); Shapiro, 32 pl. 12a; E. Maul-Mandelartz, *Griechische Reiterdarstellungen in agonistischem Zusammenhang* (1990) 120–129; Kotsidou (supra n. 12) 295 no. 23; Κεφαλίδου, 147. 226 no. I2; Kyle, 200–201 no. A21; Mommsen, 27; Bentz 2001, 189 no. 238; Neils 2007, 46; Nicholson, 104–107. In LIMC II (1984), s.v. Athena (P. Demargne) the vase is cited and illustrated twice: On the first occasion (969 no. 119 pl. 716) it is dated to 550–540 BC and on the second (1001 no. 493 pl. 755) to 540–530. The vase is also cited twice by Neils 2007, the first on page 46 n. 28, as Br. Mus. B 144 (as a work of the Swing Painter [Beazley]) and the second on page 49 n. 41, as Br. Mus. 1849.11–22.1 (Circle of the Princeton Painter [Böhr]).
- 16For the view that the male figure behind the goddess may be Zeus see CVA British Museum 2 pl. 6; Κεφαλίδου, 226; Bentz 2001, 189 no. 238; Neils 2007, 49.
- 17Beazley (supra n. 5) 29; Τιβέριος (supra n. 2) 43; Shapiro, 35; Bentz 1998, 113. Stansbury-O' Donnell (supra n. 14) 93–94.
- 18For vases that shift the focus from the game itself to the owner of the horse or the chariot see Mommsen 27–28; Nicholson 106–107. Especially for this iconography on the Panathenaic Amphorae see D. Kyle, in: J. Neils (ed.), *Worshipping Athena. Panathenaia and Parthenon* (1996) 107; Κεφαλίδου, 151–152.
- 19For the use of the games for political purposes see Kyle, 155–168; J.K. Davies, *Wealth and the Power of Wealth in Classical Athens* (1984) 31–36; Μανακίδου, 95. Most recently R.T. Neer, in: H.A. Shapiro (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece* (2007) 225–264, with previous bibliography.
- 20Kyle, 111. M. Stahl, *Aristokraten und Tyrannen im archaischen Athen* (1987) 86–89; Μανακίδου, 96–97.
- 21As early as the Olympic Games of 592BC, the victor was Alkmeon I son of Megakles I, while Miltiades III son of Kypselos emerged victorious at the Olympiad of 560 or 548. See Davies (supra n. 19) 371–372; Kyle, 196 no. A5; 208 no. A46; Nicholson, 28. See the recent proposal by U. Knigge (AM 121, 2006, 127–163) for the identification of the tombs of Alkmeon and his son Megakles in tumulus G in the Kermeikos.
- 22[Κράτι]ος Αλκμέωνος I. See Kyle, 205–206 no. A38 and Davies (supra n. 19) 372–373.
- 23A.E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (1949) no. 317; C.M. Keesling, *The Votive Statues from the Athenian Acropolis* (2003) 66; P. Themelis, in: *Palagia – Choremi-Spetsieri* (supra n. 3) 30.
- 24This dedication by an Athenian victor in the Ptoon has led scholars to make some interesting suggestions. See J. Ducat, *Les Kouroi du Ptoon. Le sanctuaire d' Apollon Ptoieus à l' époque archaïque* (1971) 242ff. no. 14; L. Jeffery, *LSAG* (1990)² 73 no. 30; A. Schachter, in: M. Osborne – S. Hornblower (eds), *Ritual, Finance, Politics* (1994) 291–306, esp. 294–299; D. Donos, *Studien zu Säulen- und Pfeiler-Monumenten der archaischen Zeit* (diss. Frankfurt/Main, 2003) 348. 404; Nicholson, 53–57. 229–230.
- 25Kyle, 158. 204 no. A34; Stahl (supra n. 20) 116–120; C. Mann, *Athlet und Polis im archaischen und frühklassischen Griechenland* (2001) 82–85; Mommsen, 34–36; F. Jünger, *Gespann und Herrschaft* (2006) 192–202.

26Davies (supra n. 19) xx; Kyle, 157; Μανακίδου, 95–98.

27The absence of Peisistratos from athletic contests is striking. Although he made a great contribution to the development of athletics in Athens (foundation of the three gymnasia, etc.), there is no evidence that he participated either in Panhellenic games or in the Panathenaia. Peisistratos himself was not descended from a family that reared horses (Μανακίδου, 96 n. 329), but the names he gave his sons are a clear indication of his strong desire for them to engage in this aristocratic activity. (For the children of Peisistratos see Davies [supra n. 19] 444–452). It seems as if he felt powerful enough in a time when the other aristocrats tried to raise their profile through participating in the games. The only evidence for the participation of the Peisistratids in the games is the dedication by Hipparchos of a tripod in the Sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, probably after a victory in the Panathenaia. See Schachter (supra n. 24) 299–304; Kyle, 221 nos. P 95. 96. Mann (supra n. 25) 83–84. For the connection of the Peisistratids with the Panathenaia on the basis of the surviving Panathenaic amphorae see Brandt (supra n. 2) 17–20.

28For examples in which it is clear that the vase-painters indicate the topical character of the representations see Μανακίδου, 97. See also the corresponding interpretation of the pyxis of Stesagoras by Mommsen, below.

29J. Boardman, in: T. Rasmussen – N. Spivey (eds), *Looking at Greek Vases* (1991) 96–97.

30In the absence of an inscription, there is no point in engaging in speculation. For the other undoubtedly few cases of the depiction of historical figures in ancient vasepainting see Mommsen 36 with n. 60; R. Neer, *Style and Politics in Athenian Vase Painting* (2002) 93–96; Neils 2007, 47 n. 30.

31For Athena and politics see LIMC II (1984) 1027–1028, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne); I. Kasper-Butz, *Die Göttin Athena im klassischen Athen. Athena als Representantin des demokratischen Staates* (1990). On these particular vases it is unlikely that the figures depicted are those of the Athenian magistrates connected with the festival, as, for example, the hieropoioi on the Buffalo lekythos by the Athena Painter. (Shapiro, 35–36 pl. 15a; Neils 1992, 18 fig. 55; 182–183 no. 55). On the pseudo-PA from Kameiros in the Bibliothèque Nationale no. 243 (Shapiro, pl. 12c; Neils 1992, fig. 23; Bentz 2001, 191 no. 275; Neils 2007, fig. 5) the two youths or boys who stand to either side of the goddess are half her height.

32Beazley (supra n. 5) 114.

33Κεφαλίδου, 147 describes him as ‘nude like an athlete’. According to Nicholson, 29 ‘the victor won his chariot race much as, say, a wrestler wins his victories – by doing the physical work himself’. For another example of a nude charioteer, see the pyxis by the Epitimos Painter at Brauron below and Μανακίδου, 59. With regard to the views of Nicholson, 29–32, we may note that these representations are not to be taken as a reflection of reality, but rather as symbolic ways of denoting the event.

34On some pseudo-PAs the two gods appear on the main side for no apparent iconographical reason: see, e.g. Oxford 1965.117 (ABV 307,60 of the Swing Painter, Böhr [supra n. 11] 91 no. 89 pls 86–87) and Liverpool 56.19. 27. Cf. Brandt (supra n. 2) 12 with n. 4. Shapiro, 34 n. 123 asserts that the presence of Hermes is random.

35Neils 2007, 49; Nicholson, 104; Maul-Mandelartz (supra n. 15) 125 associates the presence of Hermes with his role as helper of athletes during the contests, although the god acquired this capacity at a much later date. See W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (1985) 336. The greeting addressed to her by the god on the Dysniketos vase also denotes the awarding of honour to the great goddess. LIMC II (1984) 1025, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).

- 36For the heroisation of the winners, see most recently M. Bentz – C. Mann, in: R. von den Hoff – S. Schmidt (eds), *Konstruktionen von Wirklichkeit: Bilder in Griechenland des 5. und 4. Jhs v. Chr.* (2001) 225–240; S.G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics* (2004) 160–165.
- 37According to Pausanias (6.18.7), the first statues of athletes dedicated were those of the Aeginetan Praxidamas, winner of boxing at the 59th Olympiad of 544 BC and the Opuntian Rexibios, winner of the pankration at the 61st Olympiad of 536. Cf. N. Παπαχατζής, Παιστανίου, Μεσσηνιακά Ηλιακά (1979) 362–363 n. 4. For the statues of the victors at Olympia in general see H.V. Herrmann, *Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia*, Nikephoros 1, 1988, 119–183; S. Lattimore, in: S. Bandy (ed.), *Coroebus Triumphs: The Alliance of Sport and the Humanities* (1989) 245–256; F. Rausa, *L' imagine del Vincitore. L' atleta nella statuaria greca dal eta arcaica all' ellenismo* (1994) 77–83; O. Peim, *Die Siegerstatuen von Schwerathleten in Olympia und ihr Zusammenstellung durch Pausanias*, Nikephoros 13, 2000, 95–100.
- 38See for example the 'pomegranate' kore, Acropolis Mus. 593 (Neils 1992, 137 fig. 89; K. Karakasi, *Archaische Koren* [2001] pl. 129). Since the statues of korai on the Athenian Acropolis have been also interpreted as priestesses of Athena (see most recently J.B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess* [2007] 124–127), one might think that the daring position of the women on these Panathenaic vases could also reflect their role as priestesses, but there is no evidence to support such an idea.
- 39For both vases see Κεφαλίδου, pl. 8. For other related scenes see Maul-Mandelartz (supra n. 15) 120–129. For the holding of the wreaths in the processions see M. Blech, *Studien zum Kranz bei der Griechen* (1982) 257. 284. For processions of winners see Μανακίδου, 57–62; Mommsen, 28–31; Nicholson 36. A similar procession is depicted on a covered kylix in Boston (Κεφαλίδου, 186 no. Γ 33 pl. 29; Mommsen, 30 n. 19). For women onlookers who hold wreaths see recently Stansbury-O' Donnell (supra n. 14) 208–210.
- 40Generally for the role of the pseudo-PAs see M. Τιβέριος ADelt 29, 1974, A, 143–144; Neils 1992, 44–46; Bentz 1998, 105; Bentz 2001, 115–117.
- 41Μανακίδου, 95; Nicholson, 38. 52–53.
- 42T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1972) 64.
- 43Shapiro, 33 explains these vases as commemorating individual victories in the Games. Cf. also R. Hamilton, in: Neils (supra n. 18) 156 n. 4. Of the five examples seen above, the two for which the provenance is known come from Etruria, which is true for the majority of the pseudo-PAs, but this does not rule out these being the reasons for their manufacture. For the role of these vases in Etruria, see Bentz 2001, 113. For their provenance see the catalogue in Bentz 2001, 177–195. For victory vases from South Italy see Nicholson, 232 n. 73. Generally for the reception of Attic vases in Etruria see C. Reusser, *Vasen für Etrurien. Verbreitung und Funktionen attischer Keramik in Etrurien des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* (2002); idem, in: P. Rouillard – A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds), *Le vase grec et ses destins* (2003) 157–178.
- 44Webster (supra n. 43) 180.
- 45Webster (supra n. 43) 214.
- 46See S. Rutherford Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (1978) 178; I. Wehgartner, *Attisch weissgründige Keramik* (1983) 136–137; Μανακίδου, 39 with ns. 27–28; Mommsen, 33. 36 with n. 61. The continuous zones encircling the bodies and lids of the pyxides form an ideal space in which to develop chariot-races (see also Mommsen, 31. 33) but this is not a sufficient reason for the selection of this shape.
- 47Mommsen, 37 pl. 8 with the previous bibliography. It should be noted that

- Tiverios (supra n. 2) 68–72 n. 322 believes that the Epitimos Painter is the later phase of Lydos.
- 48Mommmsen, 37 pl. 9a.
- 49Shapiro, 157 pl. 69; Μανακίδου, 58–62; Κεφαλίδου, 126–128; Mommsen, 32–36. The objects on the diphros of the chariots on the kylix Naples 81127 (Mommsen, pl. 7,3) and on the volute-krater in Munich, Antikensammlung 1740 (Mommsen, pl. 7,1–2), which have been interpreted by both Μανακίδου, 59 pl. 12 and Kephaidou, 85. 99–100 as piriform amphorae, are certainly the chitons of the charioteers, as Mommsen, 30. 32 correctly notes. The misinterpretation has arisen from the fact that on both these vases the chitons are tied to the diphros of the chariot, while on the Stesagoras's pyxis the garment is simply folded and placed on the diphros. Cf. the new photograph of the Naples kylix in Mommsen, pl. 7,3, where the restored upper part of the chiton has been removed.
- 50Mommmsen, 36 n. 61. The very general presentation made by the excavator I. Papadimitriou in *Ergon* 1961 preceded his death, before he could publish it in greater detail in *Praktika*. An investigation of the remains of his archive in the Archaeological Society, undertaken with the help of I. Ninou, yielded no new evidence. For this cemetery cf. also E. Vivliodetis, *Ο Δήμος του Μυρρινούντος. Η οργάνωση και η ιστορία του*, *AEphem* 144, 2005 (2207) 167. 183–184.
- 51Roberts (supra n. 46) 178.
- 52Roberts (supra n. 46) 177–178; Wehgartner (supra n. 46) 136.
- 53C. Mercati, *Studi Classici* 24, 1986/7, 107–140.
- 54Supra passim. Mythological representations with male protagonists, such as the myths relating to Herakles, satyrs, etc., are also regarded as male subjects.
- 55Mercati (supra n. 53) 122. 136–137; Mercati (supra) 133–134 interprets the isolated examples of later red-figure pyxides with 'male' subjects as special commissions. Similarly, we should exclude pyxides of Nikosthenic type, since they seem to have been aimed for the Etruscan market. For the Nikosthenic pyxides with such iconography, see also the paper of Claire Lyons in this volume.
- 56S. Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen* (2005) 107–151. 279–282. J.H. Oakley, in A. Tsingarida (ed.), *Formes et usages des vases grecs (VIIe–IVe siècles av. J.-C.)*. Colloque international, 27–29 Avril 2006, Université Libre de Bruxelles (forthcoming).
- 57For the iconography of epinetra and alabastra see P. Badinou, *La laine et le parfum: épinetra et alabastres: forme, iconographie et fonction: recherche de céramique attique féminine* (2003) 103–111. 123; C. Mercati, *EPINETRON. Storia di una forma ceramica fra archeologia e cultura* (2003); F. Heinrich, *Das Epinetron. Aspekte der weiblichen Lebenswelt im Spiegel eines Arbeitsgeräts* (2006); E. Hatzivassiliou, in: Tsingarida (supra n. 56) with the previous bibliography. For the iconography of the different 'female' vases in general see Badinou (supra) xii. Cf. the reviews of both books by K. Ananiades, in *Archaiognosia* 13, 2005, 255–266.
- 58D. Williams, in: A.J. Clark – J. Gaunt (eds), *Essays in Honor of D. von Bothmer* (2002) 348; Badinou (supra n. 57) 103–111.
- 59Hatzivassiliou (supra n. 57); Oakley (supra n. 56).
- 60See B. Kratzmueller, in: Tsingarida (supra n. 56); B. Kratzmueller – R. Lindner – N. Sojc, in: B. Heininger (ed.), *Geschlechterdifferenz in religiösen Symbolsystemen* (2003) 91–126, with the previous bibliography. For the frequent presence of strigils in the tombs even of the fifth century see the classical cemetery of Akanthos, Macedonia, D. Grammenos – M. Tiverios, *ADelt*, 39, 1984, A (1990) 1–48 passim, esp. 19.
- 61Cf. Mommsen 39.
- 62Panathenaic amphorae were exclusively connected with the games until the end

of the fifth century BC. From the fourth century on and especially during the Hellenistic and Roman periods they adopt a wider range of symbolic messages even for women. See P. Valavanis, in: Bentz 2001, 161–173. It is interesting to note that parts of a PA dated to 420 BC are found in a robbed cist-grave in Vergina, along with ten white-ground lekythoi and other vases. According to M. Andronikos (Ergon 1989, 73; Prakt 1989, 197) the tomb belonged to a woman. Sherds of more than one PA from the archonship of Lykiskos (344/3 BC) have also been found outside (on the vault) of the tomb with the throne. Andronikos attributes the tomb to Eurydice, the mother of Phillip II (Ergon 1987, 49. Prakt 1987, 131). The sherds of the PA were burnt and come very probably from the burial pyre of the dead. If Andronikos' attribution is correct, we have PAs used to honor the queen.

31 Picturing Potters and Painters

Dyfri Williams

The title of this essay uses the word picturing in two senses: the painter's own visual picture of himself and his colleagues, and our own constructed image of them within their society. The painter's pictures of himself and his colleagues might seem straightforward, but there are difficulties or at least areas of possible debate. How we ourselves imagine them is, of course, an extremely complex process, conditioned as it is by our own many preconceptions, and subject to the ever-changing fashions of scholarship. Such a theme is a well-trodden path, whether by J.D. Beazley, J.V. Noble, T.B.L. Webster and Ingeborg Scheibler, or more recently by Massimo Vidale, Vladimir Stissi, John Boardman, John Papadopoulos and Athena Hadjidimitriou.¹ Nevertheless, it is one that we are constantly in need of revisiting, especially as our understanding of the history of ancient Greek society develops.

When we examine the pictures of potters and painters that are preserved for us, we find that they are quickly divided into images of the various significant phases of the process of pottery making, but there are uncertainties. Among preparatory scenes, we surely see the digging up of clay on the most famous of the Corinthian Penteskouphia plaques, although it has also been interpreted as mining, an idea that rather ignores the iconography of the majority of the plaques.² In the case of an Athenian black-figured skyphos in Harvard, however, which Michael Eisman has suggested might show on one side a heap of raw clay, and the gathering up of the semi-dried plaques of clay from the settling basins on the other, there is greater uncertainty.³ Indeed, it is quite possible that the scenes are rather connected with some sort of Athenian agricultural festival.⁴ The Harvard vase might, for example, represent the collecting of cut corn on one side and the gathering of grain after winnowing on the other: the filled baskets could then have been taken off for pounding elsewhere. Such activities can be thirsty work and the amphorae

under the handles could simply have held water or wine.

The scenes showing the actual throwing and finishing of pots are almost all less problematic. In addition to scenes of shaping the clay and possibly adding or finishing parts of vessels,⁵ we see the vessels being decorated, on the wheel,⁶ on the ground or on a platform,⁷ and on the knees.⁸ In the case of one workshop scene, however, that on the fine kalpis by the Leningrad Painter once in the Caputi collection (Fig. 1; Color Pls 26–27), Richard Green has argued that the action is really set in a metalworkers' establishment not in a potter's.⁹ In fact, the use of brushes and the presence of small pots points to decorators of ceramic vessels rather than the gilding or any other treatment of a metal vessel, although the Leningrad Painter has surely elaborated both the vessels being worked on and the furniture of the workshop, perhaps in honour of Athena's presence.¹⁰

Other pieces, especially the Penteskouphia plaques, show us the action in and around the kiln itself.¹¹ We might begin by noting the fact that these Corinthian plaques are dedicated to Poseidon. When we recall the Hellenistic poem "The Kiln" with its references to demons in the kiln with names like "Smasher", "Crasher" and "Shaker to Pieces,"¹² we may wonder if the potters of Corinth gave the role of such demons to Poseidon, shaker of the earth, and by extension their kilns. Athena is also to be seen on a very ruined fragment, where she is standing on the stocking tunnel; and she is named as joint recipient of the dedication on another.¹³ This emphasis on Poseidon, with only a subsidiary role for Athena, contrasts markedly with Athens, where we see only Athena with her potters.

One might expect that the scenes of potters and painters on Athenian vases would outnumber images of other craftsmen, but this is not quite the case.¹⁴ There are only some fifteen scenes preserved on Athenian vases (including Athenian votive plaques) of the pottery process, whereas there are ten scenes of metalworkers at the forge or anvil, to which we should perhaps add a further six showing the production of armour (helmet, sword and shield), as well as most probably the remarkable scene on a damaged and often overlooked cup by the Ambrosios Painter in Boston that seems to show the making of terracotta model heads for casting.¹⁵ Furthermore, there are three or four showing sculptors at work, four shoemakers, two or three with carpentry scenes and even one of the striking of a coin. These representations reveal a continuing interest in depicting a wide range of craft scenes at Athens from the middle of the sixth century until at least the middle of the fifth.



Fig. 1. Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2, Athenian red-figured kalpishydria with a pottery workshop visited by Athena and Nikai. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 2. Karlsruhe 67/90, detail of an Athenian black-figured cup with a potter centring his clay on the wheel. Photo: Museum.



Fig. 3. Caltagirone 961, Athenian red-figured calyx-krater with a potter shaping a vessel under the eye of Athena. Photo: after Lollini.

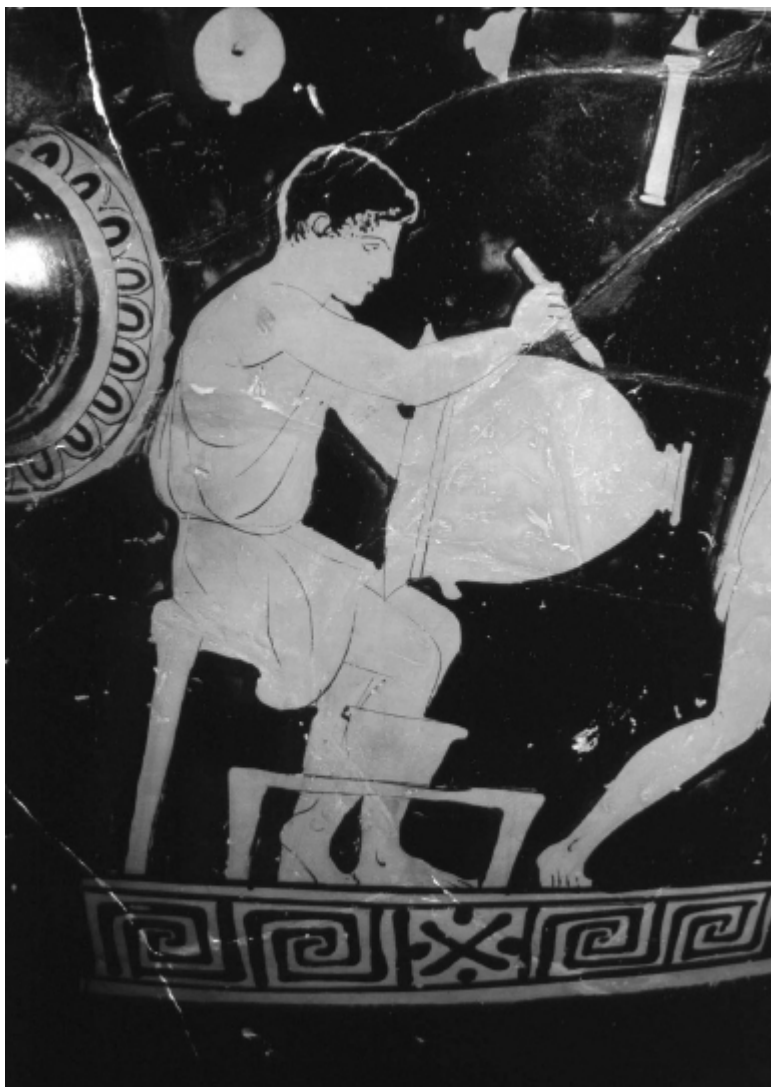


Fig. 4. Oxford G 287, Athenian red-figure bell-krater, detail of a youth decorating a bell-krater. Photo: Museum.

If we look at the way the vase-painters present themselves and their colleagues, we may also be able to determine something about their social status. Nikolaus Himmelmann has argued that craftsmen deliberately and proudly represented themselves in full banausic ugliness.¹⁶ I can see no real evidence in the representations of painters and potters on Athenian vases of exaggerated features that might be taken as ugliness, or indeed of foreignness¹⁷ – the *Penteskouphia* plaques are another matter, for they are spontaneous, sketches filled with the exaggerated drama and perhaps humour of life as a potter, while the famous Boeotian skyphos is deliberately eccentric.¹⁸ On

Athenian vases we find that potters and painters may be shown naked (Figs 2–3; Color Pl. 28),¹⁹ or wearing a chlamys-like cloak tied at the neck (Color Pl. 27C),²⁰ a short chiton, sometimes with one shoulder freed (Fig. 4; Color Pl. 29A),²¹ or a himation, whether let down from the shoulder so that it is wrapped round the waist and over the legs (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 26A)²² or, very occasionally, draped properly over one shoulder.²³ On the Caputi kalpis (Fig. 1; Color Pls 26–27), indeed, we see what would seem to be a deliberate distinction by clothing in the case of the male vase-painters: the central figure celebrated by Athena herself wears a himation round his waist (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 27A), the figure to the right being crowned by a Nike has a chlamys round his shoulders (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 27C), while the figure to the left, also honoured by a Nike, is shown naked (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 26B).²⁴ That such distinction in dress might signify some sort of a hierarchy within the workshop (along with the type of seat) is possible and is even supported by the scene on the Oxford bell-krater where the exomis-clad painter has assistants wearing cloaks.²⁵ But would we be justified in going further and wondering whether all the potters and painters that are shown naked should be identified as slaves, and those that are clothed as free, whether citizen or resident foreigner or metic? The visual evidence provided by the krater from Caltagirone (Fig. 3), on which we see a bearded, naked potter working under Athena's supervision, and the Caputi kalpis itself, where a Nike crowns even the nude painter, seems to militate against this (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 26B).²⁶ Indeed, the evidence of signatures and of the presumed economics of the pottery workshop would suggest that potters were the senior figures with the greater responsibility for material and equipment and, therefore, unlikely to be slaves, although a painter might be (and one late sixth-century painter named Lydos does sign as "*doulos on*", being a slave).²⁷ Nudity in the potter's workshop, therefore, does not appear to be a marker of the distinction between slave and non-slave.

Of course, Himmelmann is right in pointing out that the nudity of craftsmen is likely to have only little to do with the mainstream Greek ideology of nudity as relating to the beautiful athletic, or even heroic, body. Indeed, as Jeffrey Hurwit has recently reminded us, "heroic nudity" is no hard and fast rule.²⁸ Nor is the idea, put forward by Stephen Miller, that nudity was the "costume of democracy" completely convincing, for the state of the individual's body might well reflect class, for wealth bought, then as now, better diet and even personal trainers.²⁹ Concepts of heroic, democratic, and athletic nudity all intersect, as Hurwit has rightly pointed out. In the case of slaves, craftsmen and labourers, he has gone on to suggest that nudity probably emphasized the sweaty, muscular nature of their work. Such

an interpretation would seem to be borne out by our evidence for nude potters, since those engaged in finishing processes are indeed more regularly clothed in some fashion. Although potters and painters could, therefore, be represented clothed or naked without any indication of social status, there remains one group of figures that might be thought to be the exception: the potters' assistants, who are always shown naked and often in a frontal, seated pose as they turn the wheel (Fig. 2; Color Pl. 28B).³⁰ As a pose, this could be considered to carry connotations of inappropriate exposure, and might, therefore, have been intended to mark such figures out socially as slaves. On the other hand, it may represent no more than an interest in the artistic possibilities of an unusual pose, since we actually see one of these "slaves" sitting on a cushion.³¹

The scenes we have been looking at also provide us with examples of the various tools and pieces of equipment that were to be found about the workshop – stool, chair, block, and cushion; table, shelves, and hooks; potter's wheel, brushes, and smoothing stones or sponges. Nevertheless, there is also the paraphernalia of what we assume to be the citizen – the walking stick and the *aryballos*,³² as well as his master's faithful hound.³³ Finally some scenes represent an architectural context by including columns – presumably intended to suggest some sort of a shady porch or colonnade, where the craftsmen could work with good light, but out of the direct sun.³⁴ The kilns themselves were, of course, outside, and at a distance from the workshop itself to prevent the risk of fire,³⁵ although not perhaps as far off as the health and safety conscious modern might wish them.

Archaeological evidence from Athens, and elsewhere, can give us additional material with which to picture potters' establishments, and it is constantly growing.³⁶ In Athens, what establishments have been found centre round the main roads leading north, especially that out to the Academy. One interesting site, near the intersection of Lenormant Street and Konstantinoupolis Street, reveals buildings, kilns and pottery debris.³⁷ We may note the way that both kilns and buildings abut the street fronts, so that passers-by had direct access to both the shop and the work area. We may also observe that such establishments clearly continued to operate over several generations. A further workshop complex of considerable importance is that on Marathon Street, found in 1967 but sadly still not properly published.³⁸ In addition to the regular workshop debris including testers, kiln supports, a remarkable plaque with prefabricated handles ready to be used (an object that uncannily resembles the essentially English breakfast accoutrement, the toast-rack),³⁹ and raw clay, it yielded not only important figured pottery, both red-figure and black-figure, but also black glaze wares, lamps and even unglazed pottery.

This clearly indicates the range of products of such establishments, and we should not forget it when we concentrate on the creators of decorated pottery. Indeed, there is even evidence for the production of terracotta figurines in potters' establishments at both Taranto and Sindos.⁴⁰

In almost all scenes showing potters and painters, we find that the figures are male. There are three possible exceptions, but again there are problems: a Corinthian plaque from Penteskouphia shows a woman assistant with an elderly man; on the Caputi red-figured kalpis from the tomb of a woman one assistant painter is a woman (Fig. 1; Color Pl. 26A); and on the rather wild Boeotian skyphos the painter, brush perhaps in mouth (unless it is a second fillet tail), was thought by Beazley to be a woman, but Michèle Daumas has argued recently for a bearded man.⁴¹ The known names of potters and painters all seem to be male; only three could be female, but need not be (and are probably not) – in the sixth century perhaps the potter Aristagora, as Hadjidimitriou has recently suggested,⁴² or in the fifth century the potter Kallis, known only from a graffito on an Acropolis fragment,⁴³ and the well-known painter Douris (or Doris).⁴⁴ We know of a female potter, however, on a Late Bronze Age document from Knossos, and in many other cultures the women folk were either involved in the craft of pottery making, or actually dominated it.⁴⁵ We may presume, therefore, that women painters, but not perhaps potters, did exist in Athens, although they made no impact that is discernible to us now and were very probably marginalised by their own society.

The names of potters and painters, of course, can be informative about matters other than gender. From a study of them we find that potters and painters might be slaves, resident foreigners, or even citizens.⁴⁶ As noted earlier, we know that there was at least one painter in the late sixth century who was most probably a slave (Lydos),⁴⁷ and we know of at least one potter in the late fifth century who was certainly a citizen – Nikias, son of Hermokles of the deme of Anaphlystos.⁴⁸

There are also a number of signatures that take the form of “x the son of y”. The earliest of these come from the second quarter of the sixth century. There is the well known sequence of Ergotimos, his son Eucheiros, and his grandson whose name is lost – three generations of potters.⁴⁹ There is even a Eucheiros in the early fifth century, who may have been a great-grandson of Ergotimos.⁵⁰ There is also, of course, Nearchos, who had two sons, both also potters in the middle of the sixth century, Ergoteles and Tleson.⁵¹ It has even been suggested that the similarity of names between Ergotimos and Ergoteles might indicate a family connection, perhaps Nearchos married Ergotimos's sister.⁵² Another important example is the

signature of Hyperides son of Androgenes, known from fragments of three Panathenaic prize-amphorae.⁵³ From the very end of the century come four signatures of Kleophrades son of Amasis.⁵⁴ One might also note the existence of a second Phintias, who potted an acorn-shaped lekythos towards the end of the fifth century – perhaps he was a distant descendant of the Pioneer painter/potter Phintias of the last decades of the sixth century.⁵⁵ Finally we have one example of a painter signing with his father's name, Euthymides, son of Pollias, who it is regularly thought was probably the sculptor of that name, but Vladimir Stissi has interestingly pointed to the existence of a late fifth-century potter named Polion, who might even be from the same family.⁵⁶

It has been suggested that these signatures do nothing more than advertise a craft ancestry that might have been commercially useful, but in the sixth century, and still even in the early fifth, to name one's father was the normal way to record one's citizenship.⁵⁷ Most of the examples preserved for us are indeed records of the families of artists or craftsmen, although we know nothing more of Hypereides's father, Androgenes. Nevertheless, Hypereides's signature on a series of early Panathenaics suggests that he won a special contract that committed him to produce a substantial number of large amphorae – such a contract should surely point to him being a citizen owner of a workshop (as was true of Bakchios and Kittos in the fourth century).⁵⁸ There would be no problem in seeing any of these names as representing a citizen, except perhaps Amasis. But with a son named Kleophrades, one is perhaps encouraged to see Amasis as a citizen named after a pharaoh, much as the famous funerary statue of Kroisos reveals a citizen named after a Lydian king.⁵⁹

Such foreign names and ethnics, however, might well suggest slaves, in keeping with the reports in our ancient sources.⁶⁰ In terms of foreign names, if Amasis is unlikely to be a slave, the later case of the Midas who signed as *o Midas epoiesen* is less clear,⁶¹ while the Etruscan Metru who, as a member of the Penthesilea workshop, seems to have signed in Etruscan a red-figured cup as maker, has given rise to several interpretations.⁶² Whether *menece* means potted or painted, Metru was probably the son of an Etruscan, was trained in the Athenian Kerameikos and was perhaps more likely of metic status than a slave (but the Penthesilea workshop was large and might have used a slave as a potter as well as a painter). In terms of ethnic names, one thinks of such potters as Lydos, Kolchos, Thrax, and Sikellos in the sixth century; Sikanos and Skythes at the turn of the century; and Brygos, Syriskos, and Mys in the fifth century. Some may, however, have been resident foreigners rather than slaves. Sometimes their Greek is faulty too, as with Lydos. They probably arrived in Athens at

a very early age or were even born there – certainly there is no evidence of them bringing any specific foreign style or element to the Kerameikos that could not have arrived in some other fashion.

Nevertheless, more established potters do seem to have moved around quite a lot – we can observe, over the centuries, an East Greek moving to Etruria; Athenians to Italy and to Boeotia; Corinthians to Italy and Athens.⁶³ Given the excellent market information that some Athenian potters relied on, especially Nikosthenes with his Etruscan connections, one also wonders whether other members of potters' families might sometimes be involved not only in the local selling of their wares, but also in the long-distance trade.

Nicknames and professionally specific names are harder to place socially. Names like Oltos (*oultos* – woolly, curly) might suggest someone with a mass of curls or someone from the country, while names like Smikros or Makron may be either real or nicknames.⁶⁴ Oreibelos who signed as potter of a volute-krater that he dedicated to Athena on the Acropolis (painted by the Deepdene Painter: potter and painter could be the same person) similarly sounds like a country name, perhaps even from Arcadia, where we know an Oreibates.⁶⁵ Professionally specific names may well be a result of the fact that the craft was clearly maintained within families over several generations, so that the giving of craft-connected names such as Ergotimos, Ergoteles and Eucheiros within one family may have been common and deliberate. The appearance of three vase-painters named Polygnotos may be the result of parental wishes for a son to be, literally, well-known, but it is much more likely to reflect the fame of the metic panel painter.⁶⁶

In a few cases, Athenian potters have left us not only their names but also their ethnic, *Athenaios*. The first occurrence of this is on a series of black-glaze kantharoi, skyphoi and a kotyle from Boeotia, made there by Teisias in the last decade or so of the sixth century: he may even have worked earlier in Athens, painting Little Master cups before migrating.⁶⁷ The use of the ethnic here is probably to be understood as something of a boast and an advertisement upon arrival, for he seems later to have abandoned it. The other two examples were made in Athens. One is a large red-figured squat lekythos from Pantikapaion that is signed, *Xenophantos epoiesen Athen[aios]*, which takes with it a smaller squat lekythos with the same scene and signature from the same region.⁶⁸ Xenophantos was an important potter of the last decades of the fifth century BC.⁶⁹ The other example is an acorn shaped lekythos signed, it would seem, *Phintias Athenaios epoiesen*; its find-spot is unknown, but it may well have been Italy.⁷⁰ It is possible that, as a result of the emigration of Athenian potters during the Peloponnesian War and the establishment

of new (and the re-invigoration of old) redfigure workshops around the Greek world, some potters felt it necessary to make sure that foreign customers knew that the pieces were true Athenian products. In the case of Xenophantos's lekythoi the period was also a time when Athenian interest in the northern Black Sea was growing and when there may have been some immigration of jewellers to the region, but not it would seem of potters.⁷¹ In any case, Athenian vases were clearly highly prized in both the Black Sea area and in Italy.

Success and wealth, however, are easier for us to see than social status. The profitability of pottery making is emphasized by the vase-painters themselves in a group of scenes showing the sale of the finished products, although these can be difficult to distinguish from representations of the purchase of refills of the contents.⁷² Long-distance trade no doubt brought good returns despite the risk of damage and even of total loss, and such potters as Nikosthenes, who seems, as noted earlier, to have specialised in trade with Etruria, must have done very well – there is even a scene in an Etruscan tomb-painting that may show a Greek trading ship, its goods, and an Etruscan middle man.⁷³ Success brought with it the obligation to offer thanks to the gods, through dedications, whether as “first fruits” or as a “tithe”. These might vary from the modestly private to the expensively extrovert. Athenian dedicatory plaques like the Corinthian *Penteskouphia* series are, for some reason, very rare.⁷⁴ One such plaque preserves parts of two seated figures, one of them beside, and seemingly painting, a black-glazed column-krater with a pair of red lines. More often we find special dedicatory Athenian vases, offered by their makers.⁷⁵

There is, of course, also the series of important inscribed bases for sculptural dedications that has been associated with the potters and painters of Athens, although their relevance has been questioned.⁷⁶ There are two important examples from the time of the tyranny. The earliest, c. 530 BC, and perhaps the clearest, is that for a small bronze statue set up by the two potters Mnesiades and Andokides.⁷⁷ This dedication may have been made when Mnesiades, the senior, handed over headship of the workshop to Andokides, or it may have signalled a merging of forces. We know, of course, both potters from their signatures. This sort of collaboration or transfer is to be seen elsewhere, on the vases themselves through joint signatures, including those of Archikles with Glaukytes, and Anakles with Nikosthenes.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, we cannot tell if they were citizens or foreigners. On two vases, however, we find the signature of Pistoxenos with Syriskos.⁷⁹ It is surely the case that we have here, most interestingly, a workshop run by foreigners (metics as they were called in the fifth century) – first Pistoxenos (trusted foreigner) and then Syriskos (the

little Syrian).

A second important dedication, of a large marble kore, dating from about 520 BC, has been restored as reading “Nearchos the potter dedicated this work as *aparche* (first fruits) to Athena; Antenor the son of Eumares made the statue.”⁸⁰ The connection between the statue and the capital on which the dedication is inscribed is sadly not certain, but if not this kore then another of perhaps slightly smaller size must have belonged.⁸¹ The connection with the potter Nearchos has also been doubted because of the date of the dedication.⁸² In considering the identification, however, one needs to bear in mind not only Nearchos’s special dedications of large kantharoi on the Acropolis and his activity among the potters of the Little Master cups (his cups are connected with the works of Eucheiros, son of Ergotimos), but also the careers of his sons, in particular Tleson, who went on to pot a cup that was painted by the young Olto.⁸³ On the basis of these factors, it would seem much more likely that the dedication was set up not by an unknown grandson with same name, but by the Nearchos we know, at the end of his career after he had won, together with his sons, enough wealth to be able to set up such an elaborate and expensive dedication on the Acropolis.

These two dedications seem to reveal the rising wealth of potters in the second half of the sixth century BC. The most famous potter’s dedication, however, dates perhaps from the early 470s BC and is, of course, that of Euphronios.⁸⁴ The preserved blocks with their carefully inscribed lines may come from either a pillar or a stepped base. On the front face was the dedication by Euphronios, seemingly of a *dekate* (a tithe, or tenth of his profits) to Athena; the third line probably contained the name of the sculptor, the first perhaps the name of Euphronios’s father. On the right lateral face are just a few remains of a verse inscription that include the word *[h]ugieia*. This may mean that the dedication was to Athena Hygeia, whose sanctuary lay just inside the Acropolis.⁸⁵ If this were the case, its scale suggests that it was the result of something more significant than a period of ill-health, and thus perhaps linked to the role of Athena Hygieia as guardian of the health and welfare of the city. Given its date it is tempting to link the dedication specifically with the safe return to Athens following the defeat of the Persians.⁸⁶ For Euphronios himself, it perhaps signalled the successful re-establishment of his no doubt devastated workshop, perhaps now sited further out of the city, beyond the Dipylon Gate.⁸⁷ Interestingly, this same deliverance might have also provided the stimulus for Kallis’s contemporary, but more meagre, offering to Athena Hygieia of a redfigured vase.⁸⁸ We hear from Aristides that this cult was of great antiquity: its focal point must have been damaged by the Persians but restored soon after, attracting

offerings in the 470s from two grateful potters, and then later enriched with a bronze statue in the early 420s BC, most probably as a public thanksgiving for deliverance from the plague.⁸⁹

The precise social status and obligations of citizen potters and painters are very unclear and most probably changed over time, whether under aristocratic leadership, tyranny or the beginnings of what was to become a limited democracy. Although painters may well have been excluded from participating in the activities of the aristocrats and the most wealthy, and may at times have had to rely on observation or reports to construct their scenes of aristocratic life, there was a particular period in the history of Athenian vase-painting when painters seem to have risen almost to the level of the élite, whether in reality, in imitation, or in fantasy. This is a much-contested area, with, for example, Luca Giuliani arguing strongly for reality, while Jeremy Tanner has made a case for imitation and fantasy.⁹⁰

We need to chart a course between such extremes of reality or fantasy, and we can only do this with an awareness of the changing historical and social environment, combined with sensitivity to the craftsmen themselves, as revealed through their products. The sixth century saw a rise in the skills of the Athenian potters and painters. Ergotimos clearly did well, his family carrying on his craft over at least three generations; Nearchos perhaps did even better, at least to judge from his prolific sons and his expensive dedication; Exekias and Amasis also rivalled each other, the former making jokes, it would seem, at the expense of his rival by giving one of Memnon's Ethiopian squires his name;⁹¹ while the joint dedication of Mnesiades and Andokides might suggest a profitable combining of potters' establishments, perhaps even to help meet increased demand. These craftsmen, be they citizens or resident foreigners, must have prospered under a tyranny that saw the rise of a middle class, something encouraged by Peisistratos for his own purposes. In the late sixth century the increased speed of social change coincided with a group of very talented painters, the so-called Pioneers, who went even further than Exekias had, by naming each other, and their friends, on their vases, and showing themselves at banquets and chatting up the boys.⁹² This exuberance suggests an even greater sense of self-confidence. Furthermore, they were also able to make the transition from painter to potter and thus to increase still further their wealth. Such financial improvement no doubt also brought ideas of increased status and the wish to assimilate their lifestyle to that of the élite, adopting their customs and manners. Wealthy craftsmen like the Pioneers may, at this moment, have been able to hold their own symposia in exactly the same way as they show on their vases. In considering this, it should be stressed that they do not represent themselves actually

mixing with the élite or chasing young aristocrats: we see only the craftsmen, their friends and their unnamed equals.⁹³

In the following couple of decades, the pupils of the Pioneers, at least as painters, were able to combine the knowledge of the human body and of movement that the Pioneers had won with a new sense of grace and spirit. Onesimos, Euphronios's finest pupil, made a particularly elaborate dedication on the Acropolis in the 490s, one of the few painters to do so.⁹⁴ It is hardly surprising then that it was at just this time in the early decades of the fifth century that we occasionally see vase-painters representing themselves as specialist craftsmen, removed from the rest of the workshop, and celebrating their fame by showing Athena crowning them.⁹⁵ In this time of selfconfidence, of technical and stylistic dynamism and selfconsciousness, of the individual rising above his craft, vase-painters and potters came close to creating what we may today think of as art.

By way of a conclusion, and as a result of the above thoughts about the wealth and status of some potters and painters at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries, I should like to briefly re-examine two remarkable marble sculptures, both from the Acropolis, and both of the end of the sixth century. The first is the large votive relief dedicated on the Acropolis as a *dekate*, the work perhaps of the sculptor Endoios (Fig. 5).⁹⁶ It shows a bearded man seated on a well-turned *diphros* or stool, his himation let down to his waist. He holds two cups in his left hand down at his side: one is upright in the palm of his hand, the other hangs from one of his fingers. The profile of the cups has caused problems: they have offset, inward curving rims and stems that do not continue the curve of the bowl. As such they are not easily identifiable with contemporary types and this has even led some to postulate that they were actually intended to be metal cups.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, it is clear that vase-painters themselves were rarely accurate in the depiction of vase shapes on their own vases, especially the continuous curve from bowl into stem; and a sculptor would surely have been just as careless, if not more so, of this, as well of such minor details as a thin rib or fillet on the stem.⁹⁸ As a result, it has been suggested that the cups are of the so-called Acrocup type.⁹⁹ Another possibility, however, is the type C cup, since its earliest monumental scions can now be traced back to about 500 when, it would seem, Euphronios created the shape.¹⁰⁰ We do not know what the man on the relief did with his right hand, but it was probably holding something out in front, perhaps one of the tools of his craft (and one can only really think of a brush – which would make the figure a painter as well as a potter) or perhaps another vessel, all his own products and his offerings to Athena, more of which may have

been shown on a shelf or rack painted on the left.¹⁰¹

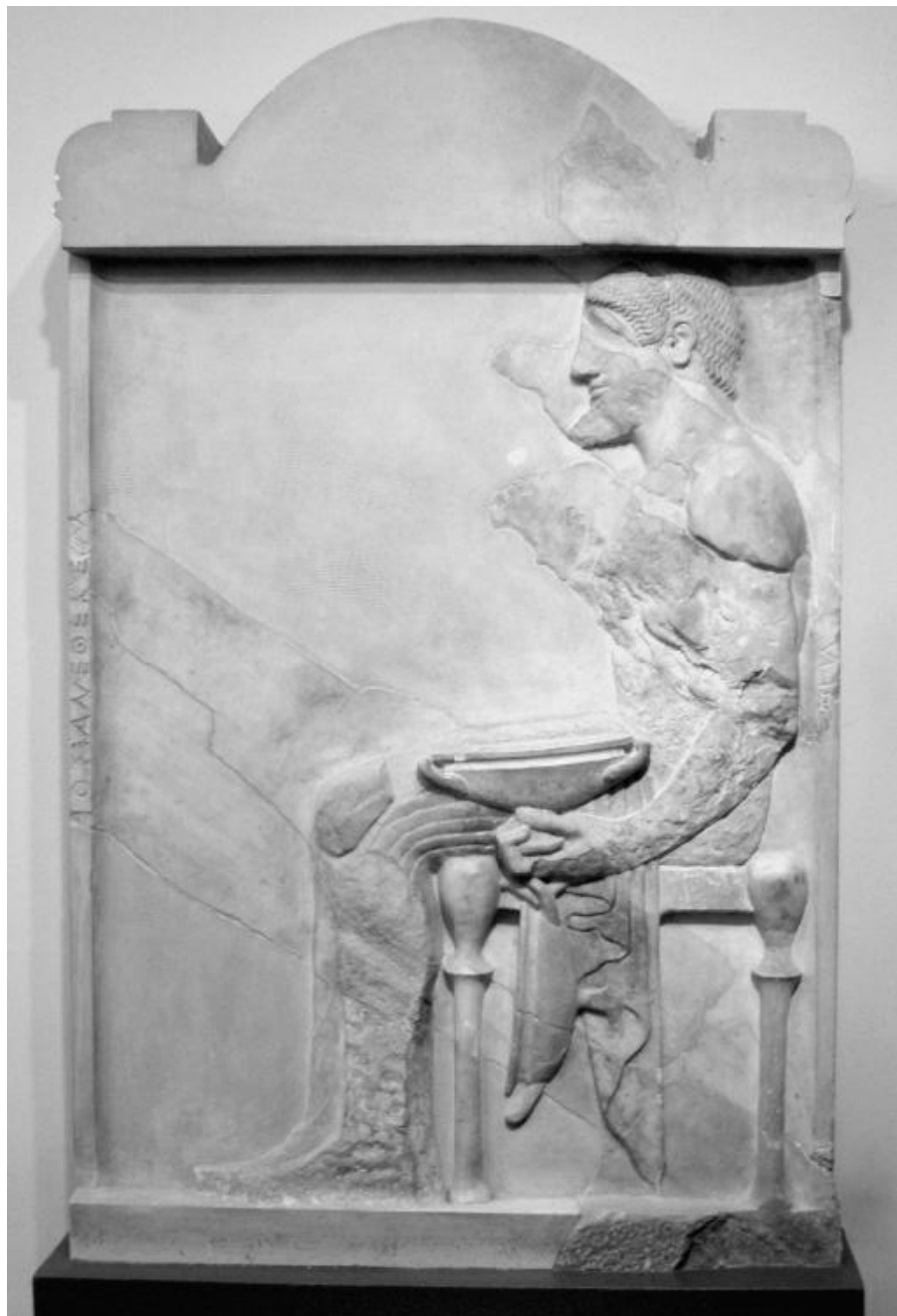


Fig. 5. Athens, Acropolis 1332, marble relief with a seated figure holding two cups, perhaps a potter. Photo: Author.

Such a figure stands out as truly exceptional among late sixth

century votives by reason of its size, early date, omission of the receiving deity and its banausic nature. It might as a result, and perhaps with some desperation, be suggested that the figure is really Keramos, the eponymous hero of the Kerameikos, rather than a real potter.¹⁰² One might also consider the figure Prometheus, who according to Lucian was worshipped at Athens as a potter, but there is no evidence that Prometheus was connected with pottery in the late sixth century, only Athena.¹⁰³ It thus seems more likely that the relief was set up by a potter of cups, whose success was sufficient to be able to afford such a dedication. The remains of the dedicator's name are disputed: Dickins and Raubitschek thought there was an alpha or the like before the preserved letters of his name (or ethnic) ...ΙΟΣ, but Beazley was more cautious; and the area is now covered by plaster.¹⁰⁴

The second sculpture has been recently brought to life by Ismini Trianti, who has given it back its head (Figs 6–8).¹⁰⁵ It is the well-known seated figure that, ever since Furtwängler's publication of the first fragment to be found in 1881, has been referred to as a scribe.¹⁰⁶ The figure, draped in a fine himation, sits with legs close together on a well-fashioned diphros. A subtle movement passes through it from crown to toe. The head is bent forward, taking with it the upper back, and it is tilted to its right; the left shoulder is slightly raised, as is the left arm; the right shoulder dips and that arm is held lower. The right shoulder is also slightly behind the left, a twist that affects the back too. The left lower arm and wrist, encased in the himation, is turned so that the palm would have faced upwards (supinated). The better preserved right arm is free of drapery and is tensed and held mid-way between supination and pronation, but the exact position of the lower right arm and fist is uncertain (it should perhaps be a little further out from the body).¹⁰⁷ The fist is strongly clenched around an object that must have been added in bronze – a hole passes right through, so it must have protruded both above and below the hand.

Scholars have assumed that this figure was supporting a set of writing tablets on its knees and holding a stylus in its right hand. This may be true, but several elements of the figure might lead one to question such an interpretation. Firstly, the thighs are steeply sloping when they really should be much more level to accommodate a set of tablets, while the left arm does not lie flat on the knees, as it does on the two certain sculptures of Greek scribes.¹⁰⁸ Most important, however, is the way the right hand holds its missing implement. Representations on Athenian vases of figures with a stylus show that it was usually held lightly between the thumb and first two fingers, in order to achieve light strokes in the soft wax that filled the trays of the tablets.¹⁰⁹ Here, however, the figure holds something fast and hard in his clenched fist. This is the manner in which brushes were regularly

held in ancient Greece (as in the oriental world).¹¹⁰

If we ask ourselves what exactly the figure might have been supporting or holding with his left hand, we also need to take into account the cuttings in the figure's lap (Fig. 7). First there are two circular holes for substantial metal dowels – one primary, the other slightly smaller in diameter; secondly, there is the area of marble that has been cut away in the roll of the himation at the figure's waist; thirdly, there is the roughening of the surface of the lap and on the inside of the drapery that hangs from the left forearm. These features suggest that the object in his lap was separately made, either as a repair or an addition in bronze or marble. The man's concentration, the way his head is tilted, the way he holds his implement and the holes in his lap, all suggest to me that he might possibly have been a vase-painter, perhaps holding some sort of large vessel with his left hand, as he inclines his head to look at the side of the vessel, perhaps having just left off painting (Fig. 8; Color Pl. 29B). As comparanda we might note the Oxford bell-krater with a youth painting a bell-krater (Fig. 4; Color Pl. 29A) held on his lap and the Acropolis fragments of a calyx-krater with a painter holding a column-krater.¹¹¹



Figs 6–7. Athens, Acropolis 629. 306. 3451, with cast of Louvre Ma 2718, marble sculpture of a seated figure, perhaps a potter rather than a “scribe”. Photos: Author.

The statue was associated by Raubitschek with a fine Ionic column that has a long metrical inscription cut into its flutes.¹¹² The inscription has been restored by Raubitschek and Hansen as

“Alkimachos dedicated me, this agalma to the daughter of Zeus as a vow; he boasts to be the son of a good father, Chairion”.¹¹³ The word *esthlos* used to describe Chairion is full of aristocratic overtones and, indeed, Chairion has been identified as a *tamias* (treasurer).¹¹⁴ Trianti, however, has argued persuasively that statue and column do not belong together (they were found in very different parts of the Acropolis; they are of different marbles – the statue is poor quality Hymettan, the column Parian; the cutting in the top of the column is too large for the scribe) and has suggested that the column once held a marble horse and rider.

If, therefore, the seated figure is to be disassociated from the Ionic column and did actually represent the painter of a large vase, such as a krater, it is of course all too tempting to wonder if it might have been someone as famous as Euphronios. Could it really be that in those extraordinary decades of Athenian history, he actually made three major dedications on the Acropolis? The first, a small statue on a pillar, celebrating his success and skills as a painter of large vases; the second, a large relief, showing him as a proud potter, the inventor of a new shape of cup; and the third a large-scale sculpture erected after the re-establishment of his workshop following the Persian sack.¹¹⁵



Fig. 8. Possible reconstruction of the “scribe” as a potter. Computer reconstruction: A. Villing.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank Michael Maaß, Olga Palagia, Gemma Sena Chiesa, Michael Vickers, Alexandra Villing, and Christina Vlassopoulou for all their help with images and my text. In addition, I am very grateful to John Oakley for the invitation to take part in the conference and for his patient editing.

Abbreviations

- Beazley PP, Potter and Painter in Ancient Athens, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 30 (1944).
- Caltagirone C, Piérard – D. Viviers (eds), *Culture et Cité: L'avènement d'Athènes à l'époque archaïque* (1995).
- Hadjidimitriou, *Παραστάσεις Εργαστηρίων και Εμπορίου στην Εικονογραφία των Αρχαϊκών και Κλασικών Χρονών* (2005).
- Keesling, *The Votive Statues of the Athenian Acropolis* (2003).
- Kissas, *Die attischen Statuen und Stelenbasen archaischer Zeit* (2000).
- Mervielke (ed.), *Meisterwerke: Internationales Symposium anlässlich des 150. Geburtstages von Adolf Furtwängler* (2005).
- Papadopoulos CR, *Ceramicus Redivivus: The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora*, *Hesperia Suppl.* 31 (2003).
- Raubitschek MA, with L.H. Jeffery, *Dedications from the Athenian Acropolis* (1949).
- Scheibler GT, *Griechische Töpferkunst*² (1995).
- Stissi, *Pottery to the People. The Production, Distribution and Consumption of Decorated Pottery in the Greek World in the Archaic Period (650–480 BC)* (diss. University of Amsterdam, 2002): <http://dare.uva.nl/en/record/108078>.

Notes

- 1Beazley PP; T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1972) 1ff.; J.V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery*, rev. ed. (1988); I. Scheibler, *MüJb* 30, 1979, 7ff.; Scheibler GT; M. Vidale, *L'idea di un lavoro lieve* (2002); C. Jubier – A.-F. Laurens – A. Tsingarida, in: P. Rouillard – A. Verbanck-Piérard (eds), *Le vase grec et ses destins* (2003) 27–43. Stissi; Papadopoulos CR, 191ff.; J. Boardman, *The History of Greek Vases* (2005) 139ff.; Hadjidimitriou.
- 2Hadjidimitriou K 29 (Berlin F 871B); for the scene cf. also K 11. 12. 23 (Berlin F 638. 639. 831). For the Penteskouphia plaques see more fully E. Pernice, *JdI* 12, 1897, 9ff.; H.A. Geagan, *AA* 1970, 31ff.; G. Zimmer, *Antike Werkstattbilder* (1982) 26ff.; Stissi 76–79; A. Greiveldinger, in: B. Schmaltz – M. Söldner (eds), *Griechische Keramik in kulturellen Kontext* (2003) 80ff. For the interpretation as a mining scene by various scholars see Vidale 238 n. 7 and Hadjidimitriou 32 n. 8.
- 3Hadjidimitriou K 41 (Harvard 1960.321). See M.M. Eisman – L. Turnbull, *AJA* 82, 1978, 394ff. Cf. also Hadjidimitriou 35 pl. 14 (Thasos 59.2706 etc.); and perhaps Hague inv. 2575 – CVA 2 pl. 6, 3–4. Discussion also in Stissi, 80–81; S.A. Fritzilas, in: *2nd International Conference on Ancient Greek Technology: Proceedings* (2006) 394–400; idem, *O Zographos tou Thesea* (2006) 25. 66 no. 43 pl. 14; 125. 237.
- 4Cf. Scheibler GT 110; cf. her comments in *JdI* 102, 1987, 72; and *AntK* 43, 2000, 26f.
- 5Hadjidimitriou K 37 (Karlsruhe 67/90). K 39 (Munich 1717). K 40 (London B 432). K 46? (Berlin F 2542). K 48? (Acrop. 470). K 49 (Caltagirone 961). K 52 (Agora P 42). Cf. discussion by Stissi, 82–83.
- 6On the wheel: Hadjidimitriou K 35 and 27 (Penteskouphia, Louvre MNB 2857); K

- 42 (Acrop. 166 fr.); K 37 (Karlsruhe 67/90). See discussion by Stissi, 83–85.
- 70On the ground: Hadjidimitriou K 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2 – ex Caputi) and probably K 43β (Acrop. 2570).
- 80On the knees: Hadjidimitriou K 45 (Boston 01.8073 fr.). K 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2). K 46 (Berlin F 2542). K 51 (Oxford 562). K 50 (Acrop. 739 fr.).
- 9Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2 (ex Caputi and Torno): ARV² 571,73; J.R. Green, *JHS* 81, 1961, 73ff. Cf. also B. Barr-Sharrar, in: Μύθος. Μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου (2000) 169f. For good images of the Caputi vase, now with the Banca Intesa, Vicenza, see most recently G. Senna Chiesa and F. Salvazzi (eds), *Ceramiche attiche e magnogreche Collezione Banca Intesa I* (2006) 62–69 no. 6.
- 10Cf. Noble (supra n. 1) 205f. n. 11. For use of small pots of slip/glaze cf. Hadjidimitriou K 50 (Acrop. 739 fr.). 51 (Oxford 562). See also Hadjidimitriou 52f. Note that there were two pots next to the seated painter on K 50 – see Beazley PP, 15.
- 11Many Penteskouphia plaque fragments (e.g. Hadjidimitriou K 3. 5. 10. 17. 18. 22. 33. 34. 36); and the Athenian blackfigured hydria, Hadjidimitriou K 39 (Munich 1717). See Stissi 85–86.
- 12For a useful presentation of the text, translated by M.J. Milne, see Noble (supra n. 1) 186ff.; see also recent comments in Papadopoulos CR 191ff.
- 13Berlin F 801 B. I am very grateful to Dr. Alexandra Villing for pointing this poorly preserved fragment out to me. For Athena on the Penetskouphia plaques see further Geagan (supra n. 2) 43. The joint dedication is Berlin F 912: Geagan (supra n. 2) 36 fig. 7.
- 14The statistics below are based essentially on Hadjidimitriou.
- 15Boston 68.292: C. Vermeule, *ClJ* 66, 1, 1970, 20f.; J. Boardman, *The Cambridge Ancient History IV*² (1988) 142 no. 177; W.-D. Heilmeyer et al., *Die Griechische Klassik: Idee oder Wirklichkeit* (2002) 518 no. 398. For such terracotta prototypes cf. P.C. Bol, *Antike Bronzetechnik* (1985) 115 fig. 74; 119 fig. 77, and the Foundry Painter's famous cup – Hadjidimitriou X 12 (Berlin 2294).
- 16N. Himmelfmann, *Minima Archeologica: Utopie und Wirklichkeit der Antike* (1996) 46ff. (first published in *FAZ* 23.6.1993); *Realistische Themen in der griechischen Kunst der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (1994) 23ff. See now also Stissi, 90–92.
- 17Hadjidimitriou 137 claims that the potter on the left of K 39 (Munich 1717) has African features: this is not the case – the face is, in fact, partially (and wrongly) restored.
- 18Hadjidimitriou K 53 (Athens NM 442).
- 19Hadjidimitriou K 37 (Karlsruhe 67/90). 38 (Acrop. 853 fr.). 39 (Munich 1717). 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2). 49 (Caltagirone 961). 50 (Acrop. 793 fr.).
- 20Hadjidimitriou K 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2). 50 (Acrop. 793 fr.). 51 (Oxford 562).
- 21Hadjidimitriou K 35 (Louvre MNB 2857). 27? (Berlin F 868). 15 (Berlin F 683. 822. 829 fr.). 14 (Berlin F 672. 684. 770; exomis): all these are Corinthian. Athenian, Hadjidimitriou K 51 (Oxford 562: exomis).
- 22Hadjidimitriou K 39 (Munich 1717). 45 (Boston 01.8703). 46 (Berlin F 2542). 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2). 50 (Acrop. 739 fr.). Note that the seated figure with a himation round his waist on Hadjidimitriou K 42 (Acrop. 166 fr.) is most probably not the vase-painter, despite the new attempted restoration in the National Museum, for his legs are crossed (cf. Beazley PP, 8f.).
- 23Hadjidimitriou K 40 (London B 432); unfortunately not enough is preserved of the painter on K 50 (Acrop. 739 fr.) to determine whether he also wore his himation in this manner.
- 24Hadjidimitriou K 47 (Milan, Banca Intesa inv. 2).

- 25Hadjidimitriou K51 (Oxford 562).
- 26Hadjidimitriou K 49 (Caltagirone 961). K 47 (Milan, Banca Intesa inv. 2). The only other naked potter is Hadjidimitriou K 37 (Karlsruhe 67/90).
- 27Rome, Villa Giulia 84,466 (Osteria Necrop., Tomb 145): F. Canciani – G. Neumann, *AntK* 21, 1978, 17ff. The reading is disputed, see M. Guarducci, *Tituli: Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Epigrafia e Antichità Greche e Romane dell'Università di Roma, II: Miscellanea* (1980) 7ff.: she reads a further word as the name of a hetaira, and gives 'doulos' a figurative sense. Neumann's reading, however, seems more likely.
- 28J. Hurwit, *AJA* 111, 2007, 35ff., esp. 51ff.
- 29S.G. Miller, in: P. Flemsted et al. (eds), *Polis and Politics. Studies in Ancient Greek History* (2000) 284ff.
- 30Hadjidimitriou K 37. 38. On Hadjidimitriou K 39. 49. 50, though naked, they are not turned frontally. See also comments of J. Neils, in: C.C. Mattusch et al. (eds), *From the Parts to the Whole I* (2000) 77–78.
- 31Hadjidimitriou K 38 (Acrop. 853 fr.).
- 32Hadjidimitriou K 45 (Boston 01.8073).
- 33Hadjidimitriou K 40 (London B 432).
- 34Hadjidimitriou 42–43, see K 39 (Munich 1717). 49 (Caltagirone 961). 51 (Oxford 526). Cf. also comments by Stissi, 92–94.
- 35Hadjidimitriou 44, see K 39 (Munich 1717).
- 36For recent summaries and discussions see J.H. Oakley, in: F. Blondé – J.Y. Perreault (eds), *Les ateliers de potiers dans le monde grec aux époques géométrique, archaïque et classique*, *BCH Suppl.* XXIII (1992) 195ff.; M.C. Monaco, *Ergasteria. Impianti artigianali ceramici ad Atene ed in Attica dal Protogeometrico alle soglie dell'Ellenismo* (2000) pls 37ff. for locations of sites; entries by J. Stroszeck, W. Geominy and V. Paul-Zinserling, in: W.-D. Heilmeyer et al., *Die Griechische Klassik: Idee oder Wirklichkeit* (2002) 475ff.; Papadopoulos CR, 232ff.
- 37E. Baziotopoulou-Valavani, in: W.D.E. Coulson et al. (eds), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (1994) 45ff.
- 38For a bibliography of the various mentions of individual fragments see Monaco (supra n. 36) 211ff. (D II).
- 39A. Kaloyeropoulou, *AAA* 3, 1970, 429f.
- 40Papadopoulos CR, 265 (Taranto). 259 (Sindos).
- 41Hadjidimitriou 151–153: K 32 (Berlin F 891). 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2). 53 (Athens NM 442). On the Boeotian skyphos see M. Daumas, in: *Αγαθός δαίμων. Mythes et cultes: Études d'iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kahil*, *BCH Suppl.* 38 (2000) 117ff.; and Papadopoulos CR, 193ff. On women potters/painters see I. Kehrborg, *Hephaistos* 4, 1982, 25ff.
- 42Hadjidimitriou 152. The possibility, however, that a woman might be a potter (Aristagora and Kallis) seems unlikely.
- 43Acrop. 1367 fr.: B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II* (1933) pl. 91; ARV² 1556. These fragments come from a red-figured vase of the second quarter of the fifth century; the graffito records that the vase was both made and dedicated by Kallis to Athena Hygieia.
- 44ARV² 425ff. See D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris* (1995) 1.
- 45See J.K. Papadopoulos, in: R. Laffineur – P.P. Betancourt (eds), *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen, and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age* (1997) 449ff.
- 46Cf. D. Williams in: *Culture et Cité* 143f.; and A. Boegehold, in: D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World* (1985) 29ff. See also discussion in Stissi, 111–112.

- 47See above n. 27.
- 48London BM GR 1898.7–16.6: ARV² 1333,1.
- 49Ergotimos: ABV 79f. Eucheiros: ABV 162. Son of Eucheiros: ABV 163.
- 50London BM E 718: ARV² 306, upper.
- 51Nearchos: ABV 82f. Ergoteles: ABV 162. Tleson: ABV 178ff.
- 52T.B.L. Webster, Potter and Patron in Classical Athens (1972) 9.
- 53J. Frel, Panathenaic Prize Amphoras (1973) 10f., figs 4. 7 (Kerameikos PA 443); M.B. Moore – M.Z. Pease Philippides, Attic Black-figured Pottery, Agora XXIII (1986) 131 no. 226 (Agora P 10204) and a fragment in Beaulieu-sur-Mer (from the Acropolis).
- 54Bothmer (supra n. 46) 230f.
- 55For Phintias as a potter see D. Williams, in: Meisterwerke 281f. For a later Phintias, Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 538: ARV² 1317,1; A. Lezzi-Hafter, Der Schuwalowmaler (1976) no. O 29. See further below.
- 56ARV² 26ff. nos. 1. 2. 11. For Pollias see Raubitschek DAA, 522f.; and now Stissi 112 n. 498; for the late fifth century potter Polion see ARV² 1171.
- 57Cf. M. Robertson, A History of Greek Art (1975) 226; idem, The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens (1992) 32.
- 58On Bakchios and Kittos see Beazley PP, 25; Robertson 1975 (supra n. 57) 292ff.; D. Williams, in: Culture et Cité 156f.
- 59Cf. J. Boardman, in: M. True (ed.), Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World (1987) 141ff.
- 60E.g. Strabo 7.3.12. See further D. Williams, in: Culture et Cité 143f. See also now Stissi 115–118.
- 61Rhodes 12913: ARV² 1535,25.
- 62Florence PD 66 fr.: ARV² 969,66. E. Fiesel, StEtr 8, 1934, 435f.; A. Minto. Populonia (1943) 192 pl. 53,11 (he suggests that it might have been made by a specialist workshop in Attica for the Etruscan market); F.-H. Mass-Pairault, in: M. Torelli (ed.), The Etruscans (2000) 260 (she suggests most improbably that the fragment was made in Populonia by a Greek metic); M. Torelli, Storia degli Etruschi⁴ (2001) 195. See recently A. Naso, in: D. Papenfuß – V.M. Strocka (eds), Gab es das griechische Wunder? (2001) 319.
- 63For some recent comments on the movements of potters and painters see D. Williams, forthcoming in: E.M. Moormann – V.V. Stissi (eds), Images of Drinking: Studies on Attic Black Figure and Related Topics in Honour of Herman A.G. Brijder.
- 64Cf. also Lekes, D. Williams, in: Culture et Cité 150.
- 65Oreibelos, Acrop. 762 fr.: ARV² 499,17. For Oreibates see LGPN IIIA, 345.
- 66For the three vase-painters called Polygnotos see S. Matheson, Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens (1995) 3.
- 67See K. Kilinski, Hesperia 61, 1992, 253ff. For possible work in Athens, see ABV 177.
- 68St. Petersburg 1837 (St 1790) and, reduced version, 108K (Zm 4): ARV² 1407. See also comments by Stissi, 112–113.
- 69Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter is working on these pieces and the potter.
- 70See above n. 55. The use of the ethnic Athenaios after a sculptor's name on a work located in Athens occurs on the base of the statue of Athena Hygieia by Pyrrhos on the Athenian Acropolis, but seems rare (see Raubitschek DAA, 523).
- 71For Athenian contact with Pantikapaion and migrant Athenian jewellers see D. Williams – J. Ogden, Greek Gold: Jewellery of the Classical World (1994) 125f. D. Williams, RA 1996, 51 with figs 7–8 and U. Kästner – M. Langer – B. Rabe (eds), Griechen, Skythen, Amazonen (2007) 19. 27–29.
- 72Hadjidimitriou 104ff.: E 1 (Baltimore). 4 (Copenhagen 125). 5 (Louvre CA 1852)

- seem to show the purchase of pots, rather than their transport for the refilling of their contents.
- 73Cf. N. Spivey, in: T. Rasmussen – N. Spivey (eds), *Looking at Greek Vases* (1991) 135ff. fig. 55 (Tomba della Nave).
- 74Hadjidimitriou K 43 (Acrop. 2570 fr.). 44 (Acrop. 2579 fr.: note that these fragments are very roughly painted and are white-ground, and that Langlotz felt they were not Attic).
- 75See D. Williams, in: *Culture et Cité* 142.
- 76See Beazley PP, 21ff., with a list in n. 1 on 23f.; Scheibler 1979 (supra n. 1) 8ff. For other views see M. Vickers – D. Gill, *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery* (1994) 93ff. See also now Stissi 152–156.
- 77Acrop. 6971: Raubitschek DAA, no. 178; IG I³, 2 no. 620; Beazley PP, 21; D. Williams, in: *Culture et Cité* 147f.; Kissas 124f. no B 53.
- 78ABV 160, lower 2; 159,4.
- 79Mulgrave Castle, Whitby, Normanby: Para 352–353,1–2; M. Robertson, *MüJb* 27, 1976, 29ff. (esp. 42f. figs 12ff.); D. Williams, in: *Culture et Cité* 154f. The signature, which is difficult to read, actually seems to use the dual form.
- 80Kore, Acrop. 681: K. Karakasi, *Archaische Kore* (2000) pls 148f. Inscribed capital: Raubitschek DAA, no. 197; Kissas 116f. no. B 45; Keesling 56ff. 213.
- 81Cf. Scheibler 1979 (supra n. 1) 9 (with information provided by Immo Beyer in n. 11).
- 82Cf. Robertson 1975 (supra n. 57) 130.
- 83Nearchos's kantharoi: ABV 82–83,1–3; see a new study by H. Mommsen, forthcoming in Moorman – Stissi (supra n. 63). Nearchos's lip-cups: ABV 83. Tleson's cup for Oltos: ARV² 66,127.
- 84Euphronios base, Athens EM 6278: Beazley 21f.; Raubitschek DAA, no. 225; A. Pasquier – M. Denoyelle (eds), *Euphronios: peintre à Athènes au VI^e siècle avant J.-C.* (1990) 219ff. no. 56; IG I³ 824.
- 85For Athena Hygieia see P. Wolters, *AM* 16, 1891, 153ff.; and now I. Leventi, *Hygieia in Classical Greek Art* (2003) 39ff.
- 86For an interpretation of the motive for the dedication as a personal health problem see J. Maxmin, *GaR* 21, 1974, 179. For the return to Athens as a cause cf. D. Williams, in: *Meisterwerke* 283.
- 87Cf. Papadopoulos CR, 279 and the long discussion 280ff. He argues for a development from the area of the Classical Agora before the sixth century, to a later one located in the area of the Dipylon Gate and out to the northwest. Although there is some evidence for potters' activity in the area of the Classical Agora, it is meagre, and by the early fifth century it seems to have come to an end. This final change may plausibly be connected with the aftermath of the Persian sack of 479 BC, and the need to tidy up the city and the activities within it.
- 88See n. 43. The vase was a small pot, perhaps a stamnos, and Athena was shown running with shield (snake device – referring to Asklepios?) and spear.
- 89Aristeides, *Hymn to Athena* 20. For the motive behind the bronze statue put up in the early 420s see Leventi (supra n. 85) 40. The statue was dedicated by the Athenians, not an individual (*pace* the story told by Plutarch, Perikles 13.8).
- 90L. Giuliani, in: L. Giuliani – W.-D. Heilmeyer (eds), *Euphronios der Maler* (1991) 16f.; J. Tanner, *The Invention of Art History in Ancient Greece* (2006) 156ff.
- 91London BM B 209: ABV 144,8.
- 92D. Williams, in: *Meisterwerke* 282f.
- 93Cf. D. Williams, in: *Meisterwerke* 280. In M. Denoyelle (ed.), *Euphronios Peintre* (1992) 87 I read the scene and the allocation of the names too loosely; this is also the case with E.C. Keuls, in: J. Christiansen – T. Melander (eds), *Proceedings of*

- the 3rd Symposium on Ancient Greek and Related Pottery (1988) 306f.; and H.A. Shapiro, *Rev. do Museu de Arqueologia e Etnologia*, São Paulo, 5, 1995, 212.
- 94Raubitschek DAA, no. 217 (with his son Theodoros; it took the form of four bronze statues); cf. also the basins nos. 349–53 (for Onesimos's son, Theodoros, see also no. 355). See also Kissas 123f. no. A 52.
- 95Hadjidimitriou K 47 (Milan, Banca Intesa inv. 2). Cf. also Hadjidimitriou K 45 (Boston 01.8073). K 46 (Berlin F 2542).
- 96Acrop. 1332: Beazley PP, 22f.; A.E. Raubitschek, *AJA* 46, 1942, 245ff.; Raubitschek DAA, no. 70; Keesling 69. 73.
- 97D.W.J. Gill – M. Vickers, *JdI* 105, 1990, 7.
- 98Beazley PP, 8 notes, for example, that the cup on the wheel on Hadjidimitriou K 42 (Acrop. 166 frr.) is of a black-figure Little Master type, which was obsolete by the time of the Euergetidean red-figure cup.
- 99H. Bloesch, *Formen attischer Schalen von Exekias bis zum Ende des Strengen Stils* (1940) 141ff.; B.A. Sparkes – L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, *Agora XII* (1970) 93ff.; Scheibler 1979 (supra n. 1) 10.
- 100For the beginnings of type C cups see CVA London, *British Museum* 9 59f., with D. Williams, in: *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 5 (1991) 47ff.; see also D. Williams, "A Brygan Levée", forthcoming, in: J. Chi (ed.), *Collecting in Context: Papers in Memory of Leon Levy*. A fragment in an Italian private collection is from another, even earlier example, probably a very early work of Onesimos (rather than Euphronios).
- 101For the remains of paint see G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum I* (1912) 273; Beazley PP, 22. Dickins suggested the yellow came from a figure of Athena Ergane on the left of the relief, but W.-H. Schuchhardt, in: H. Schrader (ed.), *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (1939) 301 prefers Langlotz's suggestion of a rack with vases and E. Langlotz, *Zur Zeitbestimmung der strengrotfigurigen Vasenmalerei und der gleichzeitigen Plastik* (1920) 93. The central akroterion may well also have held a vessel: Raubitschek (supra n. 96) 245; Keesling 73 n. 53 suggests a hydria, but it may rather have been a cup.
- 102During the discussion at the conference Judith Binder suggested this. For *Keramos*, Pausanias 1.14.6.
- 103Lucian, *Prometheus* 14.
- 104Dickins (supra n. 101) 273; Raubitschek (supra n. 96) 249 with fig. 5; Beazley PP, 22. In Raubitschek's photograph the cutting that he takes to be from a letter does not seem to reach the lower border, as it should if it were to match the rest of the inscription.
- 105Acrop. 629. 306. 3451 with Louvre Ma 2718: I. Trianti, in: Coulson et al. (supra n. 37) 83–86; eadem, *Mon Piot* 76, 1998, 1–29.
- 106A. Furtwängler, *AM* 6, 1881, 178ff. See also E. Löwy, *ÖJh* 12, 1909, 288ff.
- 107cf. Schrader (supra n. 101) 207.
- 108Acrop. 144. 146: Trianti 1998 (supra n. 105) 13–16 figs 8–11; 18 figs 12–15.
- 109e.g. Berlin 2285: Buitron – Oliver (supra n. 44) 78 no. 88 pl. 58. Cf. also the Boeotian terracotta figurine, Louvre B 114: R. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967) pl. 32A.
- 110cf. Hadjidimitriou K 47 (Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2). 51 (Oxford 562); also I 7 (New York MMA 50.11.4).
- 111Hadjidimitriou K 51 (Oxford 562). K 50 (Acrop. 739 frr.).
- 112Raubitschek DAA, no. 6.
- 113B.A. Hansen, *CEG* no. 195; Keesling 184. 210ff.
- 114See Keesling 184f.; Kissas 194f. no. B 152. Cf. also the comments in R. Krumeich, *Bildnisse griechischer Herrscher und Staatsmänner im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1997) 22f. and H.A. Shapiro, in: Papenfuß and Stročka (supra n. 62) 94.

11For his death cf. D. Williams, in: *Meisterwerke* 283.

32 Σκηνές γυναικωνίτη σε «άγνωστης χρήσης σκεύος» του τέλους του 5ου αι. π.Χ.

Άγγελος Ζαρκάδας

Στη μνήμη της Αλεξάνδρας Π. Κανελλοπούλου

Στον κατάλογο των αττικών ερυθρόμορφων αγγείων του Beazley συγκαταλέγεται ως πιθανό έργο του αγγειογράφου Αίσωνα ένα ιδιόμορφο ερυθρόμορφο σκεύος (Εικ.1, έγχρωμος πίν. 30Α), που χαρακτηρίζεται ως “Object of unknown purpose (shaped like a tin hat)”, δηλαδή αντικείμενο άγνωστης χρήσης, σε σχήμα που μοιάζει με στρατιωτικό κράνος.¹

Πρόκειται για το ερυθρόμορφο σκεύος του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Αθηνών, με αριθμό ευρετηρίου ΒΣ 58, που προέρχεται από τη Συλλογή Βλαστού. Δυστυχώς η ακριβής προέλευσή του παραμένει άγνωστη και η μόνη σωζόμενη μαρτυρία για τη νεότερη τύχη του είναι μία επιγραφή από τα χέρια του συλλέκτη στο εσωτερικό του. Με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες αναγράφεται το τοπωνύμιο Koropi και η ημερομηνία 10.3.5, όπου με τον αριθμό 5 υπονοείται το έτος 1935.² Η ημερομηνία δηλώνει το χρόνο εύρεσης ή πιθανότερα το χρόνο αγοράς του σκεύους.

Το σκεύος είναι συγκολλημένο από αρκετά θραύσματα και συμπληρωμένο κυρίως στο άνω τμήμα, καθώς και σε μικρό μέρος του χείλους και του σώματος. Έχει ύψος 10,4 εκ. και μέγιστη διάμετρο 23,2 εκ. Το σώμα του είναι κωδωνόσχημο. Στην κορυφή σχηματίζει επίπεδη δισκοειδή απόληξη με διαμπερή οπή στο κέντρο, διαμέτρου 0,7 εκ., ενώ κάτω, εσωτερικά στην περιφέρεια, διαμορφώνεται μία πατούρα (Εικ. 2. 3).

Η παράσταση περιτρέχει το κεντρικό τμήμα του σκεύους. Ορίζεται κάτω από ζώνη φύλλων ελιάς προς τα δεξιά και επάνω από ζώνη ιωνικού κυματίου. Οι ζώνες οριοθετούνται από δύο

ρηχές αυλακώσεις. Συνεχή αλληλοπλεκόμενα διάγραμμα τρίγωνα καλύπτουν το άνω τμήμα του σκεύους. Χωρίς γάνωμα είναι η άνω επιφάνεια της δισκοειδούς απόληξης στην κορυφή, ενώ εσωτερικά το σκεύος είναι ολόβαφο.



Εικ. 1. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.



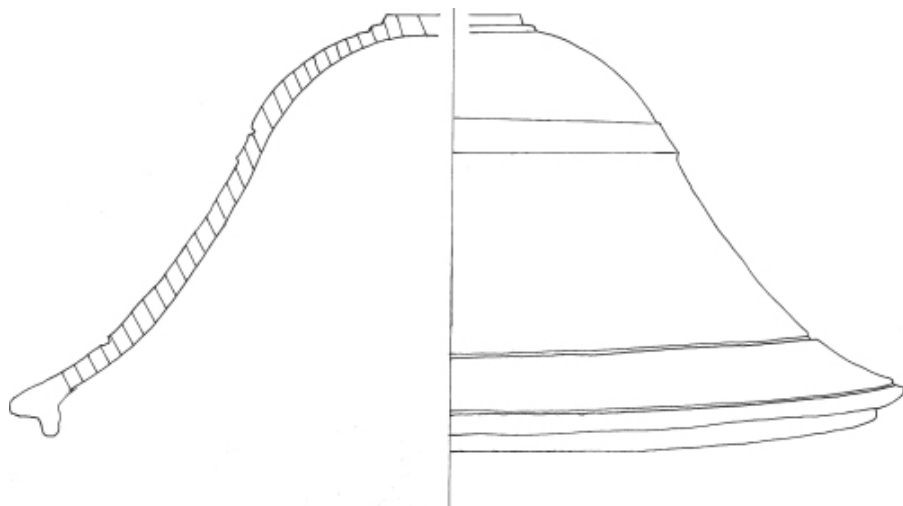
Εικ. 2. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.

Η παράσταση διαδραματίζεται σε εσωτερικό χώρο, όπως δηλώνει με σαφήνεια η απεικόνιση μιας μισάνοιχτης πόρτας εκατέρωθεν της οποίας παριστάνονται οι μορφές. Πρόκειται υ963 όυνολικά για εννέα γυναίκες, που επιδίδονται σε ποικίλες δραστηριότητες και απεικονίζονται, εκτός της πρώτης, σε τέσσερα ζεύγη. Η δήλωση της πόρτας και η αποκλειστική παρουσία γυναικών στις διάφορες σκηνές μαρτυρούν πως τα δρώμενα εκτυλίσσονται στο χώρο του γυναικωνίτη.³ Η πόρτα απεικονίζεται μεγάλη και με λεπτομέρειες.⁴ Παριστάνεται δίφυλλη, με το κατώφλι της, με παραστάδες που φέρουν επίκρανο και με υπέρθυρο (Εικ. 4, έγχρωμος πίν. 30Β). Διακοσμείται με τρεις οριζόντιες παράλληλες ζώνες, καθεμία από τις οποίες φέρει τρεις μικρούς κύκλους που υποδηλώνουν εφηλίδες. Με σαφήνεια απεικονίζεται η μέγαλου μεγέθους κλειδαριά.⁵

Μπροστά από το αριστερό, ανοιχτό φύλλο της πόρτας παριστάνεται γυναίκα σε κίνηση προς τα δεξιά, της οποίας δε σώζεται το κεφάλι από το ύψος του στόματος και πάνω. Κρατά

καθρέπτη στο δεξί χέρι και στο αριστερό αλάβαστρο, του οποίου σώζεται μόνο το κάτω τμήμα. Φορά χιτώνα με κόλπο και σταυρωτούς ιμάντες. Πρόκειται για μία νεαρή θεραπαινίδα που μεταφέρει τα αντικείμενα καλλωπισμού στην κυρία της μέσα στο γυναικωνίτη.⁶ Μπροστά της στο έδαφος βρίσκεται ένας κάλαθος, που διακοσμείται με τρεις παράλληλες οριζόντιες ταινίες και ζώνη μαιάνδρου.⁷

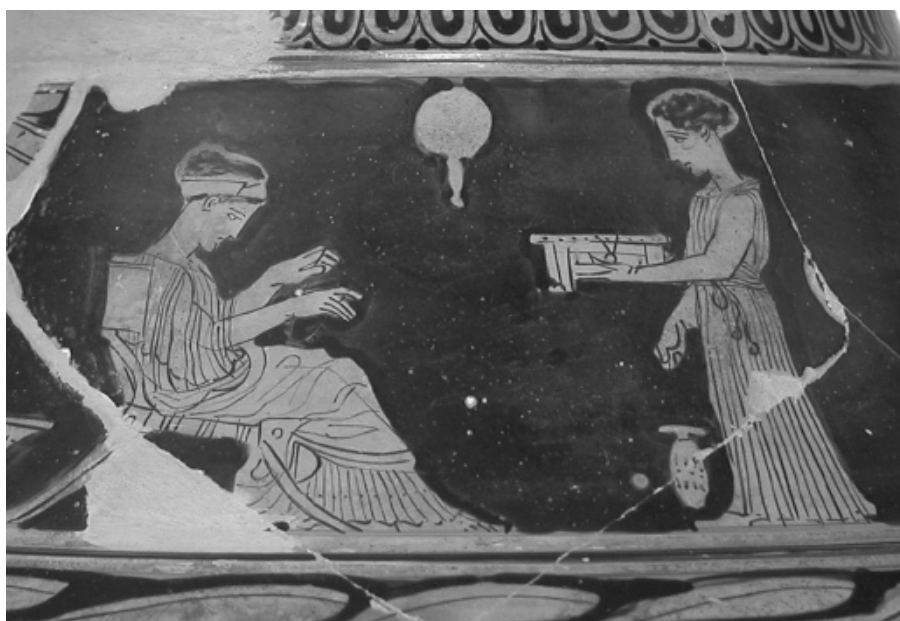
Ένα ζεύγος κυρίας και θεραπαινίδας στην τυπική του απεικόνιση, με πάμπολλα εικονογραφικά παράλληλα,⁸ συγκροτούν οι δύο επόμενες γυναίκες. Καθιστή σε κλισμό παριστάνεται η κυρία (Εικ. 5, έγχρωμος πίν. 31Α). Φορά ποδήρη λεπτό χιτώνα και ιμάτιο που καλύπτει τα σκέλη. Τα μαλλιά της είναι μαζεμένα προς τα πάνω και δένονται με πλατιά ταινία. Κρατά και περιεργάζεται – ίσως έτοιμη να τον φορέσει – έναν όρμο που αποδίδεται με ανάγλυφη γραμμή και μικρές στιγμές. Μπροστά της στέκεται νεαρή γυναίκα, η θεραπαινίδα, με πέπλο ζωσμένο στη μέση και τα μαλλιά μαζεμένα προς τα επάνω. Προσφέρει στην κυρία της μία μικρή ορθογώνια κίστη⁹ και ένα αλάβαστρο που κρέμεται με κορδόνι από το δεξί της χέρι. Το καπάκι της κίστης διακοσμείται με σειρά στιγμών και διακρίνεται ευκρινώς το κούμπωμά της. Στον τοίχο κρέμεται καθρέπτης. Τόσο αυτός όσο και ο κάλαθος, αντικείμενα που χρησιμοποιούνται από γυναίκες, ορίζουν το χώρο και σηματοδοτούν τη λειτουργία του.¹⁰ Ανάλογες σκηνές ερμηνεύονται ενίοτε ως απεικονίσεις προετοιμασίας της νύφης για τη γαμήλια τελετή. Η απουσία ωστόσο γαμήλιων εικονογραφικών στοιχείων στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση αποκλείει ένα τέτοιο ενδεχόμενο.¹¹



Εικ. 3. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58, σχέδιο.



Εικ. 4. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.



Εικ. 5. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.

Στην επόμενη σκηνή μας εισάγει η παρουσία ενός πτηνού προς τα δεξιά (Εικ. 6, έγχρωμος πίν. 31Β). Μολονότι το σώμα και το κεφάλι του θυμίζουν κύκνο, τα ψηλά του πόδια τον ταυτίζουν

πιθανότατα με γερανό.¹² Η απεικόνιση πτηνών στο πλευρό γυναικών είναι αρκετά συχνή στην αγγειογραφία με συνηθέστερες τις παραστάσεις πετεινών, περιστεριών, κύκνων, ερωδιών.¹³ Αν και η παρουσία των κατοικιδίων αιτιολογείται με σχετική ευκολία, η πραγματική ερμηνεία των πτηνών συνολικά δεν μπορεί παρά να είναι πολυσήμαντη, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ταυτοχρόνως τον οικιακό τους χαρακτήρα, τον ερωτικό τους συμβολισμό και τη συσχέτισή τους με το θεϊκό παράγοντα, που πηγάζει από τη σχέση κάποιων πτηνών με τη θεά του Έρωτα, Αφροδίτη.¹⁴ Ακολουθούν δύο γυναίκες, μία όρθια και μία καθιστή, που παριστάνονται αντικριστά. Η πρώτη από τα αριστερά, την οποία ακολουθεί ο γερανός, απεικονίζεται όρθια, με ποδήρη χιτώνα και ιμάτιο που αγκαλιάζει τους ώμους της. Με το αριστερό της χέρι ανασηκώνει διακριτικά την παρυφή του, ενώ με το δεξί κρατά πάνω στο σώμα της κάτι δυσδιάκριτο, ίσως ένα περιστέρι. Φορά ενώτια και έχει τα μαλλιά της σηκωμένα ψηλά σε κότσο. Η σεμνή, διακριτική της παρουσία, που τονίζεται από το σκυμμένο της κεφάλι και την προσπάθεια να καλύψει τους ώμους με το ιμάτιό της, καθώς και το δυσδιάγνωστο αντικείμενο που κρατάει, δεν της προσδίδουν έναν σαφή, ξεκάθαρο ρόλο στη σκηνή. Η δεύτερη γυναίκα κάθεται σε κλισμό και κρατά με το αριστερό της χέρι ένα υφαντικό τελάρο, ενώ ακουμπά το δεξί στο στήθος. Φορά ποδήρη χιτώνα και ιμάτιο γύρω από τους ώμους και έχει μαζεμένα τα μαλλιά της μέσα σε σάκκο. Φορά περιδέραιο και ενώτια. Η σκηνή δεν αποκλείεται να αποτελεί κάποιο στιγμιότυπο μεταξύ μίας θεραπεινίδας – της όρθιας μορφής – που σκοπεύει να παραδώσει κάτι στην κυρία της, ή μεταξύ δύο φίλων που συνομιλούν σε κάποιο διάλειμμα της εργασίας της ύφανσης.



Εικ. 6. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Β5 58.

Από τις σωζόμενες απεικονίσεις του υφαντικού τελάρου στην αγγειογραφία u8211 – όπου άλλοτε χρησιμοποιείται και άλλοτε είναι απλώς κρεμασμένο στον τοίχο –, αλλά και σε άλλες μορφές τέχνης, γνωρίζουμε τη μορφή του.¹⁵ Ήταν επίπεδο, επίμηκες, λυρόσχημο¹⁶ και από ό,τι φαίνεται αρκετά ελαφρύ για να το μεταφέρουν εύκολα οι γυναίκες και στην περίπτωση των μικροτέρων να το τοποθετούν επάνω στα γόνατά τους την ώρα της εργασίας. Αποτελούνταν από δύο κάθετους πήχεις, τους οποίους δύο οριζόντιες ράβδοι συγκρατούσαν σε συγκεκριμένη μεταξύ τους απόσταση. Στον τύπο του τελάρου του σκεύους της Συλλογής Βλαστού οι δύο κάθετοι πήχεις καμπυλώνονται ελαφρώς και ενώνονται στο κάτω τμήμα τους. Μεταξύ των οριζόντιων ράβδων απεικονίζονται τεντωμένοι οι στήμονες.



Εικ. 7. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.

Όσον αφορά τη χρήση του υφαντικού τελάρου έχουν κατά καιρούς υποστηριχθεί διάφορες προτάσεις, όπως για παράδειγμα ότι πρόκειται για τελάρο κεντήματος, μικρό αργαλειό για χαλιά ή τελάρο για πλέξιμο δαντέλας.¹⁷ Η σύγχρονη έρευνα τείνει να δεχθεί πως τα τελάρα αυτά όπου τα νήματα τεντώνονταν μεταξύ των οριζόντιων πήχεων, χρησίμευαν για την ύφανση δικτυωτών υφασμάτων.¹⁸ Σύμφωνα με την τεχνική που χρησιμοποιούνταν, το δικτυωτό σχηματιζόταν από αλληλοπλεκόμενες κάθετες κλωστές, χωρίς χρήση οριζόντιων. Αυτό που προέκυπτε ήταν ένα είδος υφάσματος αποκλειστικά με στημόνια. Τα δικτυωτά αυτά φαίνεται πως χρησίμευαν ως καλύμματα κεφαλής, αποτελώντας τους γνωστούς κεκρύφαλους ή σάκκους.¹⁹

Μία άλλη πτυχή των γυναικείων δραστηριοτήτων που παριστάνονται στο αγγείο, παρουσιάζεται στη σκηνή που

ακολουθεί. Μετά την εργασία, ως ένα ευχάριστο, ξένοιαστο διάλειμμα έρχεται η ώρα του παιχνιδιού (Εικ. 7, έγχρωμος πίν. 32Α). Δύο γυναίκες παίζουν σβούρα. Η πρώτη από τα αριστερά, με χιτώνα και ιμάτιο, διάδημα στα μαλλιά, περιδέριο και ενώτια, κρατά με το ανασηκωμένο δεξί της χέρι το μαστίγιο. Παριστάνεται σε κίνηση, τη στιγμή που μόλις έχει ρίξει τη σβούρα. Με το αριστερό της χέρι ανασηκώνει τα ενδύματά της, προκειμένου να μην ενοχλείται και το αριστερό της πόδι μόλις που πατά με τα ακροδάχτυλα στο έδαφος. Μπροστά της η σβούρα στροβιλίζεται. Η δεύτερη γυναίκα είναι έτοιμη να ρίξει και αυτή με τη σειρά της τη σβούρα που κρατά με το δεξί προτεταμένο της χέρι. Φορά πέπλο ζωσμένο στη μέση. Έχει μακριά μαλλιά δεμένα πίσω και φορά ενώτια. Με το αριστερό χέρι που φέρει κοντά στο στήθος, κρατά το μαστίγιο που μόλις διακρίνεται.

Το παιχνίδι με τη σβούρα ήταν ιδιαίτερος διαδεδομένο και αγαπητό στην αρχαία Ελλάδα και παιζόταν τόσο από παιδιά και νέους όσο και από γυναίκες.²⁰ Ήδη από τον Όμηρο στην ραψωδία Ε της Ιλιάδας, όπου ο Έκτορας ζαλισμένος από το κτύπημα μιας πέτρας παρομοιάζεται με σβούρα που γυρνά, γνωρίζουμε την ομηρική λέξη για το αντικείμενο: στρόμβος.²¹ Εφευρέτης της σβούρας θεωρείται ο Ερμής, ο οποίος και απεικονίζεται σε παραστάσεις αγγείων να επιδίδεται στη συγκεκριμένη ενασχόληση,²² ενώ σύμφωνα με το μύθο σβούρα έπαιζε και ο Διόνυσος και κατά μία άποψη το παιχνίδι ήταν περισσότερο διαδεδομένο κατά τη διάρκεια των διονυσιακών εορτών.²³ Η μορφή του αντικειμένου είναι γνωστή από πληθώρα ευρημάτων, αλλά και από απεικονίσεις του στην αγγειογραφία.²⁴ Οι πραγματικές σβούρες ήταν συνήθως ξύλινες, ωστόσο έχουν βρεθεί και πήλινες που τις προσέφεραν ως αφιερώματα σε ιερά,²⁵ καθώς και χάλκινες, μολύβδινες, λίθινες και γυάλινες.²⁶ Όσον αφορά το σχήμα τους υπήρχαν παραλλαγές, που καθόριζαν και τον τρόπο με τον οποίο παιζόταν το παιχνίδι. Ο τύπος της σβούρας που απεικονίζεται στο αγγείο έχει σχήμα κυλινδρικό, με κωνική αιχμηρή απόληξη, και συχνά φέρει οριζόντιες αυλακώσεις στο σώμα, γύρω από το οποίο περιελισσόταν το σχοινί.²⁷ Όταν την έριχναν κρατώντας την άκρη του σχοινοῦ, άρχιζε η περιστροφή. Προκειμένου αυτή να διαρκέσει περισσότερο τη χτυπούσαν κατά τη φορά περιστροφής με ένα μαστίγιο, ένα ξύλινο στέλεχος, από το οποίο κρέμονταν δύο ή τρεις δερμάτινες λεπτές ταινίες.

Ενδεικτικά αναφέρονται δύο γνωστά παραδείγματα απεικόνισης του παιχνιδιού στην αγγειογραφία. Το πρώτο είναι η αρυβαλλοειδής λήκυθος 1875, 75.2.9 του Μητροπολιτικού Μουσείου της Νέας Υόρκης.²⁸ Στην παράσταση της ληκύθου αυτής, το παιχνίδι παίζεται και πάλι από ζεύγος γυναικών,

αποτελώντας έτσι ένα πολύ κοντινό παράλληλο στην παράσταση του σκεύους της Συλλογής Βλαστού. Το δεύτερο ανήκει σε πώμα πυξίδας που προέρχεται από τη Συλλογή Κανελλοπούλου (Εικ. 8).²⁹ Σε αυτό, το παιχνίδι παίζεται από τον Έρωτα, προσδίδοντας στην παράσταση σαφείς ερωτικούς υπαινιγμούς.³⁰ Με αντίστοιχο πρίσμα έχει εξάλλου ερμηνευθεί αρκετές φορές και η γενικότερη επιλογή παραστάσεων γυναικών που παίζουν κάποιο παιχνίδι, από την εξέλιξη του οποίου εξαρτούν χαριτολογώντας τη συζυγική τους αποκατάσταση, ενώ σύμφωνα με άλλες απόψεις η απεικόνιση γυναικών που παίζουν παιδικά κατ'ουσίαν παιχνίδια προσιδιάζει σε νεαρές παρθένες και ενισχύει την αγνότητα και αθωότητα που τις διακρίνει πριν την ενηλικίωση.³¹

Στο σκεύος απεικονίζεται, τέλος, ένα ακόμη στιγμιότυπο σχετικό με την ύφανση (Εικ. 9, έγχρωμος πίν. 32B).³² Στο τελευταίο ζεύγος γυναικών η πρώτη από τα αριστερά κρατά ταινία, ίσως ένα έτοιμο έργο της, που απλώνει για να επιδείξει στην άλλη γυναίκα απέναντί της. Φορά ποδήρη χιτώνα και ιμάτιο και έχει τα μαλλιά της μέσα σε σάκκο. Στο λαιμό φοράει περιδέрайο. Δεξιά από αυτήν, καθιστή σε κλισμό, παριστάνεται σε στάση κατενώπιον, με το κεφάλι στραμμένο στα αριστερά, η δεύτερη γυναίκα. Κρατά στο αριστερό ανασηκωμένο της χέρι ρόκα, στο δεξί αδράχτι και φοράει λεπτοϋφασμένο χιτώνα και ιμάτιο. Τα μαλλιά της συγκρατούνται ψηλά με ταινία και φορά ενώτια. Είναι η νήθουσα, που στρίβει και τυλίγει την κλωστή στο αδράχτι, την άτρακτο.³³ Ο τρόπος που παριστάνεται η ρόκα, η ηλακότη, στην οποία δε φαίνεται να είναι τυλιγμένη τουλούπα, η τούφα δηλαδή του μαλλιού, αλλά ένα είδος χοντλής κλωστής, δηλώνει πιθανόν πως έχει ήδη προηγηθεί ένα προκαταρκτικό στάδιο του γνεσίματος. Σε αυτό το στάδιο το μαλλί στρίβεται λίγο λίγο με το χέρι πάνω στο μηρό ή σε επίνητρο και τυλίγεται με τη μορφή χοντλής άστριφτης κλωστής στη ρόκα από όπου γνέθεται στη συνέχεια κανονικά.³⁴ Ενδεικτική είναι η γνωστή παράσταση στο μετάλλιο κύλικας του Δούριδος των μέσων του 5ου αι. π.Χ.³⁵ και στο ανάγλυφο της νήθουσας από τη Βραυρώνα του γ' τέταρτου του 5ου αι. π.Χ.³⁶



Εικ. 8. Ερυθρόμορφη πυξίδα. Αθήνα, Συλλογή Κανελλοπούλου. Λεπτομέρεια.



Εικ. 9. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.

Η σημασία που κατείχε η υφαντική στη ζωή των γυναικών ήταν μεγάλη. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η παράδοση που ήθελε μετά τη γέννηση των κοριτσιών να κρεμούν οι γονείς τους στην πόρτα του σπιτιού τούφες μαλλιών για γνέσιμο, τις λεγόμενες τουλίπες.³⁷ Αλλά και αργότερα, την ώρα του γάμου του νεαρού

κοριτσιού, ήταν έθιμο να υ960 δροσφέρει η νύφη στο γαμπρό ένα λεπτοϋφασμένο μάλλινο ένδυμα, απόδειξη των δεξιοτήτων της στην υφαντική και δέσμευση ότι θα τηρεί τις σχετικές με την ύφανση υποχρεώσεις της και ως σύζυγος.³⁸ Ο Θεόκριτος περιγράφει την προσφορά μιας ελεφάντινης ηλακάτης προς τη γυναίκα ενός φίλου,³⁹ ενώ και χρυσές ηλακάτες και άτρακτοι στέλνονταν ως δώρα σε κυρίες υψηλής τάξεως.⁴⁰ Ο Όμηρος ονομάζει την Άρτεμη και την Ήρα χρυσηλακάτους, όπως και ο Πίνδαρος τις Νηρηίδες.⁴¹ Η ηλακάτη και η άτρακτος ήταν εξάλλου, όπως μας πληροφορούν οι αρχαίες πηγές, συχνό ανάθημα στην Αθηνά,⁴² ενώ ο Πausanias κάνει λόγο για ξόανο της θεάς από τις Ερυθρές στο οποίο κρατά μία ηλακάτη σε κάθε χέρι.⁴³ Οι σχετικές με την υφαντική δραστηριότητες που χαρακτηρίζαν σε μεγάλο βαθμό την καθημερινή ζωή των γυναικών προστατεύονταν άλλωστε από τη θεά Αθηνά, που λατρευόταν και με την προσωνυμία Εργάνη και στην οποία απέδιδαν την εφεύρεση της τέχνης της υφαντικής,⁴⁴ Στην Αθήνα εξάλλου οι νεαρές παρθένες, οι εργαστίες, επωμίζονταν το έργο της ύφανσης του πέπλου για τη θεά Αθηνά στη γιορτή των Παναθηναίων.⁴⁵

Η συχνή παρουσίαση στην αγγειογραφία σκηνών σχετικών με την κατεργασία του μαλλιού ή ακόμη και μόνο των αντίστοιχων συνέργων για αυτήν αιτιολογούνται από την σημασία που αποδιδόταν σε αυτή την μορφή γυναικείας εργασίας και τέχνης. Σε αντίθεση με άλλες οικιακές εργασίες που αναμφισβήτητα έφεραν σε πέρας οι γυναίκες, η συγκεκριμένη ήταν μία εργασία καθαρή, σχετικά ξεκούραστη και βεβαίως απολύτως δημιουργική, συνώνυμη για τους λόγους αυτούς με τη γυναικεία επιδεξιότητα.⁴⁶

Το ενδεχόμενο στο σκεύος της Συλλογής Βλαστού να απεικονίζονται εταίρες, όπως έχει υποστηριχθεί για ανάλογες παραστάσεις γυναικών που γνέθουν,⁴⁷ θα πρέπει να αποκλειστεί, καθώς κανένα ενδεικτικό στοιχείο για μια τέτοια ερμηνεία δεν υπάρχει στην παράσταση.

Από την περιγραφή και το σχολιασμό που προηγήθηκε, έγινε σαφές πως επιθυμία του αγγειογράφου που εμπνεύστηκε την εικονογραφική θεματολογία του συγκεκριμένου σκεύους ήταν να παρουσιάσει σε μία ουσιαστικά παράσταση την ιδεατή πολυσχιδή γυναικεία καθημερινότητα. Αυτή περιλαμβάνει τον καλλωπισμό, την αγνή ψυχαγωγία, την ευγενή οικιακή εργασία. Οι γυναίκες που απεικονίζονται στο σκεύος της Συλλογής Βλαστού αποτελούν την ιδανική σύνοψη του γυναικείου προτύπου. Είναι όμορφες, με πλούσια ενδύματα και κοσμήματα, δημιουργικές αλλά και με ελεύθερο χρόνο για να διασκεδάζουν. Αν

ανταποκρίνονται ή όχι στην πλειοψηφία των Αθηναίων γυναικών δε φαίνεται να έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία, καθώς όλες θα επιθυμούσαν να τους μοιάζουν.

Όπως ήδη αναφέρθηκε, το σκεύος θεωρήθηκε από τον Beazley ως πιθανό έργο του αγγειογράφου Αίσωνα.⁴⁸ Η επιφύλαξη αιτιολογείται, διότι, μολονότι η τεχνοτροπία θυμίζει σε κάποια σημεία τον καλλιτέχνη, η απόδοση τελικά απομακρύνεται αρκετά από τα καλά έργα του. Από μία γρήγορη τεχνοτροπική εξέταση της παράστασης του σκεύους γίνεται σαφές ότι ο αγγειογράφος οργανώνει τη διάταξη της σύνθεσης συμμετρικά. Τοποθετεί εκατέρωθεν του άξονα της πόρτας, με εξαίρεση τη μορφή της θεραπαινίδας που στέκεται μόνη, τέσσερα ζεύγη μορφών, επιλέγοντας εξαιρετική ποικιλία στην απόδοση των διαφορετικών στάσεων τους. Συγκεκριμένα αξίζει να σχολιαστεί το γεγονός ότι εξαντλεί όλες τις πιθανές στάσεις απόδοσης των καθιστών μορφών, τόσο προς τα αριστερά, όσο και προς τα δεξιά, αλλά και κατενώπιον. Ποικιλία εξάλλου παρατηρείται στην απόδοση των κομμώσεων (Εικ. 10). Υπάρχει μία επιμονή με στόχο να αποκτήσει η κάθε μορφή μοναδικότητα. Μολονότι δε χαρακτηρίζονται όλες από την ίδια ποιότητα απόδοσης, αποτελούν ένα αρμονικό σύνολο. Η εκτέλεση είναι γρήγορη, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις κάπως επιπόλαιη, και ο καλλιτέχνης δε διστάζει να επανέλθει διορθώνοντας κάποιες ατέλειες του σχεδίου του (Εικ. 6).⁴⁹ Όσον αφορά τη δευτερεύουσα διακόσμηση, πρωτότυπη είναι η επιλογή των διάγραμμων τριγώνων στο άνω τμήμα του σκεύους, ενώ τυπικές είναι οι ζώνες των φύλλων ελιάς και του ιωνικού κυματίου. Η απόδοση του θέματος και οι τεχνοτροπικές του λεπτομέρειες χρονολογούν το σκεύος γύρω στο 420-410 π.Χ.



Εικ. 10. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.

Η άποψη του Beazley ότι πρόκειται για σκεύος άγνωστης χρήσης, μάς αναγκάζει σε μία πολύ προσεκτική προσέγγιση του σχήματός του. Αναμφισβήτητα πρόκειται για ένα, αν όχι

μοναδικό, εξαιρετικά σπάνιο σχήμα. Η σπανιότητά του αυτή αποδεικνύει με βεβαιότητα πως δεν αποτελούσε αντικείμενο μαζικής παραγωγής, ενώ η θεματολογία u960 δού χαρακτηρίζει τη διακόσμησή του και αφορά αποκλειστικά τον κόσμο των γυναικών παραπέμπει κατά κύριο λόγο στα σκεύη που ανήκαν και χρησιμοποιούνταν από τις γυναίκες.

Το σχήμα, η τοποθέτηση της παράστασης πάνω στο σκεύος, αλλά και ορισμένες κατασκευαστικές λεπτομέρειες μας οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα πως πρόκειται για πώμα κάποιου ανοιχτού αγγείου. Η κανονική διαμπερής οπή στο άνω τμήμα δεν εξηγείται παρά μόνο από την ύπαρξη κάποιου μεταλλικού κρίκου, ανάλογου με αυτούς που παρουσιάζουν τα πώματα. Την εξηρημένη άνω επίπεδη επιφάνεια στην κορυφή προφανώς κάλυπτε μεταλλικός δίσκος όπου στηριζόταν το αντίστοιχο μικρό στέλεχος που έφερε τον κρίκο.⁵⁰ Την ταύτιση του σκεύους με πώμα επιβεβαιώνει εξάλλου και η πατούρα, που υπάρχει περιμετρικά στη βάση, για να προσαρμοσθεί στο χείλος κάποιου ανοιχτού αγγείου.

Το να προσπαθήσει κανείς να εντοπίσει αυτό το αγγείο είναι εξαιρετικά δύσκολο. Η διάμετρος ωστόσο του πώματος, που υπαγορεύει και την αντίστοιχη διάμετρο του χείλους του αγγείου αυτού, δηλαδή στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση 23,2 εκ., καθώς και τα 10,4 εκ. του ύψους του, οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι επρόκειτο για αγγείο σχετικά μεγάλου μεγέθους.

Αγγεία που έφεραν πώμα με ανάλογες παραστάσεις ήταν οι πυξίδες. Ωστόσο τα πώματα των γνωστών τύπων πυξίδων που χρονολογούνται στα τέλη του 5ου αι. π.Χ. διαφέρουν σημαντικά. Στις πυξίδες τύπου C, που υπερέχουν αριθμητικά αυτή την εποχή και φέρουν μάλιστα και μεταλλικό κρίκο ανάρτησης, η τομή του πώματος είναι εντελώς διαφορετική.⁵¹ Η μορφή της πατούρας στο πώμα της Συλλογής Βλαστού υποδεικνύει πως το αγγείο είχε τέτοιο χείλος, έτσι ώστε το πώμα να προσαρμόζει στο εσωτερικό του. Ερώτημα βεβαίως είναι τί είδους αγγείο κάλυπτε αυτό το πώμα. Αν επρόκειτο για πυξίδα, θα πρέπει να σκεφθεί κανείς πυξίδα ιδιαίτερου σχήματος, με ξεχωριστό πώμα, πολύ μεγαλύτερο από τα συνηθισμένα. Παραδείγματα όμως μεγάλων πυξίδων είναι πραγματικά ελάχιστα. Η μεγαλύτερη γνωστή έως σήμερα ερυθρόμορφη πυξίδα προέρχεται από την Ακρόπολη, χρονολογείται γύρω στα μέσα του 5ου αι. και αποδίδεται στο Ζωγράφο της Πενθεσίλειας.⁵² Η διάμετρός της φθάνει τα 26 εκ. Δεύτερη σε μέγεθος και πιο κοντά στην εποχή του πώματος είναι η πυξίδα του Εθνικού Μουσείου με αρ. ευρ.19636, με την παράσταση των Μουσών, χρονολογούμενη γύρω στο 430 π.Χ. και με διάμετρο 19,2 εκ. (Εικ. 11).⁵³ Και οι δύο αυτές πυξίδες είναι

τύπου Α και στο άνω τμήμα τους φέρουν μία σχετικά υψηλή υποδοχή για πώμα. Η μορφή της πατούρας ωστόσο είναι τέτοια που θα απαιτούσε πώμα που θα εφάρμοζε στην εξωτερική πλευρά του χείλους της πυξίδας και όχι στην εσωτερική, όπως επιβάλλει η πατούρα του σκεύους της Συλλογής Βλαστού.



Εικ. 11. Ερυθρόμορφη πυξίδα Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 19636.



Εικ. 12. Καλαθικός. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 18522.

Στην αναζήτηση σχημάτων αγγείων που θα μπορούσαν να συνταιριάξουν με το συγκεκριμένο πώμα, τόσο στη μορφή και στο μέγεθος, όσο και τη διακόσμηση, γιατί όχι και στη χρησιμότητα, μπορεί να εξετασθεί ακόμη μία πιθανότητα, η συσχέτιση του πώματος με ένα καλαθοειδές αγγείο. Οι γνωστοί μας κάλαθοι,⁵⁴ τα σκεύη που χρησιμοποιούσαν οι γυναίκες για το μαλλί ή τα κουβάρια, με συχνότατες απεικονίσεις στην αγγειογραφία, ήταν συνήθως από πλεκτό καλάμι και τα λιγοστά πήλινα παραδείγματα που μας έχουν διασωθεί δεν είναι παρά μικρές απομμιήσεις τους (Εικ. 12).⁵⁵ Επίσης λιγοστοί είναι οι ερυθρόμορφοι κάλαθοι ή καλαθοειδή αγγεία διαφόρων μεγεθών και πιθανόν χρήσεων.⁵⁶

Στην προσπάθεια να βρεθεί καλαθοειδές αγγείο αντίστοιχου μεγέθους με το πώμα, εξετάστηκαν τα τμήματα των καλαθοειδών με αρ. ευρ. P 1223 και P 1224 του Μουσείου της Αρχαίας Αγοράς⁵⁷ και ο κάλαθος του Berkeley 8.3342.⁵⁸ Τα χαρακτηριζόμενα ως καλαθοειδή αγγεία της Αρχαίας Αγοράς έχουν διάμετρο που υπολογίζεται αντιστοίχως σε 22 και 25 εκ., ενώ ο κάλαθος στο Berkeley είναι λίγο μικρότερος, με διάμετρο 18,1 εκ. Υποδοχή για πώμα, και μάλιστα κατάλληλη για τη μορφή της πατούρας του

πώματος της Συλλογής Βλαστού, φέρει αναμφίβολα το δεύτερο παράδειγμα της Αρχαίας Αγοράς, αν και υστερότερο χρονικά (Εικ. 13). Από τις παραστάσεις των αγγείων είναι γνωστό πως οι πραγματικοί κάλαθοι απεικονίζονται χωρίς πώμα. Ωστόσο, το καλαθοειδές αγγείο της Αρχαίας Αγοράς αποδεικνύει πως δεν αποκλείεται να υπήρχαν στην πραγματικότητα και κάποια καλαθοειδή αγγεία με πώμα.

Για τη συσχέτιση του πώματος με κάποιο καλαθοειδές αγγείο είναι ενδεικτική και η επιλογή της διακόσμησης, που αφορά το γυναικωνίτη και ειδικότερα σκηνές, σχετικές με την ύφανση. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα η παράσταση στον κάλαθο που μέχρι πρότινος βρισκόταν στο Durham, όπου απεικονίζεται και πάλι γυναίκα με υφαντικό τελάρο (Εικ. 14).⁵⁹ Για αυτή τη συσχέτιση συνηγορεί και η διακόσμηση των αλληλοκαλυπτόμενων διάγραμμων τριγώνων στο πάνω μέρος του πώματος (Εικ. 15). Μολονότι είναι ομολογουμένως σπάνια ως δευτερεύουσα διακόσμηση σε πραγματικό αγγείο, απαντά αρκετές φορές σε απεικονίσεις καλάθων στην αγγειογραφία, παραπέμποντας πιθανότατα στην ίδια την πλέξη του αγγείου. Ενδεικτική είναι η παράσταση στο πόδι της τριποδικής πυξίδας με αρ. ευρ. 1584 του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου στην οποία ο κάλαθος διακοσμείται με παρόμοια αλληλοπλεκόμενα διάγραμμα τρίγωνα (Εικ. 16).⁶⁰



Εικ. 13. Ερυθρόμορφο καλαθοειδές αγγείο. Αθήνα, Μουσείο Αρχαίας Αγοράς P 1224. Φωτογραφία: Craig A. Mauzy.

Πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα, σχετική με τη χρήση των καλάθων – καλαθοειδών αγγείων μεγάλου μεγέθους, είναι η παλαιότερα διατυπωθείσα άποψη, σύμφωνα με την οποία τα αγγεία αυτά θα μπορούσαν να είναι γαμήλιες προσφορές και δώρα συμβολικά σε μέλλουσες νύφες.⁶¹ Ως τέτοια θα μπορούσαν να αποτελέσουν κάποια στιγμή και ταφικά κτερίσματα. Το πώμα της Συλλογής Βλαστού, περίκοσμο με σκηνές απόλυτα συνυφασμένες με τον κόσμο των γυναικών, δεν αποκλείεται να αποτελούσε μαζί με το

αγγείο που κάλυπτε, ένα μοναδικό, συμβολικό δώρο σε κάποια μέλλουσα νύφη ή ακόμη και να συνόδευσε μία νεαρή γυναίκα στον τάφο ως πολύτιμο κτέρισμα. Βέβαιο παραμένει πως αποτελεί ένα μοναδικό παράδειγμα σχήματος, δίχως γνωστό παράλληλο, έμπνευση της στιγμής ή παραγγελία για μία ξεχωριστή περίπτωση.



Εικ. 14. Ερυθρομόρφος κάλαθος, Newcastle University, Shefton Museum of Greek Art and Archaeology 853 (Durham). Φωτογραφία: από L. Clark, AJA 87, 1983, πίν.14,3.

Ευχαριστώ πολύ τους διοργανωτές του Συνεδρίου, καθηγητές John Oakley και Όλγα Παλαγγιά για την ευκαιρία που μου έδωσαν να συμμετάσχω σε αυτό. Ευχαριστώ επίσης την Προϊσταμένη της Συλλογής Αγγείων του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Ελισάβετ Στασινοπούλου και το φίλο και συνάδελφο Γιώργο Καββαδία για τη βοήθεια και τις διευκολύνσεις που μου παρείχαν. Θερμές ευχαριστίες u964 δέλω οφείλω να εκφράσω στους καθηγητές Luigi Beschi, Γιώργο Δεσπίνη, Dietrich Willers και Μιχάλη Τιβέριο.



Εικ. 15. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο ΒΣ 58.



Εικ. 16. Ερυθρόμορφη τριποδική πυξίδα. Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 1584. Λεπτομέρεια.

Notes

1ARV² 1177,2.

2Ήταν συνήθεια του συλλέκτη να μη γράφει πλήρη τον αριθμό του έτους. Το στοιχείο αυτό προκύπτει από το σύστημα καταγραφής των αρχαιοτήτων της συλλογής του στον προσωπικό του κατάλογο που φυλάσσεται στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο.

3F. Lissarrague, στο: P. Veyne – F. Lissarrague – F. Frontisi-Ducroux (επιμ.), *Les mystères du gynécée* (1998) 157–178. G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech. Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (2002) 35–43. Για νεότερες κριτικές απόψεις σχετικά με την ύπαρξη του γυναικωνίτη, βλ. S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman. An Iconographic Handbook* (2002) 135–138.

4Για απεικονίσεις θυρών στην αγγειογραφία βλ. Γ. Μπακαλάκης, *Ανασκαφή Στρώμης* (1967) 52–54 (για την έως τότε βιβλιογραφία). Ειδικότερα για την αττική ερυθρόμορφη αγγειογραφία, βλ. ενδεικτικά P.E. Oliver-Smith, *Architectural Elements on Greek Vases before 400 B.C.* (diss. New York University, 1969) σποράδην. F. Lissarrague, στο: E.D. Reeder (επιμ.), *Pandora. Frauen im klassischen Griechenland* (1995) 98 (Λονδίνο, Βρετανικό Μουσείο

- E773, ARV² 805,89). V. Sabetai, *Hesperia* 67, 1998, 325 σημ. 13. S. Schmidt, *Rhetorische Bilder auf attischen Vasen. Visuelle Kommunikation im 5. Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (2005) 104 Εικ. 50 αρ. 74 (Λονδίνο, Βρετανικό Μουσείο E774, ARV² 1250,32). Περισσότερο συνήθεις είναι οι παράστασεις θυρών σε πυξίδες, βλ. S. Roberts, *The Attic Pyxis* (1978).
- 5Η επιμελής απεικόνιση της κλειδαριάς σε αντίστοιχες παραστάσεις θυρών αποτελεί στοιχείο που έχει θεωρηθεί πως τονίζει τον κλειστό χαρακτήρα που πιθανότατα είχε ο γυναικωνίτης. Για την ερμηνεία των απεικονίσεων της κλειδαριάς στις θύρες παραστάσεων γυναικωνίτη, αλλά και των μισάνοιχτων θυρών, βλ. E.C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (1985) 108–110. 118–119.
- 6Η ταύτιση της με νεαρή θεραπαινίδα ενισχύεται συν τοις άλλοις από το μικρότερο σε σύγκριση με τις υπόλοιπες μορφές μέγεθός της, βλ. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 140, αλλά και από το ένδυμά της, βλ. Sabetai (ό.π. σημ. 4) 326 σημ. 20, όπου υποστηρίζεται πως ο χιτώνας ήταν το κατεξοχήν ένδυμα των νεαρών θεραπαινίδων.
- 7Για την παρουσία του καλάθου ως κατεξοχήν συμβόλου του χώρου του γυναικωνίτη, βλ. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 137.
- 8Γ.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (1972) 231. D.C. Kurtz, *Annali del Seminario di studi del mondo classico: Sezione di archeologia e storia antica* 10, 1988, 141–149. J. Reilly, *Hesperia* 58, 1989, 411–413. H. Killet, *Zur Ikonographie der Frau auf attischen Vasen archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (1994) 214–216.
- 9Ε. Brümmer, *JdI* 100, 1985, 1–168.
- 10L. Balensiefen, *Die Bedeutung des Spiegelbildes als ikonographisches Motiv in der antiken Kunst* (1990).
- 11Για γαμήλιες παραστάσεις αγγείων, βλ. J.H. Oakley – R.H. Sinos, *The Wedding in Ancient Athens* (1993); V. Sabetai, *The Washing Painter* (diss. University of Cincinnati, 1993). Της ίδιας, στο: J.H. Oakley – W.D.E. Coulson – O. Palagia (επιμ.), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (1997) 307–323. M. Σγούρου, στο: Oakley κ.ά. (ό.π.) 71–83.
- 12Ευχαριστώ την κ. Elke Böhr, η οποία εξέφρασε την άποψη ότι πρόκειται με βεβαιότητα για γερανό. Για τους γερανούς, βλ. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (1955) 48–50. J. Pollard, *Birds in Greek Life and Myth* (1977) 83–84.
- 13Η.A. Shapiro, *Art, Myth and Culture. Greek Vases from the Southern Collections* (1981) 132–133. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 159–166. P. Badinou, *La laine et le parfum. Épinetra et alabastres. Forme, iconographie et fonction* (2003) σποράδην.
- 14Badinou (ό.π. σημ. 13) 66 σημ. 111. Για παραστάσεις πτηνών που συνοδεύουν τη θεά Αφροδίτη, βλ. LIMC II (1984) 97–98 αρ. 916–929 πιν. 90–91, λ. Αφροδίτη (A. Delivorrias). Για μία πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα διαπραγμάτευση της απεικόνισης πτηνών στο πλάι γυναικών, βλ. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 161–166.
- 15Για υφαντικά τελάρα γενικά, βλ. J. Six, *ÖJh* 19–20, 1920, 162–166. L. Clark, *AJA* 87 (1983) 91–96. I. Jenkins – D. Williams, *AJA* 89, 1985, 411–417. J.H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter* (1990) 44 αρ. 311. Για απεικονίσεις στην αγγειογραφία βλ. J.A. Groszkowska, *Archeologia* 44, 1993, 119–122.
- 16Το σχήμα του που μοιάζει με τη λύρα οδήγησε συχνά σε παρανόηση τους μελετητές που το ταύτισαν με το συγκεκριμένο μουσικό όργανο. Για εσφαλμένη ταύτιση υφαντικού τελάρου με μουσικό όργανο, βλ. ενδεικτικά Veder Greco, *Le necropoli di Agrigento. Mostra Internazionale Agrigento, 2 maggio – 31 luglio 1988* (1988) 240. 379. Κριτική αυτής της ταύτισης κάνει η Groszkowska (ό.π. σημ. 15).
- 17Clark (ό.π. σημ. 15) 92.

- 18Six (ό.π. σημ. 15). Clark (ό.π. σημ. 15). Jenkins – Williams (ό.π. σημ. 15) 413.
- 19Jenkins – Williams (ό.π. σημ. 15). A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Mode im antiken Griechenland* (1989) 48–49.
- 20Για το παιχνίδι της σβούρας στην αρχαιότητα βλ. P. Wolters, *MüJb* 8, 1913, 83–96. F.A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education. The Greeks at School and Play* (1975) 48 Εικ. 286–289. R. Schmidt, *Die Darstellung von Kinderspielzeug und Kinderspiel in der griechischen Kunst* (1977) 39–44. D.W. Gould, *Expedition* 22.3, 1980, 43–47. M. Fittà, *Spiele und Spielzeug in der Antike. Unterhaltung und Vergnügen im Altertum* (1998) 76–78.
- 21Ομ. Ιλ. 14.413. Στην κλασική εποχή ονομαζόταν στρόβιλος, βέμβιξ και ρόμβος, βλ. A.S.F. Gow, *JHS* 54, 1934, 1–13.
- 22E. Reeder Williams, *The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University* (1984) 175. Για παραστάσεις του Ερμή που παίζει σβούρα, βλ. *LIMC* V (1990) 363 αρ. 908–910 πίν. 272, λ. Ερμής (G. Siebert).
- 23Schmidt (ό.π. σημ. 20) 40.
- 24Webster (ό.π. σημ. 8) 235. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 238 σημ. 71.
- 25Για πήλινες σβούρες αφιερωμένες σε ιερό, βλ. P. Wolters, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben I* (1940) 123–124.
- 26Για σβούρες κατασκευασμένες από διάφορα υλικά, βλ. Gould (ό.π. σημ. 20).
- 27Τια πραγματικό παράδειγμα ανάλογης μορφής σβούρας στο Βρετανικό Μουσείο, βλ. Fittà (ό.π. σημ. 20) 77 Εικ. 141.
- 28Νέα Υόρκη, Μητροπολιτικό Μουσείο, Δωρεά Samuel G. Ward 1875, 75.2.9. G.M.A. Richter, *AJA* 11, 1907, 420–422 Εικ. 4. H. McClees, *The Daily Life of the Greeks and Romans as Illustrated in the Classical Collections. Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1925) 44 Εικ. 5.3. Wolters (ό.π. σημ. 20) 88 Εικ. 5; H. Philippart, *Mon Piot* 29, 1927–1928, 115–116 Εικ. 4; Schmidt (ό.π. σημ. 20) πίν. 1. Gould (ό.π. σημ. 20) 43 Εικ. 1. Γ. Καββαδίας, *Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff* (2000) 123 σημ. 865. J. Neils – J.H. Oakley (επιμ.), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece. Images of Childhood from the Classical Past* (2003) 270 αρ. 77.
- 29LIMC III (1986) 915 αρ. 767 πίν. 653, λ. Eros (A. Hermay). K. Schauenburg, *AW* 7.3, 1976, 39–52 Εικ. 21. Fittà (ό.π. σημ. 20) 77. Badinou (ό.π. σημ. 13) 102 πίν. 154,1.
- 30Κατά μία άποψη το παιχνίδι θεωρούνταν πως είχε και μαγικές ιδιότητες, βλ. Gow (ό.π. σημ. 21) 11 κ.ε. A.D. Trendall – G. Schneider, *BABesch* 50, 1975, 267–270.
- 31Για τη σημασία των απεικονίσεων γυναικών που παίζουν κάποιο παιχνίδι, βλ. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 152–159.
- 32Τεχνικά για τις μεθόδους επεξεργασίας του μαλλιού και το γνέσιμο, βλ. H. Blümmer, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* (1912) 106–170. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology IV* (1956) 149–171. I. Τζαχίλη, *Υφαντική και Υφάντρες στο προϊστορικό Αιγαίο, 2000–1000 π.Χ.* (1997).
- 33Για τη σχετική με το γνέσιμο ορολογία, βλ. Τζαχίλη (ό.π. σημ. 32) 133–136.
- 34Forbes (ό.π. σημ. 30) 162. Για τα επίνητρα, βλ. C. Mercati, *Epinetron. Storia di una forma ceramica fra archeologia e cultura* (2003). F. Heinrich, *Das Epinetron. Aspekte der weiblichen Lebenswelt im Spiegel eines Arbeitsgeräts* (2006).
- 35Βερολίνο, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, 2289: ARV² 435,95; Para 375. BAdd² 238. Killet (ό.π. σημ. 8) 117–118. D. Buitron-Oliver, *Douris, A Master-Painter of Athenian Red-figure Vases* (1995) 81 αρ. 143 πίν. 84.
- 36G. Bakalakis, *ÖJh* 45, 1960, πίν. 89.
- 37Ησύχιος Λεξικόν, στέφανον ἐκφέρειν: «ἔθος ἦν ὅποτε παιδίον ἄρρεν γένοιτο παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς, στέφανον ἐλαίας τιθέναι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν θηλείων ἔρια διὰ τὴν ταλασίαν».

- 38Πολυδεύκης 3.39–40. Oakley – Sinos (ό.π. σημ. 11) 39.
 39Θεόκριτος, Ειδύλ. 28.
 40Όμ. Οδ. 4.131. Ηρόδ. 4.162.
 41Όμ. Ιλ. 16.183. 20.70. Οδ. 4.122. Πίνδ. Νέμ. 5.36. Σχόλια: U. Bianchi, ΔΙΟΣ ΑΙΣΑ. Destino, uomini e divinità nell'epos, nelle teogonie e nel culto dei Greci (1953) 208–210.
 42Απολλόδ. Βιβλ. 3.12.3. Πολυάριθμα ελεφάντινα ή οστέινα σκαλιστά θραύσματα που έχουν κατά καιρούς βρεθεί σε ιερά, έχουν συνδεθεί με ηλακάτες-αφιερώματα, βλ. W. Deonna, *Le mobilier délien*, Délos XVIII (1938) 247. 267 (στη θεά Άρτεμη αυτή τη φορά). C. Blinkenberg, *Les petits objets*, Lindos I (1931) 130–135, ενώ αντίστοιχα φαίνεται πως αποτελούσαν και κτερίσματα σε τάφους γυναικών, βλ. P. Perdrizet, *Monuments figurés. Petits bronzes, terrescuittes, antiquités diverses*, Fouilles de Delphes V (1908) 163.
 43Πλουτ. 7.5.9. Bianchi (ό.π. σημ. 41) 212. Για ασφαλείς απεικονίσεις της θεάς Αθηνάς με ηλακάτη σε ειδώλια και νομίσματα, βλ. A. Villing, στο: N. Fischer – H. v. Wees (επιμ.), *Archaic Greece: New Approaches and New Evidence* (1998) 155–157.
 44E.J.W. Barber, στο: J. Neils (επιμ.), *Goddess and Polis. The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* (1992) 105–106. Villing (ό.π. σημ. 43). X. Βλασσπούλου, *Αττικοί ανάγλυφοι πίνακες της αρχαϊκής εποχής* (2003) 72–74 αρ. 106.
 45M. Τιβέριος, στο: W.D.E. Coulson κ.ά. (επιμ.), *The Archaeology of Athens and Attica under the Democracy* (1994) 131–142, όπου διαπραγματεύεται διακοσμήσεις του πέπλου που απεικονίζονται στην αττική αγγειογραφία.
 46Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 62–65.
 47G. Rodenwaldt, *AA* 1932, 7–22. E.C. Keuls, στο: W.G. Moon (επιμ.), *Ancient Greek Art and Iconography* (1983) 209–231. Sabetai (ό.π. σημ. 11) 194–195. Killet (ό.π. σημ. 10) 125–128. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 104. Badinou (ό.π. σημ. 13) 4–7.
 48ARV² 1177,2. Για τον Αίσωνα, βλ. ARV² 1174–1178. C. Dugas, Aison (1930). D. Cramers, Aison en de Meidias-Schilder (αδημοσίευτη διπλωματική εργασία, 1980). R. Olmos (επιμ.), *Coloquio sobre Teseo y la copa de Aison* (1992). A. Zarkadas, Aison (diss. Universität Bern, 2006) (υπό δημοσ.).
 49Εμφανής είναι η διόρθωση του σχεδίου στο ύψος του αριστερού χεριού της όρθιας γυναίκας μπροστά από το πτηνό.
 50Ενδεικτικά αναφέρονται η πυξίδα από το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 17983 (ARV² 1282,2. BAdd² 358. LIMC V [1990] 1016 αρ. 106, λ. Helios [N.Yalouris]) (και πυξίδα από το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πειραιά (G. Σταϊνχάουερ, το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πειραιώς [2001] 267 εικ. 374) που σώζουν στο πώμα τους μεταλλικό δίσκο και κρίκο ανάρτησης.
 51Roberts (ό.π. σημ. 4) 143–175 (πυξίδες τύπου C) Εικ. 85,1. 86,3. 87,1. 90,3. 91,1. 93 (σωζόμενοι μεταλλικοί κρίκοι ανάρτησης σε πώματα πυξίδων).
 52Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο, Ακρ. 569: ARV² 890,172. BAdd² 302. B. Graef – E. Langlotz, *Die antiken Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen II* (1933) 52 πίν. 43. Webster (ό.π. σημ. 10) 77. Roberts (ό.π. σημ. 4) 84 Εικ. 56. 57. 58,2. 59,1.
 53Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αρ.19636: ARV² 1328. Para 479,91bis. B. Philippaki, σε: J.H. Betts – J.T. Hooker – J.R. Green (επιμ.), *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster II* (1988), 89–95.
 54Για τον κάλαθο, αγγείο που σχετίζεται με την κατεργασία του μαλλιού, βλ. Lissarrague (ό.π. σημ. 4) 91–101. Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) 137. Badinou (ό.π. σημ. 13) σποράδην.
 55Βλ. ενδεικτικά Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 18522.
 56R.T. Williams, *AntK* 4, 1961, 27–29.

- 57M.B. Moore, *Attic Red Figured and White-Ground Pottery*, Agora XXX (1997) 59 αρ. 1223–1224 πίν. 115–116. Ευχαριστώ θερμά την Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασικών Σπουδών στη Αθήνα για την άδεια μελέτης και την παραχώρηση φωτογραφιών των αγγείων.
- 58Berkeley 8.3342: CVA 1 πίν. 52. Munich 2416: ARV² 385,228. Para 367. BAdd² 228.
- 59Williams (ό.π. σημ. 57). Το αγγείο, με αρ. ευρ. 853, βρίσκεται πλέον στο Shefton Museum of Greek Art and Archaeology που προσωρινά στεγάζεται στο Πανεπιστήμιο του Newcastle και πρόκειται να μεταφερθεί το 2009 στο Great North Museum. Ευχαριστώ πολύ για τις πληροφορίες αυτές την Dr. Sally Waite.
- 60Αθήνα, Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο 1584: CVA 1 πίν. 6,1–3. Keuls (ό.π. σημ. 47) 221 Εικ. 14.26a. F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Du masque au visage* (1995) 123 πίν. 90. Schmidt (ό.π. σημ. 4) 112 πίν. 54. Επίσης ενδεικτικά α) Βοστώνη, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 95.40, λήκυθος. Ζωγράφος του Τηλέφου, ARV² 820,53. Para 421. BAdd² 293. Ferrari (ό.π. σημ. 3) Εικ. 31. β) Νέα Υόρκη, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1986.322.1, κύλικα, Lewis (ό.π. σημ. 3) Εικ. 4,3 (σχέδιο) γ) North Carolina, The Ackland Art Museum 71.8.1, αρυβαλλοειδής λήκυθος, Ferrari (ό.π. σημ. 3) Εικ. 12 δ) Orvieto, κύλικα, ARV² 810,21. Blümner (ό.π. σημ. 32) 132 Εικ. 50.
- 61CVA 1 Berkeley 1 50–51 πίν. 52. Williams (ό.π. σημ. 57) 29. Απόδειξη για την προσφορά πραγματικών καλάθων ως δώρων σε γαμήλιες τελετές αποτελούν ανάλογες σκηνές στην αγγειογραφία, βλ. Βερολίνο, Staatliche Museen, αρ. 3373, ερυθρόμορφη πυξίδα, L. Deubner, *JdI* 15, 1900, 144–154. Oakley – Sinos (ό.π. σημ. 11) 38–39 Εικ. 115–119. Οι μικρότεροι κάλαθοι θα μπορούσαν να είναι και αγγεία πόσεως, βλ. Ησύχιος, Λεξικόν, κάλαθος: ποτήριον, ὁ καὶ ψυκτήρ.



Pl. 1A. Red-figure Calyx-Krater. Rhodes, Arch. Museum Π 15768. Photo: Author.



Pl. 1B. Red-figure Bell-krater attributed to the Philocleon Reverse Group. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 910. Photo: Museum.



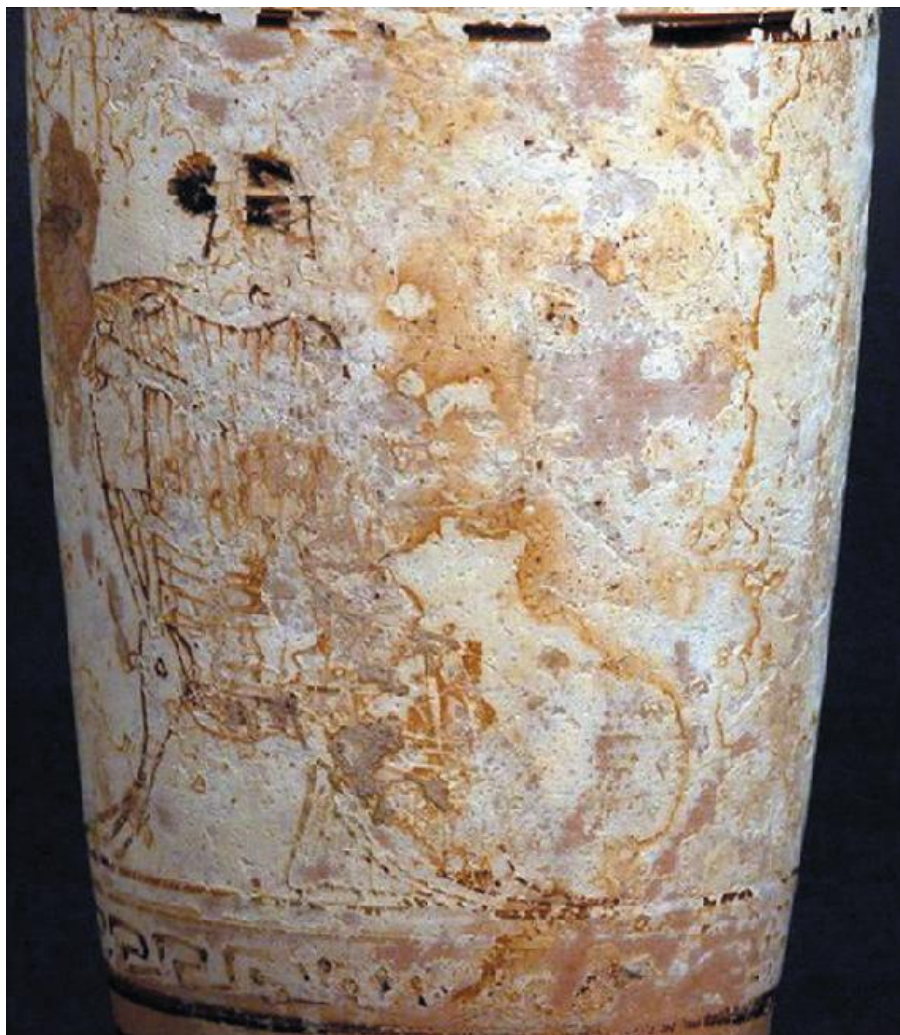
Pl. 1C. Pyxis-lid with griffin, around 400 BC: Olympia, Inv. K 10257. Photo: Author.



Pl. 2A. Λήκυθοι από τον τάφο 35: EAM 30052. 30053. 30054. 30055. 30056.



Pl. 2B. Λήκυθοι από τον τάφο 35: ΕΑΜ 30058. 30059. 30060.



Pl. 3A. Λήκυθος από τον τάφο 35: EAM 30054.



*Pl. 3B. Τάφος 37. Λευκές λήκυθοι κανονικού σχήματος. ΕΑΜ 30061. 30062.
30063. 30067. 30068.*



Pl. 4A. Λήκυθος από τον τάφο 35: EAM 30052.



Pl. 4B. Τάφος 37,1. Λευκή λήκυθος του Ζ. του Sabouroff: EAM 30061.



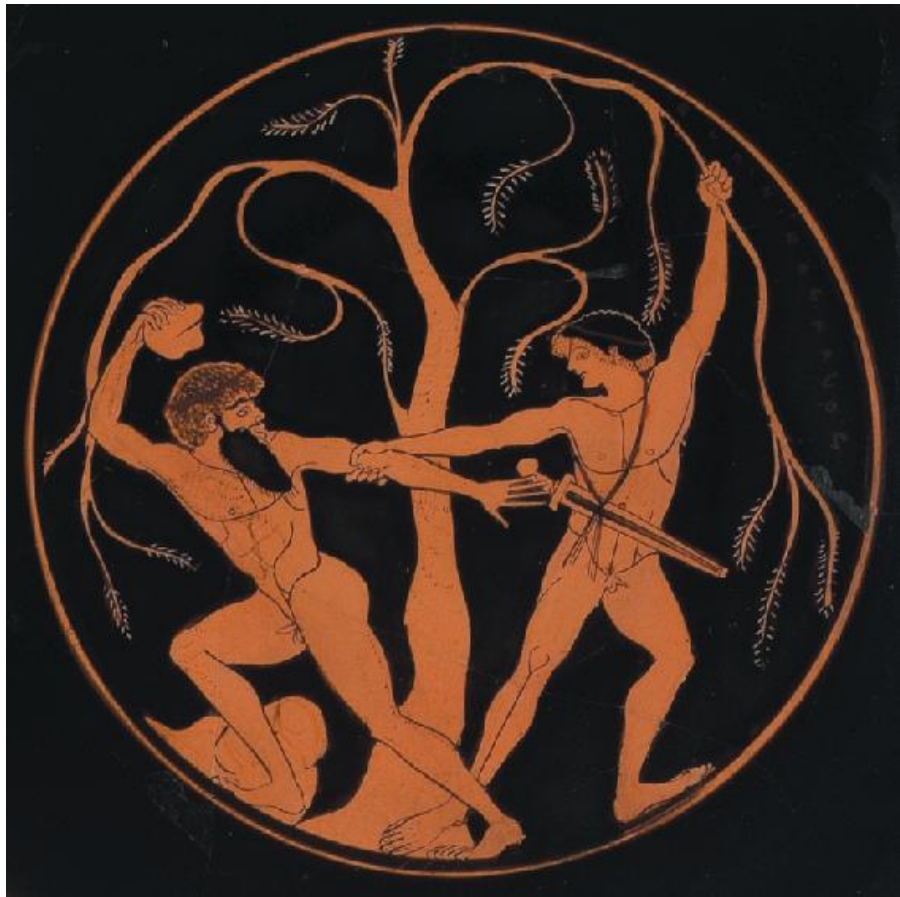
Pl. 4C. Τάφος 37.6 Λευκή λήκυθος δευτερεύοντος τύπου. ΕΑΜ 30066.



Pl. 4D. Τάφος 37,7. Λευκή λήκυθος του Ζ. της Φιάλης: EAM 30067.



Pl. 5A. Kantharos, Munich 2565. Theseus pulls the pine down. Photo: Museum (R. Kühling).



Pl. 5B. Cup, Munich 8771. Theseus, Sinis and the pine. Photo: Museum (R. Kühling).



Pl. 6A. Salmoneus. Column-krater by an Early Mannerist. Chicago, Art Institute, 1889.16. Photo: after I. Kakrides, *Ελληνική μυθολογία*, vol. 3 (1986) pl. 125.



Pl. 6B. Maenads holding parts of Pentheus's body. Hydria in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, 1966.18. Photo: after I. Kakrides, *Ελληνική μυθολογία*, vol. 3 (1986) pl. 40.



Pl. 7A. Selene. Detail of an Attic red-figure calyx-krater (so-named "Blacas-Krater"), London, British Museum Inv. E 466. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum.



Pl. 7B. Helios fleeing the stars. Attic red-figure calyx-krater (so-named "Blacas Krater"), London, British Museum Inv. E 466. Photo: © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum.



Pl. 8A. Selene. Detail of an Attic red-figure bell-krater by the Painter of the Athens Wedding, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. IV 1771. Photo: © Copyright



Pl. 8B. Helios. Attic red-figure bell-krater by the Painter of the Athens Wedding, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. IV 1771. Photo: © Copyright Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.



Pl. 8C. Middle Corinthian cup, Athens, NM 992, Klyka Painter, interior: Photo: Museum.



Pl. 9A. Middle Corinthian column-krater, Paris, Louvre E 629, Athana Painter. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 9B. Middle Corinthian olpe, Paris, Louvre E 603, Anodos Painter, detail of protome between panthers and row of women. Photo: Museum.



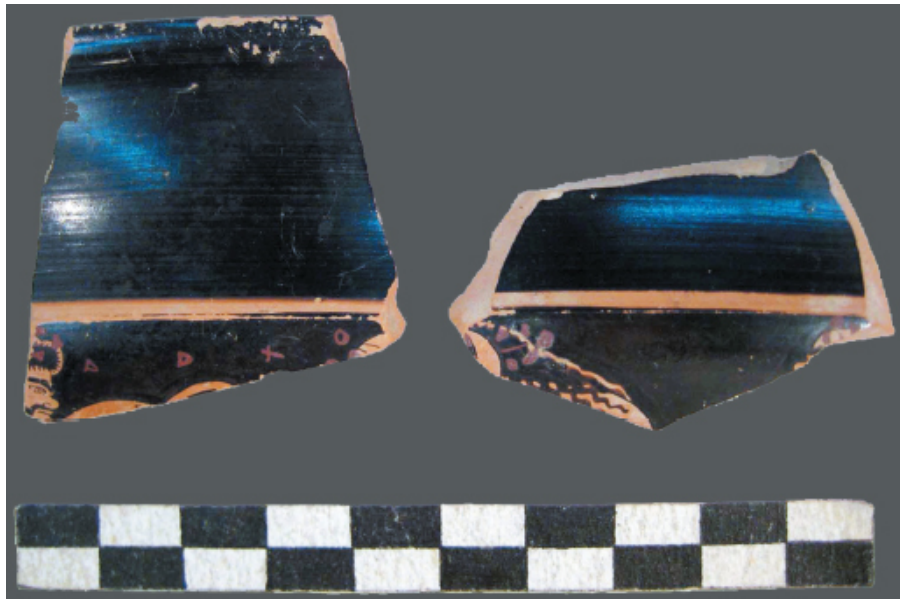
Pl. 10A. Side A of the Parian polychrome crateroid-amphora, Paros, Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2652. Photo: Courtesy of P. Zapheirpoulou.



Pl. 10B. Priam Painter, hydria, Toledo Museum of Art 1961.23, detail of shoulder: seated figure of Priam. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 10C. Theseus Painter, skyphos, Toledo Museum of Art 63.27, detail of Phaia. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 11A. Thasos, Coupe inv. 4864π et 5130π.



Pl. 11B. Thasos, Coupe inv. 59.4029 (= π8104).



Pl. 11C. Thasos, Coupe inv. 59.4072.



Pl. 11D. Thasos, Coupe inv. 4861π.



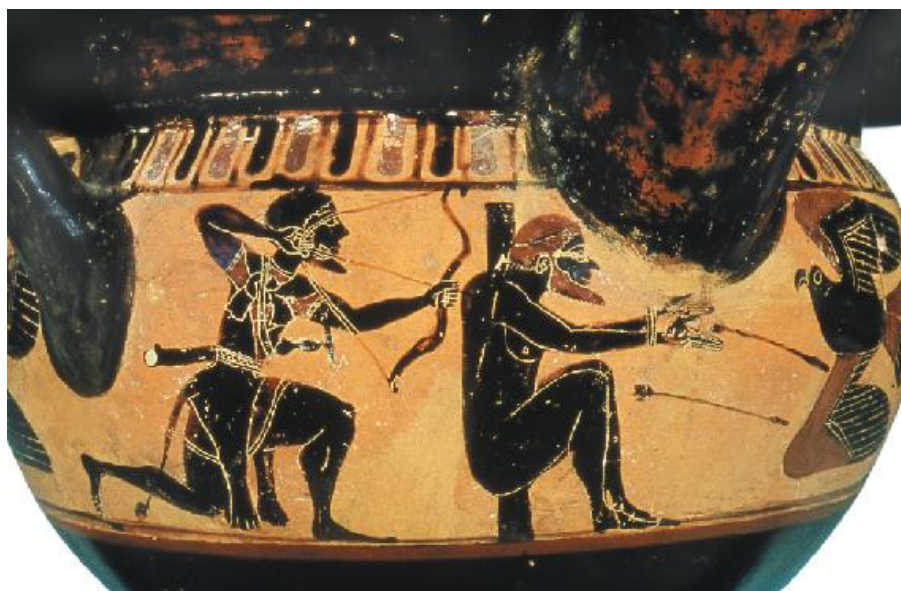
Pl. 11E. Thasos, Coupe inv. 59.4057.



Pl. 11F. Thasos, Coupe inv. 59.4071, 59.4073 (= π8103), et 59.412



Pls 12A–B. Halsamphora des Malers von Compiègne 988, München 1540. Foto: Renate Kühling.

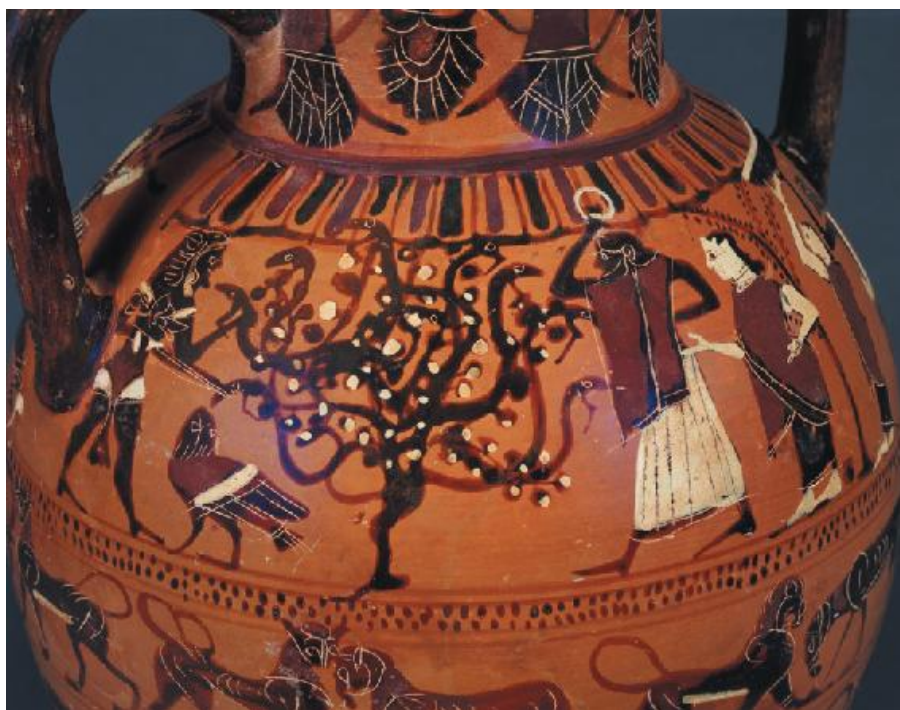


Pl. 12C. Tyrrhenischer Kolonettenkrater mit Ausguss, Berlin F 1722. Foto: Jutta Tietz Glasgow.





Pls 13A–B. Halsamphora des Malers von Compiègne 988, München 1540. Foto: Renate Kühling.





Pls 14A–B. Tyrrhenische Amphora des Guglielmi-Malers, Princeton University Art Museum 2001–218. Foto: Bruce M. White.



*Pl. 15A. Attic red-figure calyx-krater signed by Euphronios, ca. 515 BC. Ex-New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.11.10; Lent by the Republic of Italy (L.2006.10).
Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*



Pl. 15B. Ransom of Hektor. Attic black-figure amphora, ca. 570 BC. New York, private collection. Photo: after J.M. Padgett, *The Centaur's Smile: The Human Animal in Early Greek Art* (2003) 305.



Pl. 16A. Tekmessa covering the body of Ajax. Attic red-figure cup attributed to the Brygos



Pl. 16B. Watercolor by Piet de Jong showing two kotylai, one Protocorinthian (left, P 7143), the other Protoattic (right, P 7023) from the Athenian Agora Excavations. Photo: Courtesy ASCSA Agora Excavations.



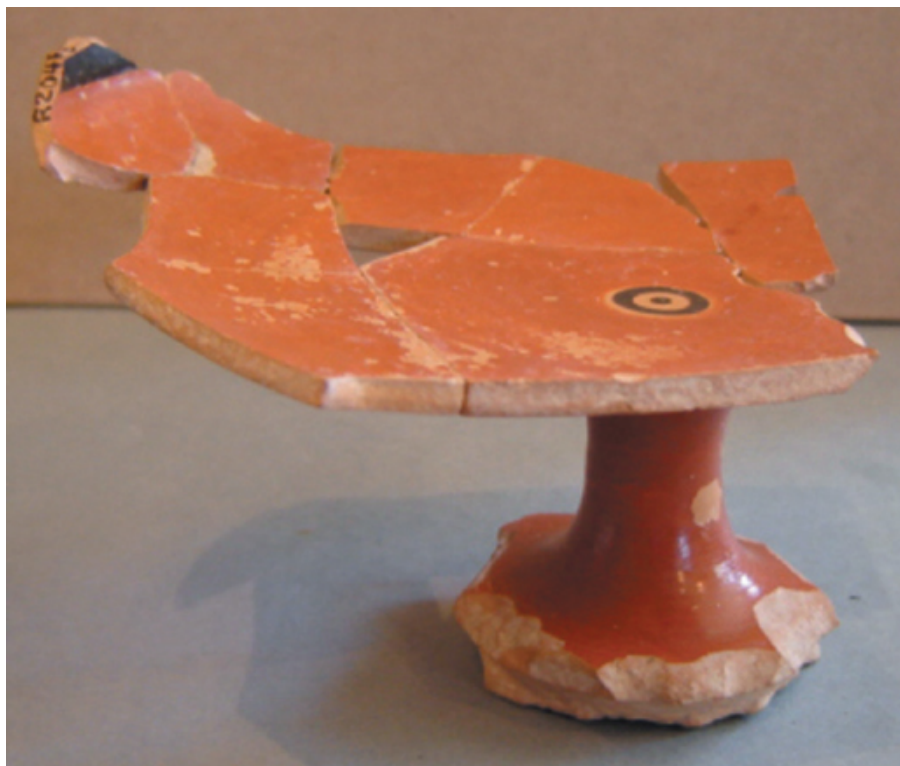
Pl. 17A. Coral-red cup, Class of Agora P 10359: R36163/PO1110.



Pl. 17B. Coral-red Rheneia cup: R48540/PO1751.



Pl. 17C. Coral-red Rheneia cup: R48540/PO1751.



Pl. 17D. Coral-red rattling cup: R20008/PO532.



Pls 18A–B. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection 4.



Pl. 18C. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection 5.



Pl. 18D. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection 6.



Pl. 19A. Attic white-ground lekythos. Bosanquet Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection
8.



Pl. 19B. Attic white-ground lekythos. Achilles Painter. Athens, D. Dinopoulos Collection 10a. γ.





Pl. 20A. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 78. Attic red-figure calyx-krater, side A. Photo: Author.



Pl. 20B. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1683. Attic red-figure pelike. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 20C. Bather at Fountain House. Epinetron fragments from the Athenian Acropolis. Akin to the Golonos Group. Athens, National Museum, Acr. 2599a–b. Photo: Author.



Pls 21A–B. Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie 78. Attic red-figure calyx-krater, details of side A. Photos: Author.



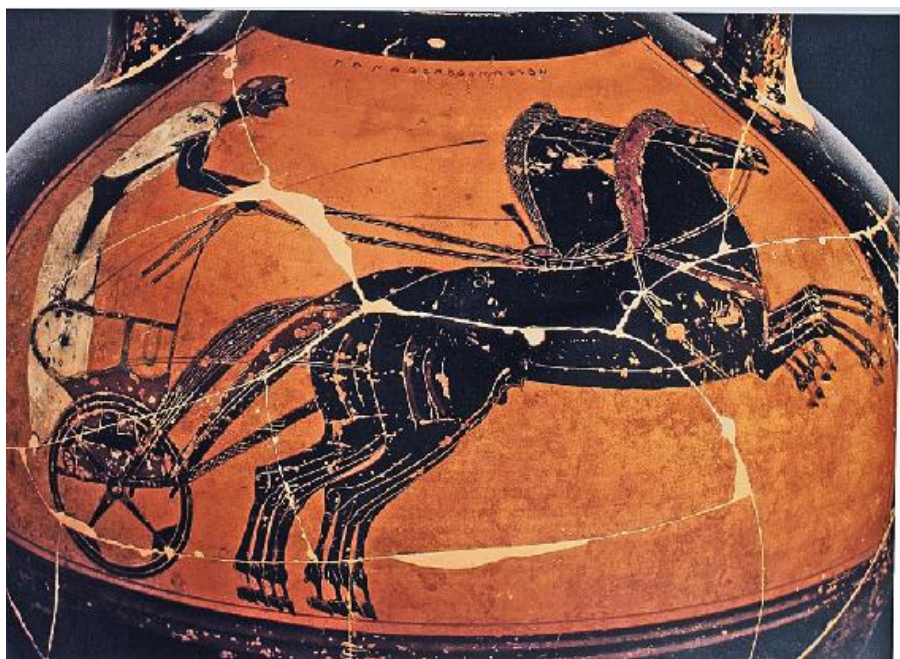
Pl. 21C. Eros and Pothos assist at the bath of Helen under the direction of Aphrodite as Eukleia looks on. Tallboy lekythos attributed to the Shuvalov Painter. Private Collection. Photo: © Christie's Images Limited 1993.



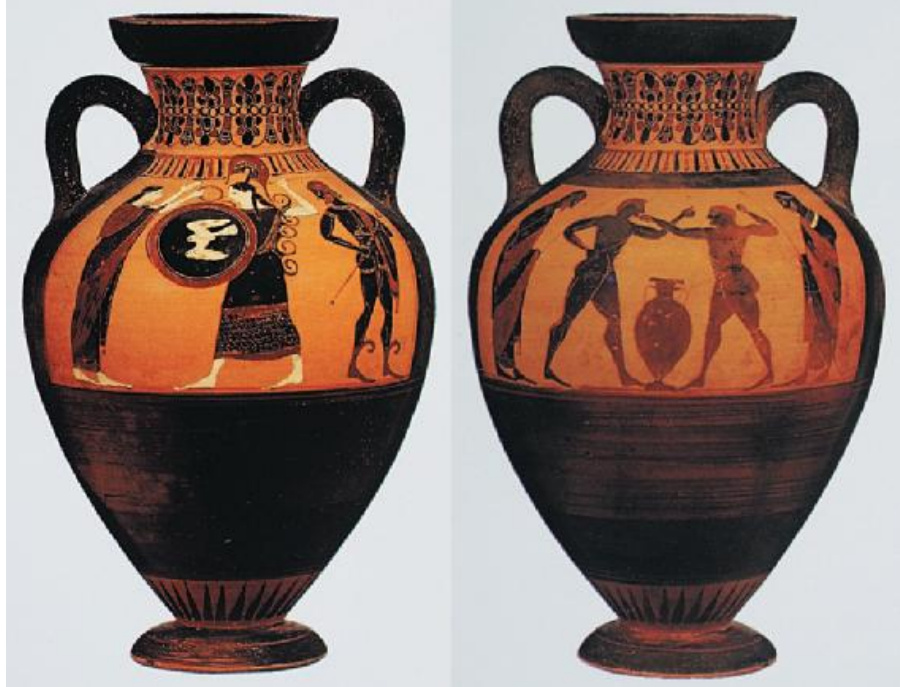
Pl. 22A. Αττικός μελανόμορφος αμφορέας, Έλευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 339. Φωτογραφία Κ. V. von Eickstedt.



Pl. 22B. Τμήμα αττικής κύλικας. Ελευσίς, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο αριθ. 2534.
Φωτογραφία K.V. von Eickstedt.



Pls 23A–B. Panathenaic prize-amphora of Lydos in Florence no. 97779. Photo: after N. Σταμπολίδης and Γ. Τασούλας (eds.), *Μεγάλη Ελλάς. Αθλητισμός και Ολυμπισμός στην περιφέρεια του Ελληνικού κόσμου* (2004) 213 no. 134.



*Pl. 24A–B. Pseudo-PA formerly in Basel. Photo: after D. Vanhove (ed.), *Olympism in Antiquity*. Olympic Museum Lausanne (1996) 46 no. 63.*



Pl. 24C. Cup. J.Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.38: Photo – The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Pl. 25A. Cup. Ensérune. Tondo – Kephalus and Prokris. Photo: Musée d'Ensérune (C. Olive).

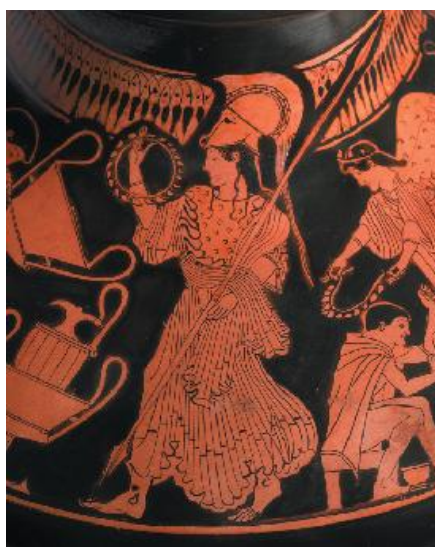


Pl. 25B. Cup. Ensérune. Side A. Photo: Musée d'Ensérune (C. Olive).





Pls 26A–B. Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2, Athenian red-figured kalpis-hydria with a pottery workshop visited by Athena and Nikai. Photos: Museum.



Pls 27A–C. Vicenza, Banca Intesa inv. 2, Athenian red-figured kalpis-hydria with a



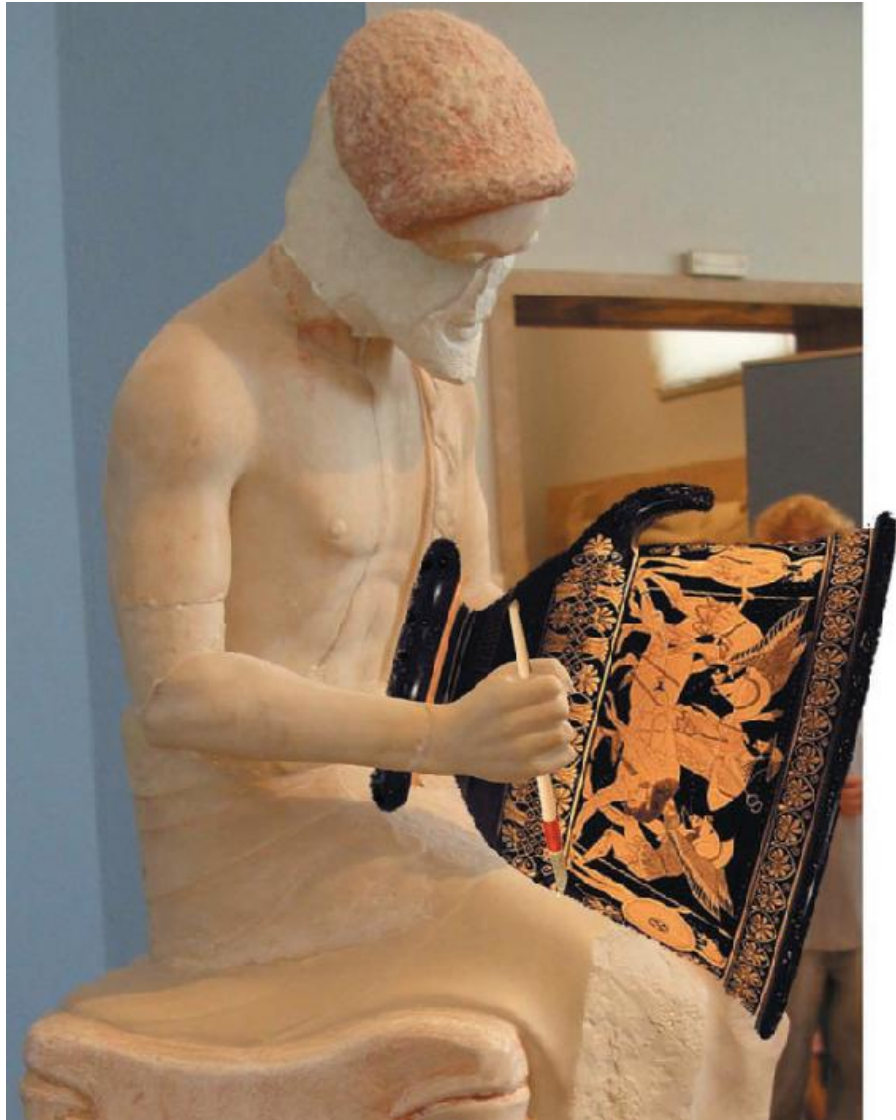
Pl. 28A. Karlsruhe 67/90, detail of an Athenian black-figured cup with a potter centering his clay on the wheel. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 28B. Karlsruhe 67/90, detail of an Athenian black-figured cup with a painter decorating a cup on the wheel. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 29A. Oxford G 287, Athenian red-figured bell-krater, detail of a youth decorating a bell-krater. Photo: Museum.



Pl. 29B. Possible reconstruction of the “Scribe” as a potter: computer reconstruction.



Pl. 30A. Αθήνα, ΕΑΜ ΒΣ 58.



Pl. 30B. Αθήνα, ΕΑΜ ΒΣ 58.



Pl. 31A. Αθήνα, ΕΑΜ ΒΣ 58.



Pl. 31B. Αθήνα, ΕΑΜ ΒΣ 58.



Pl. 32A. Αθήνα, ΕΑΜ ΒΣ 58.



Pl. 32B. Αθήνα, ΕΑΜ ΒΣ 58.